

# HUMANISTICA LOVANIENSIA

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Vol. XLIII - 1994

CORONA MARTINIANA

Studia in honorem  
Iani Martínek Pragensis  
Septuagenarii.



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## HUMANISTICA LOVANIENSIA Journal of Neo-Latin Studies

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HUMANISTICA LOVANIENSIA



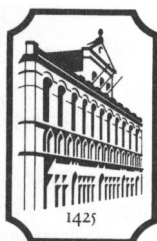
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Iosephus IJsewijn Iano Martínek S. P. D.

Inter nostrae memoriae viros doctos perpauca inveniuntur qui inter temporum et locorum adiuncta asperrima et perquam adversa operam navaverint tanti tamque perpetui pretii quam tu, carissime noster Iane Pragensis. Etenim si patriae tuae monumenta humanistica latina non solum apud tuos denuo innotuerint, sed et apud externos rerum humaniorum studiosos, id tibi praecipua ex parte merito tribuendum est. Quamobrem cum Helena Kurzová, collega tua Pragensis, a me quaesisset quonam modo fieri posset ut capiti tuo septuagenario digna imponeretur corona, ne vel minimum quidem haesitans respondi *Humanisticorum Lovaniensium* volumen tibi libenter oblatum iri, ut et olim Leonardum Forster Cantabrigiensem et Iosaeum Ruyschaert, magistrum nostrum, viros eximie doctos, eodem honore adfecimus. Haud enim dubium est quin tu pari passu per studiorum humanisticorum campos cum illis ambulaveris, maiores etiam salebras fortissimus superaveris ideoque ex ordine tertius ad nostram honoratorum cohortem iustissimo iure iam accedas.

Hanc autem coronam eo libentius tibi offerendam curavi quod non tantum viro docto datur, sed etiam amico integro. Multis iam ab annis te rerum Bohemo-Latinarum scrutatorem sedulum et honestum per litteras noveram, cum ex inopinato satis — quam taetra ista fuerint tempora omnes probe novimus — occasio oblata est te videndi atque coram tecum loquendi. Forte fortuna Academia Bohemo-Slovaca me invitaverat ut mense Martio anni M.D.CCCCLXXXIII de rebus humanisticis orationem apud vos haberem. Itaque feliciter factum est ut die tertio decimo mensis illius alter alterum amplexi simus haud sine magna suavissimaque animi commotione. Tu in stationem ferroviariam Pragensem veneras ut me cum uxore Herbipoli adventantem hospes exciperes. Dein per quinque fere dies fidelissimus dux una cum Dana Martinkova nos comitatus pulcherrimae urbis tuae bibliothecas, templa, aedes ceterasque situs eius amoenitates laetus monstrasti. Diu illis diebus collocuti sumus de opere tuo magno, enchiridio illo Poeseos Bohemo-Latinae numquam satis laudato. Unum te acerrime momordit, futurum esse ut tibi post donatam rudem non liceret opus absolvere. Ista

erant tum tempora, quibus non doctrina sana, non studiosorum utilitas, sed una caecaque praevalebat operandi ratio a publicis magistratibus absque ulla doctrinae melioris cura constituta.

Post iucundam illam, quamquam breviorē consuetudinē ultimum in aeroportu Pragensi vale diximus omnino nescientes num altera umquam nostri videndi occasio daretur. Ad hunc ipsum diem hoc fuit et semper est in votis. Quare hic liber Pragam petet, te adibit, nostram salutem tibi tradet et amici memoris memoriam semper viridem confirmabit. Vale et a litteris Bohemo-Latinis propagandis et illustrandis ne destiteris!

Dedi Lovanio, Idibus Martiis anni M.D.CCCCXCIV.

Irena ZACHOVÁ

### Jan Martínek septuagenarius

Der Jubilar Jan Martínek, in Prag geboren und mit Prag durch sein privates Leben und seine wissenschaftliche Laufbahn verbunden, ist einer der bedeutsamsten Vertreter der tschechischen Klassischen Philologie nach dem Zweiten Weltkriege. Die tschechische humanistisch orientierte Fachwelt kennt ihn vor allem als Mitautor des fünfbandigen musterhaft bearbeiteten Handbuches des humanistischen Schrifttums in Böhmen und Mähren<sup>1</sup>, das glänzend das ehemalige "Kabinett für griechische, römische und lateinische Studien der Tschechoslowakischen Akademie der Wissenschaften" repräsentiert und zu dessen Grundwerken es gehört. Weiter ist Dr. Martínek bekannt als Urheber einer Reihe von Artikeln, die sich mit den verschiedensten Aspekten der humanistischen Kultur beschäftigen, als Editor der in Leipzig von Teubner herausgegebenen Korrespondenz des Bohuslav Hassenstein von Lobkowicz<sup>2</sup>, und *last but not least* als ein vollkommener Kenner des klassischen Lateins, das er souverän in Wort und Schrift beherrscht. Seine Freunde bewundern ihn als einen amüsanten Gesellschafter, einen brillanten Imitator, als Mann mit absolutem Gedächtnis, der im Stande ist, Hunderte von lateinischen und griechischen Versen aus dem Ärmel zu schütteln.

Martíneks Werk ist allerdings auch im Ausland bekannt und hochgeschätzt. Davon zeugen das Interesse an einer Edition des "Handbuches" in lateinischer Sprache von seiten ausländischer Kollegen, Vorträge in Deutschland, die Zusammenarbeit mit ausländischen Fachleuten verwandter Orientierung und letzten Endes auch die Dedikation des Bandes 43 (1994) der Zeitschrift *Humanistica Lovaniensia*.

<sup>1</sup> *Enchiridion renatae poesis Latinae in Bohemia et Moravia cultae - Rukověť humanistického básnictví v Čechách a na Moravě*. Opus ab A. Truhlář et K. Hrdina inchoatum J. Hejnic et J. Martínek continuaverunt. Bisher 5 Bände (Prag 1966-1982).

<sup>2</sup> Bohuslai Hassensteinii a Lobkowicz *Epistulae*. Ediderunt J. Martínek et D. Martínková. Tom. I, *Epistulae de re publica scriptae* (Lipsiae 1969); Tom. II, *Epistulae ad familiares* (1980). Die geläufige Namensform muß eigentlich umgestellt werden (Lobkowicz von Hassenstein), wie Dr. Martínek Herrn Prof. D. Wuttke gelegentlich erzählt hat.



Jan Martínek wurde am 29. September 1924 geboren. Im Jahre 1948 schloß er das Studium der Klassischen Philologie an der Philosophischen Fakultät der Prager Karlsuniversität ab. Bei Prof. J. Dobiáš absolvierte er das historische Seminarium, legte seine Dissertation über Salust vor und wurde 1949 zum Doktor der Alten Geschichte und Klassischen Philologie promoviert. Nach einem kurzen Interludium — er lehrte an einer Mittelschule außerhalb Prags — trat er am 1. Januar 1953 in die damalige Tschechoslowakische Akademie der Wissenschaften ein, wo er auf dem Gebiete der Epigraphik zu arbeiten begann. Im April 1957 wurde er interner Mitarbeiter des Kabinetts für griechische, römische und lateinische Studien, dem er fast vierzig Jahre lang bis zu seiner Versetzung in den Ruhestand als Fach- und später als wissenschaftlicher Mitarbeiter sowie von 1963 an als Leiter der mediävistisch-humanistischen Abteilung treu blieb.

Bald nach seinem Eintritt in die Akademie wurde er, gemeinsam mit seinem Kollegen Josef Hejnic, mit der Aufgabe betraut, der er sein ganzes Leben widmete: er sollte das "Handbuch des humanistischen, insbesondere poetischen Schrifttums in Böhmen und Mähren im XVI. Jahrhundert", das von A. Truhlář 1908 gegründet und von K. Hrdina 1918 fortgesetzt worden war, weiterführen.

Die Produktion der lateinisch schreibenden Humanisten in den Böhmischem Ländern im 16. und am Anfang des 17. Jh. übertraf an Umfang und manchmal auch an Qualität das Schaffen der auf Tschechisch schreibenden Autoren. Die böhmischen Humanisten studierten im Ausland, erhielten Beziehungen zu ihm und gehörten in den Rahmen des europäischen Humanismus. Um ein komplettes Bild der Kultur der damaligen Zeit zu gewinnen, war es also nötig, das humanistische Schrifttum in Böhmen und Mähren systematisch auszuwerten. Es wurde daher geplant, ein alle Autoren biographisch-bibliographisch erfassendes Lexikon zu erstellen. Der erste Pionier des Handbuches, A. Truhlář, stützte sich auf Jirečeks "Handbuch zur Geschichte der böhmischen Literatur bis zum Ende des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts" aus dem Jahre 1875<sup>3</sup>. Er konzipierte eine Enzyklopädie der in Böhmen und Mähren im 16. Jahrhundert entstandenen humanistischen Literatur. Im Jahre 1908 edierte er in seinem Werk nur die Stichwörter *Abel* bis *Caucalius*.<sup>4</sup> Sein

<sup>3</sup> J. Jireček, *Rukověť k dějinám literatury české*, 2 Bde (Praha 1875-76).

<sup>4</sup> A. Truhlář, *Rukověť k písemnictví humanistickému, zvláště básnickému, v Čechách a na Moravě ve století XVI.* (Praha 1908).

Nachfolger K. Hrdina ließ im Jahre 1918 die Stichwörter *Caucasus* bis *Collinus* folgen. Die Arbeit an diesem nützlichen Werk blieb dann einige Jahrzehnte stecken: der erste Band des von Martínek und Hejnic neu konzipierten und treffender benannten Handbuches erschien erst im Jahre 1966.

Beide Handbücher, sowohl das ältere als auch das neue, gingen von den Ergebnissen einer umfangreichen Heuristik in vielen Bibliotheken und Archiven aus, wo man humanistische Drucke und Handschriften erfaßte und analysierte. Die ältere Forschung hatte sich vorwiegend auf die Prager Bibliotheken beschränkt; Hrdina hatte allerdings auch in einigen ausländischen Anstalten gearbeitet, aber eine gründliche, allseitige und systematische Forschung war erst von Martínek und Hejnic inauguriert worden. Zur Zeit des "eisernen Vorhanges" war es keine einfache Aufgabe; in den demokratischen Staaten konnten sie nur am Ende der sechziger und dann erst wieder in den achtziger Jahren arbeiten. Es war außerdem nötig, die Recherchen in den Prager Anstalten fortzusetzen und neue Funde in kleineren Bibliotheken Mährens und der Slowakei auszuwerten. Man durfte ferner mit Recht reiche Funde in den Bibliotheken erwarten, die sich in Schlesien und in der Lausitz, früheren Teilen des alten böhmischen Staates, befinden, sowie in Polen und Sachsen, wo die nichtkatholischen Emigranten nach der Schlacht am Weißen Berge Zuflucht gesucht hatten, und schließlich auch in Schweden, wohin mit der Kriegsbeute im 17. Jahrhundert auch humanistische Bibliotheken geraten waren. Humanistische Bohemica wurden weiter auch in Österreich und anderswo gefunden. Die Recherchen wurden in der ehemaligen Tschechoslowakei und an mehr als vierzig Orten im Ausland durchgeführt. Daraus ergibt sich allerdings nicht, daß man die Suche für abgeschlossen halten darf — neue Funde gibt es ständig. Trotzdem wird das in den fünf Bänden des Handbuches dargestellte Gesamtbild der humanistischen Literatur in Böhmen und Mähren höchstwahrscheinlich durch eventuelle Entdeckungen nicht wesentlich geändert werden.

Der fünfzigjährige Zeitabstand in den Arbeiten am Handbuch wirkte sich vielseitig positiv aus. Martínek und Hejnic fingen nicht vom Nullpunkt aus an; sie konnten Positiva und Negativa des Werkes, an das sie anknüpfen sollten, überprüfen. Sachlich und methodisch zeichnet sich ihr Werk durch höhere Qualität und größere Ansprüche aus; die Stufe der Erschließung der humanistischen schriftlichen Denkmäler ist mit dem Zustand am Anfang des Jahrhunderts unvergleichbar. Während das Programm der Vorgänger im Hinblick auf die Literaturgattungen und

den zeitlichen Rahmen etwas vage blieb, mit Orientierung "besonders" auf die Dichter und zeitlich auf das 16. Jahrhundert beschränkt, entschieden Martínek und Hejnic eindeutig: Aufmerksamkeit wird der Dichtung geschenkt, aber das Handbuch schließt auch Prosawerke der Dichter ein, wobei die Zeitspanne 1471-1620 berücksichtigt wird.

Die Konzeption des Handbuches von Truhlář und Hrdina hatte auch die Schwäche, daß es die Lebensläufe der einzelnen Autoren zu weit-schweifig darstellte, sowie jeden Versuch, antike Literatur nachzuahmen, und jede Dedikation oder Erwähnung, die auch selbständig literarisch nicht schöpferische Personen betraf, registrierte. Martínek und Hejnic lenkten die größte Aufmerksamkeit auf die hervorragenden Vertreter des lateinischen Humanismus; sie schlossen jedoch auch lateinische Gelegenheitsdichter, in kleineren Städten wirkende humanistische Autoren und fremde Humanisten mit bedeutenden Beziehungen zu Böhmen und Mähren ein wie die Engländerin Elisabeth Westonia, den Deutschen Conradus Celtis oder den Limburger Libertus Houtheim. Das Handbuch ist also von Bedeutung für die Renaissancekultur als ganzes. In das Handbuch wurden auch Mäzene der Autoren aufgenommen: Herrscher, Adelige, kirchliche Würdenträger und Bürger. Obwohl Martínek und Hejnic eine strengere Auswahl der einzuschließenden Namen trafen, umfaßt ihr fünfbändiges Werk doch mehr als 3600 Artikel, deren Umfang von zwei Zeilen bis zu einigen Dutzenden von Seiten variiert.

Im Vergleich zu dem Werk aus den Jahren 1908 und 1918 ist auch die Gliederung der Stichwörter viel übersichtlicher, was die Orientierung erleichtert. Die Stichwörter sind alphabetisch gereiht; jedes besteht aus einem biographischen und einem bibliographischen Teil. Der biographische informiert über Geburt, Familie und Konfession des Humanisten, über den Verlauf seiner Studien, die Erlangung von akademischen Würden, über seine Bildungsreisen, über die von ihm wahrgenommenen weltlichen und geistlichen Ämter, über seine Stellung in der Gesellschaft, und endlich auch über Tod und Begräbnis. Wo es möglich und notwendig ist, wird auch der Hintergrund seiner politischen Tätigkeit, der Umfang von persönlichen und schriftlichen Kontakten sowie die Wirkung und Wertung seines Werkes bei den Zeitgenossen erwähnt. Der bibliographische Teil enthält bei den umfangreicheren Stichwörtern drei chronologische Reihen von Werken:

1. die dem Humanisten dedizierten Werke;
2. die eigenen Werke des Humanisten;
3. die Beiträge des Autors in Sammelchriften u. ä.



In die bibliographischen Angaben eingeschlossen sind die nur handschriftlich überlieferten Arbeiten des Autors, endlich auch eine Inhaltsangabe, wobei Martínek und Hejnic die Länge nach der Bedeutung variieren. Die typographische Gestaltung der Stichwörter mit marginal gedruckten Jahreszahlen ist sehr übersichtlich: man kann sich schnell orientieren. Die Stichwörter schließt ein Verzeichnis der Arbeiten über den betreffenden Autor und sein Werk ab. Diese Verzeichnisse sind sehr gründlich, sie enthalten spezielle Studien und allgemeine Literatur, und zwar vom Barock bis zur Gegenwart. Ihre Vollständigkeit ist bewundernswert. Sie sind ein weiterer Beleg für die Qualität von Martíneks und Hejnics heuristischer Arbeit.

Die fünfbändige Grundreihe des Handbuches A-Ž stützt sich auch auf Truhlárs und Hrdinas handschriftliche Vermerke, während das Material für die vorgesehenen Bände VI und VII nur noch von Martínek und Hejnic zusammengetragen wurde.

Die Edition der beiden weiteren Bände blieb leider nur ein *pium desiderium*. Schon im Jahre 1966 referierten Martínek und Hejnic auf der humanistischen Konferenz in Liblice darüber, daß man im Ausland den Wunsch geäußert hatte, das Handbuch oder aber wenigstens Zusammenfassungen der Lebensläufe der hervorragenden Humanisten auf Lateinisch zu haben. Die Empfehlung der Konferenz, aus dem Handbuch eine lateinische Auswahl für das Ausland zu edieren, war allerdings sehr schwierig realisierbar, zumal als man mit Rücksicht auf die reichen Ergebnisse von Recherchen der letzten Jahre den Beschluß faßte, das Handbuch durch einen Band von Zusätzen zu erweitern: der 6. Band sollte im ersten Teil Zusätze zu der alphabetischen Grundreihe enthalten, d. h. Angaben über neu festgestellte Bohemica. Das Stichwortverzeichnis zu diesen Zusätzen beträgt ungefähr 650 Titel. Für den zweiten Teil wurden lateinische Zusammenfassungen der für das Ausland relevanten Stichwörter geplant. Der 7. und letzte Band sollte Register von Personen, Orten, Werken, literarischen Gattungen, Druckern, Sprachen, wissenschaftlichen und künstlerischen Fächern und ein chronologisches Register umfassen. Man plante, daß dieser Band auch einen Katalog der Sammlung von Photographien und Photokopien enthalten sollte, die die beiden Forscher zusammengetragen hatten und die im Institut für klassische Studien in Prag aufbewahrt wird. Diese Sammlung enthält fast sämtliche in Prag nicht vorhandenen humanistischen Bohemica. Obwohl die Arbeiten an den beiden Bänden sehr fortgeschritten waren, erlaubten die Umstände leider nicht, das Werk zu vollenden und die Zusätze zu

publizieren. Das zusammengetragene Material steht jedoch allen Forschern in dem oben angeführten Institut zur Verfügung.

Die heuristischen Arbeiten für das Handbuch waren ein wichtiges und erfolgreiches Kapitel in der Forschungstätigkeit Martíneks. Mit ihren Ergebnissen wurde die Fachwelt seit 1957 regelmäßig in der Zeitschrift *Listy filologické* (Prag) bekannt gemacht. Martínek ermittelte weitere Exemplare von schon bekannten Bohemica; er fand eine Reihe neuer Bohemica, öfters Unikate, in Deutschland, Schweden und Österreich. Einige Funde konnten noch in das Handbuch eingearbeitet werden, die meisten bilden das Grundmaterial für den sechsten Band.

Außer regelmäßig vorgelegten Forschungsberichten erschloß Martínek die Ergebnisse seiner Arbeit auch in einer Reihe von allgemeiner orientierten Artikeln. Diese Studien beschäftigten sich mit der Analyse der Gattungen der humanistischen Dichtung; sie untersuchen ausführlicher Epithalamia und Epicedia; besondere Aufmerksamkeit schenkt Martínek den anlässlich der Bakkalaureus- und Masterpromotionen herausgegebenen Sammelchriften, wobei er darauf hinweist, daß sie eine wichtige Quelle für die Ergänzung unserer Kenntnisse über die Promotionen sind. Andere Beiträge betreffen Nachrichten über nichterhaltene Drucke aus dem 16. und 17. Jahrhundert, wobei die möglichen Ursachen der Verluste analysiert werden. Aufmerksamkeit wird auch den Sammelbänden gewidmet, ihrer Geschichte und der Art und Weise, auf die die Bibliotheken die Bücher gewannen. Jede von diesen Studien schließt eine solche Menge von Grund- und Vergleichungsmaterial ein und ist so komplex bearbeitet, daß ihre Schlüsse ganz zuverlässig sind.

Noch ein weiteres Forschungsinteresse Martíneks hängt mit der Arbeit an dem Handbuch zusammen. Es betrifft das humanistische Schulwesen in den Böhmisches Ländern. Besondere Aufmerksamkeit hat er der Prager Universität geschenkt, die die literarische Tätigkeit in ihrem Wirkungsbereich stark beeinflusste, daneben auch den lateinischen Partikularschulen in Böhmen und Mähren. Martínek zeigt, wie das Studium der humanistischen Dichtung unserer Kenntnis des Einflusses der Universität auf die Entfaltung der humanistischen literarischen Tätigkeit beiträgt. Er stellte fest, daß die unter dem Einfluß anderer Hochschulen stehenden Gebiete geringere literarische Tätigkeit aufweisen als die von der Prager Universität beeinflussten Regionen. Methodisch besonders vorbildlich ist seine Studie zur Partikularschule in der Kleinstadt Vraclav. Er erforschte außerdem den Einfluß der Prager Universität auf das Mittelschulwesen, das meistens unter ihrem Patronat stand, und

belegte, wie das Studium der humanistischen Literatur oft ermöglicht, die Schüler an den Partikularschulen festzustellen, wie es die Schulmatrikeln suppliert, die Lehrer feststellen hilft und zur Erkenntnis der Geschichte der einzelnen Schulen beiträgt.

Als Parerga bei der Arbeit an dem Handbuch entstand auch eine Reihe von Artikeln, in denen einzelne bedeutende Persönlichkeiten des böhmisch-lateinischen Humanismus verfolgt werden. So beschäftigte Martínek sich mit der Frage der Beziehung der hervorragenden böhmischen Humanisten Bohuslaus Lobkowicz von Hassenstein, Matthaeus Collinus, Georgius Carolides und Johannes Campanus zu der Prager Akademie, und er schenkte dem im kulturellen Leben seiner Zeit wichtigen Mäzen Johannes Hoddeiovinus Sr. und den Mitgliedern seines Dichterkreises Aufmerksamkeit. Er schrieb auch über Všehrd, Augustinus Moravus (Käsenbrot), und bearbeitete ausführlich und allseitig die merkwürdige Persönlichkeit des größten böhmischen Humanisten Bohuslaus Lobkowicz von Hassenstein. Es entstanden Studien über Lobkowicz' Beziehung zur Prager Universität, über seine humanistische Schule auf der Burg Hassenstein und über sein Leben, dazu weitere Aufsätze, die Lobkowicz als Schriftsteller und Dichter sowie seine Beziehungen zur böhmischen Kultur bewerten. Bei der Vorbereitung der Edition von Lobkowicz' Korrespondenz ergaben sich als Parerga einige wichtige Artikel über Neudatierungen seiner Briefe. Neuerdings kam noch ein Aufsatz über einen bisher unbekannten Autograph Lobkowicz' hinzu. Den kleineren Vertretern des böhmischen Humanismus widmete Martínek gleichfalls eine Reihe von Zeitschriftartikeln.

Zu Martíneks früheren Forschungen gehören Studien zur Geographie und Topographie Böhmens: sie haben humanistische Lobreden auf das Land, das Lob des Landeslebens und Beschreibungen von Renaissance- und Barock-Gärten zum Thema. Hierher reihen sich auch onomastische Arbeiten über die Bedeutung der humanistischen Beschreibungen von Landesgütern für das Studium der Toponomastik und über die lateinische Toponomastik zur Zeit des Humanismus. Auch diese Arbeiten zeigen, was für eine reiche Informationsquelle die humanistischen dichterischen Schriften sein können.

Ein weiteres Gebiet von Martíneks Interesse waren die Beziehungen der deutschen Humanisten zu Böhmen: in dieser Richtung waren nämlich die Kontakte aus geopolitischen und kulturellen Gründen am regsten. Einige Aufsätze über dieses Thema publizierte Martínek in tschechoslowakischen Zeitschriften, einige erschienen in deutschen. Mit den

Ergebnissen seiner Forschungen, die für die Humanismusforschung in Deutschland relevant sind, wurden deutsche Forscher systematisch bekanntgemacht.

Martínek's Publikationstätigkeit<sup>5</sup>, die ich hier nicht ausführlicher würdigen kann, verdient höchste Anerkennung sowohl im Hinblick auf ihren Umfang als auch im Hinblick auf die Art und Weise der Bearbeitung jedes Themas. Seine Arbeiten sind gekennzeichnet durch Akribie, Präzision und Klarheit. Seine Sprache ist lebendig und kultiviert. An diesem Ort möchte ich betonen, daß Martínek nicht einmal unter der kommunistischen Regierung an sich selbst Verrat beging: er hat nie eine Zeile drucken lassen, deretwegen er sich heute schämen müßte. Er hat nicht nur über Humanisten geschrieben, er ist selbst ein Humanist.

In seinen Zeitschriftenartikeln und besonders in der zweibändigen Teubner-Edition der Korrespondenz Bohuslav Lobkowicz' von Hasenstein, die er mit seiner Frau vorbereitet hat, zeigte Martínek seine Herausgeberqualitäten. Der erste Band aus dem Jahre 1969 enthält drei umfangreiche Briefe, von denen der dritte nur aus einer tschechischen Übersetzung vom Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts bekannt war. Die lateinische Vorlage hatte 1961 P. O. Kristeller entdeckt und die Martínek's bearbeiteten sofort den Brief und reihten ihn in ihre Edition ein. Der zweite Band aus dem Jahre 1980 bringt 191 Briefe, deren Empfänger oder Absender Lobkowicz war. Einige davon fehlen in den früheren Editionen von Mitis, Potuček und Truhlář. Die Edition ist mit einem gründlichen textkritischen und umfangreichen Anmerkungsapparat versehen. Die Herausgeber schenken der richtigen Datierung der Briefe und den sachlichen Erklärungen ihre besondere Aufmerksamkeit. Sie nahmen auch Stellung zu den unterschiedlichen Ansichten der älteren Editoren. Eine von der tschechoslowakischen Akademie herausgegebene zweisprachige Anthologie der tschechischen neulateinischen Renaissance-Poesie<sup>6</sup> versah Martínek mit einer einleitenden Studie und Lebensbeschreibungen der einzelnen in die Auswahl eingeschlossenen Autoren. Noch im Bereich der neulateinischen Poesie hat Martínek einige Male gemahnt, wie notwendig es wäre, Lobkowicz' dichterisches Werk zu edieren, zeigte aber gleichzeitig durch seine perfekte und mit ausführlichen Kommentaren ausgestattete kritische Edition eines dieser Ge-

<sup>5</sup> Vgl. die Bibliographie in *Folia historica Bohemica* 7 (Prag 1984), 474-488 und das Supplement am Ende dieser *Vita*.

<sup>6</sup> *Renata Poesis. Edidit et in linguam Bohemicam vertit* Helena Businská. *Praefatus est et vitas auctorum Latinas necnon Bohemicas scripsit* Jan Martínek (Pragae 1975).

dichte<sup>7</sup>, wie anspruchsvoll solche Edition wäre, wenn man sie nach seinen Intentionen realisieren würde. Schließlich fertigte er selbst Editionen an von den kleineren Dichtern, wie z. B. Kepler.<sup>8</sup>

Martíneks vollkommene Kenntnis der klassischen Sprachen bestimmte ihn voraus auch als wissenschaftlichen Redakteur des vom Kabinett für griechische, römische und lateinische Studien der Tschechoslowakischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (jetzt Institut für klassische Studien) herausgegebenen Wörterbuches des mittelalterlichen Lateins<sup>9</sup>. Er redigierte das Lexikon zehn Jahre lang, und wie jede Aufgabe, nahm er auch diese seriös und gewissenhaft wahr. Auch inoffiziell bot er immer sehr willig und uneigennützig Konsultationen an, revidierte Arbeiten, deren Autoren seine Kenntnisse und Erfahrungen hochschätzen; er stand mit Rat und Tat bei Übersetzungen von Gelegenheitstexten zur Seite und beantwortete eine Unmenge Fachfragen.

Auch Martíneks Rezensionen und Referate sind immer bereichernd. Er begnügt sich nie mit reinen Inhaltsreferaten. Seine Rezensionen bringen Präzisierungen, Ergänzungen, neue Aspekte der Problemstellung und zeugen von der umfassenden Erudition des Rezensenten. Er schreibt nie so, daß sich der Autor der besprochenen Arbeit gekränkt fühlen kann. Nicht-tschechische Leser kennen den Rezensenten Martínek aus Besprechungen, die er auf Deutsch oder Latein vorwiegend in der Zeitschrift *Listy filologické* publiziert hat.

In seiner Eigenschaft als wissenschaftlicher Leiter des Kabinetts erzog Martínek auch junge Forscher. Er ist ein Mensch, der außerordentliche Kenntnisse nicht nur besitzt, sondern sie auch weitergeben kann. Er ist streng und anspruchsvoll, vor allen Dingen sich selbst gegenüber, und dies imponiert jungen Leuten sehr. Er widmete sich jungen Wissenschaftlern so, daß sie unter seiner Leitung bald ausreifen und begannen, erfolgreich selbständig zu arbeiten. Schade, daß das totalitäre Regime Martínek nicht erlaubte, an der Universität zu lehren, da er für diese Tätigkeit die besten Voraussetzungen gehabt hätte.

<sup>7</sup> J. M., "De falsa litterarum gloria Bernhardo Adelmanno adfecta", *Listy filologické* 108 (1985), 204-217. Er identifizierte z. b. in diesem Gedicht von 154 Versen mehr als siebenzig Klassikerstellen.

<sup>8</sup> J. M., "Neznámá báseň Jana Keplera. Keplerovo blahopřání k magisterské promoci Melichara Mathebaea", *Acta Universitatis Carolinae - Historia Universitatis Carolinae Pragensis* 15 (1975), fasc. 1, S. 7-17.

<sup>9</sup> Das letzte erschienene Heft ist: *Sborník středověké latiny v českých zemích - Latinitatis Medii Aevi Lexicon Bohemorum*, 14. Heliodromus - Kytonicus (Prag, Academia, 1993), Ss. 961-1057.

Nicht zuletzt muß auch Martínek's Vortragstätigkeit erwähnt werden. Er trug im In- und Ausland, besonders in der letzten Zeit in Deutschland, vor. Er ist imstande, in freier Rede vorzutragen, und sich dabei fest an den Plan zu halten und ohne Digressionen an das Ziel zu gelangen. Neben dem Tschechischen beherrscht er fehlerfrei Deutsch und Lateinisch. Anläßlich eines Besuches von Professor Jozef IJsewijn im Kabinett für griechische, römische und lateinische Studien eröffnete Martínek den Vortrag und leitete dann die Diskussion absolut souverän auf Lateinisch.

Jan Martínek kann aus Anlaß seines Jubiläums mit dem Bewußtsein Bilanz ziehen, daß er immer mit vollem Einsatz, mit voller Verantwortung und mit Liebe zur Wissenschaft gearbeitet hat. Sein großes Lebenswerk kann ihn mit Fug und Recht mit Freude erfüllen, denn es ist das Werk eines sachkundigen, ehrenhaften und geraden Menschen.

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Tschechische Republik.

Nachträge und Ergänzungen zu der in *Folia historica Bohemica*, 7 (Prag, 1984), 474-488, veröffentlichten Bibliographie

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202. "Satirik bělohorské doby Michal Pěčka z Radostic", *ZJKF*, 19 (1977), 1-3, 65-66.
203. "Pamfletistická činnost Michala Pěčky z Radostic a její předbělohorské kořeny", *Strahovská knihovna*, 18-19 (1983-1984), 117-125.
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205. "Husův annaberský dopis a Ienisiowa sbírka", *LF*, 107 (1984), 118-120.
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213. "Literární zprávy o škole ve Vraclavi u Vysokého Mýta v letech 1572-1598", *AUC-HUCP*, 27, fasc. 2 (1987), 67-80.
214. "Humanisté a mecenáši", *LF*, 110 (1987), 25-31.
215. "Die neulateinischen Bohemica in München und Wolfenbüttel", *LF*, 111 (1988), 163-168.
216. "Úloha latiny jako dorozumívacího jazyka v soudobé vědě", *LF*, 111 (1988), 210-219.
217. "Die Einstellung der böhmischen Humanisten zu den Nationalsprachen". *Studien zum Humanismus in den Böhmisches Ländern*. Herausgegeben von Hans-Bernd Harder und Hans Rothe unter Mitwirkung von Jaroslav Kolár und Slavomír Wollman, Schriften des Komitees der Bundesrepublik Deutschland zur Förderung der slawischen Studien, 11 (Köln-Wien, Böhlau Verlag, 1988), pp. 291-302.
218. "Bohuslai a Lobkowicz in Thomam Bakócz de Erdöd carmen", *LF*, 112 (1989), 97-103.
219. "De Magistro Campano regni Hungarici laudatore", *LF*, 113 (1990), 52-56.
220. "De renatarum litterarum fontibus nuper reclusis", *LF*, 113 (1990), 153-160.
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223. Stichwort "Lobkowicz und Hassenstein, Bohuslaus von", *Literaturlexikon. Autoren und Werke deutscher Sprache*. Herausgegeben von Walther Killy, Bd. 7 (Gütersloh-München, Bertelsmann Lexikon Verlag, 1990), pp. 315-316.
224. "De humanioris aevi operibus Bohemicis, quae Monaci Bavarorum asservantur", *LF*, 114 (1991), 184-194.
225. "Humanistische Bohemica in ausländischen Bibliotheken", *Studien zum Humanismus in den Böhmisches Ländern. Ergänzungsheft, Vorträge und Studien einer Arbeitstagung, Marburg a. d. Lahn, September 1987*. Herausgegeben von Hans-Bernd Harder und Hans Rothe unter Mitwirkung von Jaroslav Kolár und Slavomír Wollman (Köln-Wien, Böhlau Verlag, 1991), pp. 1-6.
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229. "*Iohannis Amos Comenii opera omnia - Dílo Jana Ámose Komenského*, 15/I (Praha, Academia, 1986)", *LF*, 111 (1988), 188-189.
230. "Stephan Füssel, *Riccardus Bartholinus Perusinus. Humanistische Panegyrik am Hofe Kaiser Maximilians I.*", *Saecula spiritalia*, herausgegeben von Dieter Wuttke, Band 16, (Baden-Baden, Valentin Koerner, 1987), *LF*, 111 (1988), 247-248.
231. "Jozef IJsewijn, *Companion to Neo-Latin Studies*, Part 1. *History and Diffusion of Neo-Latin Literature*, second, entirely rewritten edition (Leuven, University Press - Peeters Press, 1990)", *LF*, 114 (1991), 305-306.
232. "Příprava dodatků k Rukověti humanistického básnictví", *Strahovská knihovna*, 18-19 (1983-1984), 289-292.
233. "Eine Marburger Tagung zu Fragen des Humanismus", *LF*, 111 (1988), 44.

## Abkürzungen:

AUC-HUCP	Acta Universitatis Carolinae - Historia Universitatis Carolinae Pragensis
LF	Listy filologické
VČSAV	Věstník Československé akademie věd
ZJKF	Zprávy Jednoty klasických filologů



Jozef IJSEWIJN  
With G. Tournoy, D. Sacré, Line IJsewijn-Jacobs,  
M. Verweij, and Monique Mund-Dopchie.

LITTERAE AD CRANEVELDIUM  
BALDUINIANAE  
A Preliminary Edition.

3. Letters 56 - 85  
(May-October 1521)

Edited by J. IJSEWIJN, D. SACRÉ, G. TOURNOY and M. VERWEIJ<sup>1</sup>

Introductory Note.

This is the third batch of unpublished letters to and from Cranevelt, which follows the first and the second series of letters edited in *HL* 41 (1992), 1-85 [letters 1-30], and 42 (1993), 2-51 [letters 31-55]. The edition is prepared according to the same principles as the 1992 publication. It is again the result of the close collaboration between the persons mentioned in the preface to the first edition. Moreover, a grant of the National Bank of Belgium enabled us to engage the cooperation of Dr. Michiel Verweij from October 1993 onwards. Thanks to his help the remaining letters (86-117) will be ready for publication in the 1995 volume of this journal.

Mr. Noel Geirnaert (Bruges) suggested a different explanation regarding the banquet in Bruges which Vives mentions at the end of letter 55, written on 29 April 1521. He thinks it very likely that Vives was referring to the feast of the Holy Blood, which was traditionally held on the Monday following the first Sunday of May and for which Bruges is famous until the present day.

Jozef IJsewijn.

<sup>1</sup> We are most grateful to Dr. G. H. Tucker (Cambridge), member of the editorial board of *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, and R. W. Truman (Oxford), who have corrected and improved our English.

**Ep. 56. J. Fevynus (Bruges) to Fr. Cranevelt (Bruges).**

57 (f.80)

&lt;after 05 V 1521&gt;

A severe but, in Fevynus's opinion, correct judgement by the "Areopagus" has finally been published. If Cranevelt wants to read it, Fevynus will bring it along himself. A friend had lent him his copy on condition that Fevynus returned it immediately. However, Fevynus did not want to do that before Cranevelt too had read it; he had, therefore, delayed restoring it to its owner.

It seems that this is a note which Fevynus left for Cranevelt when he called at the latter's house with the text but did not find him at home. That could explain the third sentence: "I had come to you so that we might look through the text; after which I would give it back to its owner."

Fevynus must be speaking of a judgement by a High Court, which a humanist could call an "Areopagus". In ancient Athens the Areopagus was the highest court in matters of state government. Moreover, it is clear that a decision of a local court in Bruges would have been known to Cranevelt before it was to Fevynus. One may think, therefore, of the High Court in Mechelen, which had jurisdiction over the whole Burgundian Netherlands or, more probably, of the High Court of Flanders in Ghent. The father of Antoon van Schoonhove / Sconhovieus, a canon of St. Donatian's and, therefore, a colleague of Fevynus, was procurator-general of that Court. If Antoon was Fevynus's friend mentioned in the letter, it is clear how he could have got such quick and confidential information.

S.P. Prodiit aliquando illud Areopagitarum iudicium<sup>1</sup>, severum quidem et, ut opinor, incorruptum. Illud si voles legere, vel ipse deferam. Nam ea de causa adieram ego te, quo percurreremus, ac deinde illi restituerem, abs quo acceperam. Ea enim lege amicus communicavit ut statim referrem. Quod quum noluerim, nisi prius<sup>2</sup> legisses, adhuc aliquantum distuli.

Vale.

Fevynus.

*A tergo: Domino F<rancisco> Craneveldio.*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Cic., *Fam.* XIII 1.5: "decretum illud Areopagitarum" (Erasmus, *Adage* I ix 41 = 841)

<sup>2</sup> The reading of this word is uncertain.

**Ep. 57. Robertus Regius (England) to Fr. Cranevelt (Bruges).**

58 (f.81)

20 IV &lt;1521&gt;

[Received after 05 V 1521]

Regius thanks Cranevelt for his letter of recommendation to Thomas More. He will never forget it and remains at Cranevelt's disposition if ever he can render him a service. Regius has heard that More is already in Bruges or about to be. If he had other interesting news he would send it; but as he is staying in the country, he only has rural news.

We can be certain that Regius was the former servant of Marcus Laurinus, who brought letter 20 to Vives at Louvain towards the end of November 1520 and on whose behalf Fevynus asked Cranevelt for a letter of recommendation to More when Regius was leaving for England in March 1521 (See letter 43). If he was a Flemming, his real name may have been De Koninck or a variant of it.

The letter is written "ex aedibus castralibus" which probably indicates some English "Castle", "Hall" or "Manor". Obviously, there was no town nearby.

Circumspecto Domino Francisco Craneveldio Robertus Regius S. D.

Quod me dudum, Reverende imprimis Domine Francisce, Domino Thomae Moro tuis litteris commendaveris, habeo immortalem gratiam, habeboque dum vivam. Quam utinam mearum esset virium referre! Hoc unum tamen crede: si unquam ulla dabitur facultas, faciam intelliges tuam commendationem non fuisse vulgarem<sup>1</sup> ac illam in ingratum non contulisse. Quamobrem si quid est huiusmodi<sup>2</sup> quod per me factum aut curatum velis apud nos, velim iubeas ac ultro parebo iubenti.

Audivi Thomam Morum aut iam esse aut brevi apud vos futurum; quem eque ac meipsum opto bene valere. Si quid praeterea novi ac scitu dignum existimarem, libentissime impartirer, sed qui totus sum ruralis, que [[su]] ruris sunt solum sapio et audio.

Vale, optime Craneveldi, Brugensibus diu superstes! Ex aedibus castralibus nostris, vicesima Aprilis.

Tuus ad iussa paratissimus  
servulus Robertus Regius.

A tergo: Praestantiss<imo> viro ac Iureconsul/tiss<imo>, Domino M<agistro> Francisco / Craneveldio. Brugis.

<sup>1</sup> Cp. in letter 17 (from Vives), ll. 49-50: "Nec velim existimes commendationem hanc meam quamlibet esse de vulgaribus illis."

<sup>2</sup> Reading uncertain. The abbreviated word ("ho...") is written above the line.

**Ep. 58.** J. Fevynus <Bruges> to Fr. Cranevelt (Bruges)

59 (f.82)

[After 05.V.1521]

On p. 18 of Erasmus's *Chiliades*, which Cranevelt had referred to in a letter, Fevynus has been looking in vain for mention of the words "curruca", "hypolaida", "cuculus" and "coryx", whose meaning they had debated. Nor did he find it in the preceding and following sections. The question remains open whether or not the "coryx" is the bird we call "cuculus" (cuckoo).

In letter 60 Cranevelt will explain that Fevynus had misunderstood him, probably because of his bad handwriting. Fevynus had been looking in the eighth edition of the *Chiliades*, whereas Cranevelt was referring to the first edition of the *Adagia*, which had not yet been arranged as "Chiliads". Cranevelt specifies that the edition used by him had been published in Paris sixteen years or so earlier. Cranevelt's references are puzzling: the first edition was published in Paris in 1500, more than twenty years earlier. The second, slightly augmented version, printed in Paris in 1506, seems to fit better the lapse of "sixteen years". Furthermore, the mention of an "eighth" edition is strange. In October 1520 Froben had published in Basel the seventh edition (which one can suppose Fevynus was using), whereas the eighth followed only in 1523.

In the first edition of the *Veterum maximeque insignium paroemiarum id est adagiorum collectanea* (Paris 1500) there is indeed an entry [nr. 171] "Curruca, cuculus" on f. Cii<sup>v</sup>, which was not included in the later *Chiliades*. Its text is as follows:

"Nostra tempestate 'cuculos' vocat vulgus, quorum uxores alii possident. Verum Iuvenalis eiusmodi maritum 'currucam'<sup>1</sup> vocat. Eam avem putat esse Domitius, quam Aristoteles in Libris *De Animalium Naturis* "hypolaida" nominat. In huius nidum cuculum ova sua supponere. Ea illam educare pro suis, etiamsi Plinius *cocycem* (sic enim Greci / cuculum vocant) in palumbium nidos sua ova subdere scribit. Quod si eadem est latine curruca, que grece hypolais, mire in adulterae maritum convenit, alienam pro sua adamantem et alienos liberos pro suis educantem. Porro que alius nescioquis Vallensis de huruca adfert, coactiora mihi videntur. Cuculum autem vocat Plautus adulterum maritum, tanquam qui ova sua in alienis nidis disponat. Sic enim Arthemone maritum in meretricis sinum deprehensum eiiciens: 'At etiam, inquit, cubat cuculus;' pauloque post: 'Cano, inquit, capite te cuculum uxor ex lustris rapit.'"

The second part of Fevynus's letter records other classical reading by the two friends, viz. Cicero's *Letters to Atticus*. In the summer of 1520 Joannes Borsalus had sent that text to Fevynus: see letter 24, ll. 26-29. Cranevelt found letter 4 exceedingly obscure (Fevynus does not mention which book of the *Letters* is meant). Fevynus replies that it is no wonder: read the other books, and especially letters 18 and 19 of the same book, and you will see! The reason is that they were written during the civil war, that Atticus's sharp mind would have

<sup>1</sup> "cur(r)uca" is a false reading of a bird's name, "uruca", in some manuscripts of Juvenal, VI 276. Cf. *ThLL* s.v. [curuca].

understood the allegories and, finally, that they could have fallen into hostile hands.

It is not easy to know which of the sixteen books of letters Cranevelt and Fevynus had in mind. The mention of the civil war implies that it is not any letters written before 49 B. C., at least if Fevynus's historical knowledge was accurate. It could be book IX.

S.D. Posteaquam tuas accepi litteras, revolvi denuo Chiliades et, monitore te, pagellam 18, ut in qua tuo libello inveneris id, quod hesterno die querebamus in meo. At nihil eorum, que profers, repperi, etiamsi centurias aliquot circum vicinas pervolverim. Quare ut me paucis absolvam, facile assentior tibi ut referamus ad vulgi sensum, sed aqua heret utrum quam nos cuculum avem vocamus corycem eandem putes. Obscuriora enim visa sunt quaedam in epistola tua propter vocabulorum congeriem: curruca, hipolaida, cuculus, cocyx.

Quod autem ais vel Oedipo coniectore opus epistola Tullii ad Atticum quarta, non erit mirum si et reliquos vores libros, et curiosule percurras eiusdem libri decimam octavam et sequentem. Sic tum res in tumultu praesertim civili expostulabant; deinde, quod erat Attici ingenium, nihil erat quod illius allegorias non facile<sup>1</sup> caperet. Proinde ut in iis ne anxie nos torqueamus, cum noluerit intelligi et committende erant huiusmodi littere; que etiam si intercepte fuissent, nihil admodum iacture sibi forsitan fecissent.

Vale.

Tuus Fevynus.

A *tergo*: Doctiss<imo> et longe humaniss<imo> / viro, D<omino> et  
Magistro / Francisco Craneveldio./  
Brugas.

**Ep. 59. Fr. Cranevelt (Bruges) to J. Fevynus (Bruges)**

60 (f.83)

[After 05 V 1521]

This seemingly unfinished letter is an extremely interesting answer to Fevynus's long letter (no. 54) about "pietas" and "superstitio". Cranevelt agrees with Fevynus when the latter says he prefers to be "pius", but the prob-

<sup>1</sup> "facile" was added above the line.

lem remains of distinguishing between true religion and superstition. To know that, we would need the golden bough which Aeneas had taken from a tree during his descent into the underworld. Furthermore, if it is open to everyone not to obey the decrees of the public authorities, every political system will collapse and all established order vanish. On the other hand, if by divine ordinance one has to obey all and any such decrees, one must fear that the things commanded will often be ungodly. The Gospel and St. Paul oblige us to obey our superiors, and there would be no merit in obeying only when the things commanded were those enjoined by divine law which it would in any case be a crime to disregard...

Here the letter breaks off.

Legi suaviss<imas> litteras tuas, mi Fevyne, tuamque sententiam, sed ioco dictam, sic tamen ut malis haberi pius quam superstitiosus. Sic est profecto, mi Fevyne! Nemo non idem profitetur, sed discernere que tandem vera sit pietas, que supersticiosa numinis reverentia,

“Hoc opus, hic labor est. Pauci, quos equus amavit  
Iuppiter aut ardens evexit ad aethera virtus,  
Diis geniti potuere; tenent media omnia silvae  
Cocytusque sinu labens circumfluit atro.”<sup>1</sup>

Nam priusquam discrimen illud videre possimus, decerpendus est ramus ille aureus

“Junoni infernae dictus sacer; hunc tegit omnis  
Lucus et obscuris claudunt convallibus umbrae”,<sup>2</sup> etc.

Si cuique liberum sit pro suo arbitrio magistratuum decretis non parere, tollitur omne vinculum rerum publicarum, et brevi continget ut [[suis]] quisque moribus abutens pulcherrimum tollat ordinem rerum; contra, si ex Dei prescripto parendum sit quibusvis magistratuum edictis, verendum ne sepe sint impia que mandantur. Scimus quis dixerit: “Super cathedram Mosi sederunt scribae et pharisaei. Quaecumque dixerint vobis, facite.”<sup>3</sup> Et Paulus precepit obediri etiam difficilibus prepositis et iniusta quedam imperantibus.<sup>4</sup> Nec esset ulla laus patientie et obedientie, si his dumtaxat preceptis esset parendum, quibus ea precipiuntur, ad que iure divino sumus alioqui obligati, sed scelus esset ea citra preceptum preterisse...

<sup>1</sup> Verg., *Aen.* VI 129-132.

<sup>2</sup> Verg., *Aen.* VI 137-139.

<sup>3</sup> Matth. 23.2-3.

<sup>4</sup> Cranevelt probably had in mind *Hebr.* 13.17: “Obedite praepositis vestris et subiacete eis.”

**Ep. 60.** Fr. Cranevelt (Bruges) to J. Fevynus (Bruges)

61 (f. 84)

&lt;mid-May 1521&gt;

Another unfinished (or partly lost?) letter, in which Cranevelt initially returns to the philological problem of “cuculus / cocyx”: Fevynus has been looking in the wrong edition, viz. the eighth of the *Chiliades* instead of the first of the *Adages*, probably because he could not read Cranevelt’s handwriting in the letter where Cranevelt had referred to Erasmus’s *Adages*. For the problem of the first and the eighth editions see letter 58.

However, Cranevelt’s interest is deflected from that philological problem by the arrival of Latomus’s book against Luther. This letter proves that Latomus’s *Articulorum doctrinae Fratris Martini Lutheri per theologos Lovanienses damnatorum ratio ex Sacris litteris et veteribus tractatoribus* (NK 1329), which came from the press in Antwerp on 8 May 1521, was available in Bruges only a few days later. On that treatise see L. Vinken, “Jacobus Latomus en Maarten Luther: de botsing van twee visies op theologie”, in J. M. Van Eijl (ed.), *Facultas S. Theologiae Lovaniensis 1432-1797. Bijdragen tot haar Geschiedenis*, Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium, 45 (Leuven, 1977), pp. 299-311.

Cranevelt takes a rather critical stance against Latomus’s method and arguments: Latomus simply copies out the texts of his opponents appending some remarks of his own. Many of the arguments which he considers to give strong support to his thesis can very easily be turned against him. In the case of the hearing of confession (Cranevelt uses the term “secret confession”) Latomus’s aim seems to be to refute Erasmus’s arguments, which are consonant with those of Leo [the Great], but if Latomus’s interpretation of texts of Greek authors such as Origen and John Chrysostom is correct, then Gratian and his source Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury, are wrong. In the margin a reference is added: *De pen<itentia> dis<tinctio> I, c<aput> vlti<mum>*.

This refers to a text of the *Decretum Gratiani*, viz. *pars secunda, causa 33, quaestio 3, De poenitentia, distinctio 1, c. 90* (the last chapter indeed. See Migne, *Patrologia Latina* 187, col. 1562-63, or old editions such as Venice 1528): “Quidam Deo solummodo confiteri debere peccata dicunt, ut Graeci. Quidam vero sacerdotibus confitenda esse percensent, ut tota fere sancta Ecclesia.... Sed tamen Apostoli institutio nobis sequenda est, ut confiteamur alterutrum peccata nostra et oremus pro invicem ut salvemur. Confessio itaque, quae soli Deo fit, quod est iustorum, purgat peccata. Ea vero, quae sacerdoti fit, docet qualiter ipsa purgantur peccata.”

In the chapter heading the text is attributed to Theodore of Canterbury [viz. Theodore of Tarsus, sent to Canterbury by pope Vitalian. He arrived in England in 669 and died there as archbishop in 690. His name is attached to a long penitential manual which in matters of penitential practice became standard in the Roman Catholic Church for the Middle Ages. See F. W. Bolton, *A History of Anglo-Latin Literature 597-1066*. Vol. I, 597-740 (Princeton 1967), pp. 58-62]. The commentary on the text, however, points out that it is not found in

Theodore's work, but in the conclusions of the 2nd council of Chalon-sur-Saône (813) under the name of Theodulphe.

Cranevelt will have found the opinion of Pope Leo the Great in the penultimate chapter of Gratian's *Distinctio* quoted above (Migne, l. c. , col. 1562), the heading of which is as follows: "Sufficit illa confessio quae primum Deo, deinde sacerdoti offertur. Item Leo Papa, epist. LXXVIII, al. LXXX." Leo himself is frequently quoted in Latomus's work also, e. g. f. q ii<sup>o</sup> on secret confession.

S<alutem> P<lurimam>. Ex litteris tuis<sup>1</sup> coniicio, mi Fevyne, meas tibi non satis intellectas. Id ego vel scripturae mearum litterarum<sup>2</sup> minus eleganti, quae festinanti excidit, vel ineptae cuidam obscuritati tribuo. Accidit enim ut quibus obscurum sit ingenium, his eciam stilus simile<sup>3</sup> quiddam pariat, in quo ipsius mentis ipsissimum quoddam simulachrum deprehendas.

Evolvisti, me monitore, pagellam decimam octavam, sed editionis octavae *Chiliadum*, cum ego me repperisse in prima *Adagiorum* editione scripsissem, quae ante annos ferme XVI fuit facta Parisiis, quum nondum *Chiliadum* nomen celebraretur. Nam eo tempore vix unam Chilia-dem proverbiorum expleverat et paucis absolverat Eras<mus> noster, ut gustum dumtaxat quendam eius operis exhibuisse videretur, quod orbi postea tam vehementer placuit.

Ego vero iam nunc floccifacio cuculos, currucas et cocycem, quum iam videlicet<sup>4</sup> ad nos pervenerit disertissimus liber D<omini> Latomi, in quo Lutheranos plane profligavit, sed hoc in primis quaesisse videtur ut Erasmi iudicium convellat et prima statim pagella, suppresso nomine, calumniari causarique adversarios dicit et Erasmi iudicium inimici detractiones vocat<sup>5</sup>. Videbis quibus argumentis agat, quam e longinquo petitis atque prolixis, ut aliena volumina suis infulciat, ac deinde illud de suo addat: "nota primo, nota 2<sup>o</sup>, perpende tercio...", quam frequenter ea que pro se firme tradit, in ipsum possint retorqueri. In materia confessionis clancu-

<sup>1</sup> "Tuis" was added above the line.

<sup>2</sup> "mearum litterarum" was also added above the line.

<sup>3</sup> "simile" added above the line.

<sup>4</sup> "videlicet" written above the line.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. the dedication of Latomus's work on [f. a i<sup>o</sup>]: "Mitto tibi, Rod<olphe> charissime, articulorum a Lovaniensibus theologis damnatorum rationem, quam proximis vacationibus publice reddidi, partim amicorum precibus, partim *inimicorum detractionibus* compulsus. Isti eum [*sic pro* "enim"! ] sine causa damnatos esse *calumniabantur*, illi vero instrui petebant... Neque deerant, qui charitatis ordinem praetermissum esse *causarentur* in damnando eum, qui non prius monitus aut convictus fuisset...



larie defendenda Erasmi rationes, quibus Leo<sup>6</sup> respondit, videtur dissolvere voluisse, sed tamen<sup>7</sup> ubi ad talem disputationem pervenit, admodum frigide dimicanterque respondet; et ex probationibus, quas affert ex Origine, Chrysostomo ceterisque existimare videtur eum apud Grecos huius rei usum fuisse<sup>8</sup>; quum si id verum sit, erraverit plane Gratianus et, quem ille citat nominatim<sup>9</sup>, Theodorus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus,<sup>10</sup>

**Ep. 61 J. L. Vives (Louvain) to Fr. Cranevelt (Bruges)**

62 (ff. 85-86)

22 V 1521

Received 24 V 1521

Vives has not written since 1 May or so because he has been ill all the time. He still does not feel really well. Although he is suffering less, the "root" cause of more than one bout of illness is still deep inside him and cannot easily be eradicated. The date of 1 May is roughly correct. The preceding letter, our no. 55 [*HL* 42 (1993), pp. 49-51], was written on 29 April.

The subsequent matter of the letter suggests that Vives's problems were at least partially psychosomatic. Boorish Louvain and its awful food, he writes, are not to his taste. He feels so moody that not even his books and all the Muses can help him, and all the philosophers may likewise go to hell. As a matter of fact, in Louvain it is strictly forbidden to laugh and stern censors are looking at you from every corner of the street. Compare that situation with merry Bruges, where one can enjoy the learned company of charming persons such as Cranevelt, Laurinus, Fevynus and others!

Before his illness he had heard a lot about Luther, but ever since he has been confined to his house all is silence. Nobody dares to come and speak about him.

<sup>6</sup> Viz. Pope Leo I the Great. See above, introduction.

<sup>7</sup> Reading uncertain. It could be "tunc".

<sup>8</sup> The question is whether one has to confess to a priest or whether it is sufficient to make confession to God alone. On f. r i<sup>v</sup> of Latomus's work a passage from Origen, *Hom. Lev.* 3, is quoted, which like the passage from John Chrysostom, *Hom. Matth.* 42, quoted on f. [r iii<sup>r</sup>], can be interpreted as supporting the latter view. Latomus, however, used these passages to provide evidence in favour of public confession, evidence which is then applied to secret (heard) confession in lieu of further evidence. The Latin view as proposed by Gratian (see above, introduction) stresses the importance of the assistance of a priest.

<sup>9</sup> The *Decretum Gratiani* erroneously quotes Theodore of Canterbury. See above, introduction.

<sup>10</sup> The text ends with a comma at the end of the line.

Vives took the precaution of communicating this information to his friend in Greek, a sure sign of the worsening atmosphere at Louvain. It is in sharp contrast with what Petrus Curtius was to write about a month later (see letter 63): “*Lutheri vero negocium apud nos [at Louvain] extinctum est...*” Possibly Vives shows similar caution in his subsequent rather obscure lines about Cranevelt’s reaction to the previous letter of Vives, which according to Vives Cranevelt had read absent-mindedly. In fact, Vives had not written about unbelief, but about the subjective character of the evaluation of human deeds and situations: whether something is good or bad, useful or not depends on its evaluation by the individual (Compare lines 11-13 of letter 55, *l. c.*, p. 51). In the sentence that follows Vives seems to debate whether certain issues can be discussed in a letter in those dangerous times. He has in any case chosen to write in enigmas, but Cranevelt is used to solving texts as obscure as Accursius’s; finally, Cranevelt does not deserve better because his handwriting is absolutely illegible and stuff for soothsayers.

Furthermore Vives reacts to Cranevelt’s criticism of a passage in Aulus Gellius (Vives regrettably does not specify which one) and warns his friend that Gellius is the favourite of the philologists, who will tear him to pieces if he attacks their cherished author.

Erasmus is in Antwerp. He had first come back to Louvain after his interview with Tunstall in Mechelen. Erasmus’s health is better now. On this piece of news see also letter 55.

Vives asks Cranevelt to let him know if there is any news from More. Then, in Greek, he says: “Let the monks be monks”. Most probably Cranevelt had written about the burning of Lutheran books urged by the monks. Vives remarks that he sees now the advantage of his hesitation over the buying of books. Since he had not yet bought any Lutheran ones, he had so far lost nothing. He is a follower of old Cato, who prescribed that a farm steward must be in the habit of selling, not of buying. All those petty dialogues and pamphlets do not appeal to Vives’s mind and if he wants to read one, he knows from whom he can borrow a copy. Most of his friends do the same, thus causing great indignation among printers and booksellers. They should learn the lesson and devote their craft and effort to better books instead of printing that trash which not even the most patient readers could persuade themselves to read again.

This is Vives’s answer to two letters of Cranevelt written on the same day. Greetings to Laurinus, Fevynus and Cranevelt’s wife.

Although the letter was written by a secretary, it was done carelessly with many cancellations and corrections, partly by Vives himself.

Vives Cranaveldio suo S<alutem>.

Vellem faceret Deus immortalis ut merito posses intermissi me officii arguere, et non tam iusta esset caussa cur non scripserim a Calendis ut puto mensis huius vel pridie. Affectus [[sum]] enim sum his omnibus

diebus adversa valetudine; qua etsi sum nonnihil levatus, non sum tamen [[omnino]] liberatus omnino. Dolor enim est remissus, radix vero non unius morbi alte infix<sup>1</sup> adhuc haeret, nec facile est eam revellere.

Rus hoc Lovaniense et rustici in eo cibi parum ad stomachum meum faciunt. Et tu me putas ridere, quum haec dico, cavillarisque de libris et cultissimis Musis. Libros omnes omnesque Musas volo bene valere, quoad ipse bene valeam. Tunc negotium ab illis mihi [[exibe]] exhiberi sane gaudeam. Hoc tempore taceant loquaces et obstreperae Musae; facessat omnis Stoicitas, abeat Peripatum; causa Epicuri non tam magnificis saepe verbis quam suavibus factis omnis mihi sit res. Me miserum, quod hoc me cruciat Lovanii, idest in rustica Stoa, parum esse[[t]] Epicuricitati loci. Si enim paulum exhilararis vultum<sup>2</sup> et reconditum esse tantisper in scriniis supercilium triste iusseris, [[occurrit]] occurrant tibi protinus patui<sup>3</sup> per compita singula bini, plerumque terni quaternique vultuosi<sup>4</sup>, prominentibus ac contortis labris, obducto supercilio, tota facie nubibus nebulisque [[obducta]] oper<sup>5</sup>ta, torvo intuitu et limo, voce vel nulla vel rauca. Quis locus laetitiae in tanta severitate? In maerore tam maesto? Confer nunc haec nostra cum istis Brugen<sibus>, ubi quicquid occurrat sive oculis sive<sup>6</sup> animo, dispeream nisi merae sint gratiae, lepores, festivitates, veneres ipsae purae putae[[at]]! At<sup>7</sup> quibuscum verseris confabulerisque Brugis? Cum Craneveldio, cum Laurino, cum Fevino, ut alios taceam, hominibus ad ung<u>em factis, in quibus nihil est horroris, nihil asperitatis, nihil duricie, nihil in eis invenias quod non oblectet, quod dulce, quod suave non sit. In his quoque aliquid tu me ludere cavillaberis, et homini aegroto etiam ad ludos, si diis placet, tantum superesse putabis vel temporis vel animi.

De Luthero audiebam antequam aegrotarem †ad ohe<sup>8</sup> multa; postea vero quam domi me conclusit morbus, mirum silentium νομίζω ὄτι

<sup>1</sup> First written, it seems, as "infixus".

<sup>2</sup> Possibly a vague reminiscence of *Vulg.*, *Sirach* 36, 24: "species mulieris exhilarat faciem viri sui".

<sup>3</sup> "Patruus" here has the meaning of a stern and severe reprover. Compare Cic., *Cael.* 25: "fuit in hac causa pertristis quidam patruus, censor, magister," and, in general, *ThLL* X 1.v, col. 739, 9-21 s. v. patruus. Moreover "protinus patui per compita singula bini" is, except for one false quantity (a short "i" in "protinus", where a long one is needed), a complete hexameter verse. Is it a quotation?

<sup>4</sup> The second "u" was added above the line.

<sup>5</sup> Written, by Vives himself, between the lines above the cancelled word "obducta".

<sup>6</sup> "sive" seems to be written twice as "sine", which does not make sense.

<sup>7</sup> "At" added by Vives above the line.

<sup>8</sup> The reading is quite clear, but the sense is obscure. Did Vives mean "adeo multa"?

οὐδεις δεῦρο πορεύει ὑπόθεσιν λόγου φέρων λυπούμενου, τοιοῦτος ἐκεῖνος μὲν ἐστὶ στασιώδης<sup>9</sup> δῆθεν. Nescio quid dicis de non credendo et dictum affers hominis graeci. Tamen suspicor te aliud agentem legisse locum illum epistolae // meae. Nihil enim de his loquebar, quae nunc rumor spargit. Sed de vita hominum actibusque eius existimationeque rerum bonarum malarumque, utilium atque inutilium, quae ego omnia solis opinionibus consistere dicebam me arbitrari, et Lovanii quibusdam esse purum commodumque celum, aliis Brugis salubrius. Nam ambiguum illud de scribendis litteris utrum<sup>10</sup> per id tempus non essent scribendae, merito tibi visum est tale, et mihi quidem quum scriberem. Sed consyderanti mihi ad te litteras profecturas non<sup>11</sup> displicuit admodum aenigma; nempe ad hominem versatum in divinaci<on>ibus, Accursii<sup>12</sup> coniecturis, de seriis et feriis cavillum est ex formulis natum. Qua in re nolim tibi admodum placeas tamquam felicior me, qui [[dem]] interdum gallinaceo more pingas ut non aliter tua manus legenda sit quam voces avium a Melampode vel Democrito<sup>13</sup> intelligendae. Quod si sic perrexeris scribere, quum ad<sup>14</sup> manum non fuerit ars divinandi, aut parum fuerit propitia, totus litterarum tuarum fructus peribit.

Quin et grammaticari quoque mecum voluisti et in omnes me partes versari atque exagitare homo inhumanus, nulla meae valitudinis habita<sup>15</sup> ratione. Ego vero nihil tibi de voce illa respondebo, admonebo tantum ne tibi velis rem esse cum Gellio, homine tam perspicaci ut non minus acute [[viderit]] noctu viderit quam interdiu, et cernis alioqui quam suc-

<sup>9</sup> Vives wrote this word above a slightly longer one (στασιωδής??) which he deleted.

<sup>10</sup> The original manuscript clearly has "utris", which does not make sense.

<sup>11</sup> "Non" added above the line.

<sup>12</sup> On Accursius see letter 9, note 7.

<sup>13</sup> Melampus, a mythical soothsayer, mentioned in Homer's *Od.* XI 290-296 and Apollodorus, *Bibl.*, I 9.11 understood the language of the birds, whereas Democritus, the well-known "optimistic" philosopher, according to Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, X 137 and Gellius X 12.7 would have described a way to learn to understand birds. Cf. Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, XXVIII 112; H. Diels — W. Kranz, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, vol. 2 (Berlin 1961<sup>10</sup>), p. 214: 68 (Demokritos), B 300, 7. Vives's source presumably was Pliny X 137: "Quis credat ista, et Melampodi profecto aures lambendo dedisse intellectum avium sermonis dracones non abnuat, vel quae Democritus tradit nominando aves, quarum confuso sanguine serpens gignatur, quem quisquis ederit intellecturus sit alitum colloquia."

In the left margin of the letter somebody has drawn a little hand with the index finger pointing to this passage.

<sup>14</sup> Vives inserted "ad" above the line.

<sup>15</sup> The passage "atque...habita", omitted during the writing of the letter, was added in the left margin by the secretary.

centuriatus accedat in pugnam magni [[nois]] nominis autoribus, quorum maiestatem vereor ut sustinere possis. Quod si tu illos nihili facis ut pote iam fato functos, cave ne manum aliquam grammaticorum adversum te concites, qui suas delicias Gellium vocant quique<sup>16</sup> solo odio possint te enecare procisum prius et dilaceratum rabie suorum stilorum.

Erasmus est nunc Antverpiae; iam antequam eo proficisceretur, venerat Mechlinia convento Tonstalo, confirmatiore valetudine.

De Moro si quid scieris, ad nos quam primum.

Τοὺς μοναχοὺς ἔα μοναχοὺς ἀεὶ εἶναι. In istis edictis incendiariis hoc percipio de mea in libris emendis cunctatione commodi, quod nullam feci cuiusquam Lutheriani libri iacturam, quippe qui nullum unquam emerim, sequorque in urbe praeceptum Catonis de rustica disciplina, tametsi ruri mihi habitare videor, sed praecepto certe pareo “villicum vendacem, non emacem esse oportere”<sup>17</sup>; // ac ne dialogulum aliquem vel libellum ex dentatis istis emi, quamlibet splenem agitet<sup>18</sup>, cui libenter soleo nonnumquam indulgere, omnesque illi, simul ac inscriptionem legi, sunt mihi ceu linea alba in lapide albo<sup>19</sup>. Si legere aliquem est animus, scio a quo sim utendum petiturus; quod exemplum sequuntur amici plerique mei magna indignatione typographorum et bibliopolarum, ut discant tantum olei operaeque ad meliores libros excudendos transferre et non desiderare in iis schedulis, quas nemo sit stomachi tam patientis ut impetrare a se possit relegere.

Habes responsum geminarum litterarum, quas eodem scripsisti die.

*manu Vivis additum*: Fac salutes pro me Laurinum et Fevinum et optimam matronam uxorem tuam. Lovanii, XXII Maii.

*A tergo*: D<omino> Francisco Cranevel/dio pensionario Brugen<si>/, amico optimo./

*Intercalatum manu Craneveldi*: R<ecepta> XXIII Maii 1521 /

Brugis.

<sup>16</sup> The syllable “que” was added above the line by Vives.

<sup>17</sup> Cato, *Agr.* 2.7

<sup>18</sup> First written “agitari”.

<sup>19</sup> Latin version of a Greek expression found in a fragment of Sophocles, Fr. 307 Nauck = A. C. Pearson, *The Fragments of Sophocles* (Amsterdam 1963), nr. 330: Οὐ μᾶλλον ἢ λευκῷ λιθῷ λευκὴ στάθμη. It does not seem to be found in Erasmus's *Adages*. Therefore, Vives may have taken it from the Suda [or Suidas] lexicon (ed. A. Adler, repr. Teubner/Leipzig 1967, vol. I 3, p. 254) or, if he knew them, the scholia on Plato's *Charm.* 154B.

**Ep. 62.** Gerardus Geldenhouwer (Duurstede) to Fr. Cranevelt (Bruges).

63 (f.87)

16 V 1521

Received after 24 V 1521

Geldenhouwer knows that Cranevelt was not angry, although a year before [ca. 30 June 1520. See letter 11], he had left Bruges without taking leave of his friend. Court duties prevented him from seeing Cranevelt before his departure. Now Geldenhouwer hopes to be free soon and return to Louvain, from where he will send bundles of letters.

In Guelders everything is more or less peaceful, although the “vicini Clivi” barked a little, but did not bite. This bit of information is unclear because the words “Vicini Clivi” are ambiguous. Most probably they mean “our neighbours from Cleves” and, if that is the correct interpretation, it must be an allusion to some tensions between Cleves and Guelders. However, one cannot exclude the meaning of “Cleves’s neighbours” (others than Guelders) and that would refer to problems between Cleves and some of its neighbours, possibly following the death of duke John II of Cleves in 1521. Whatever it was, Geldenhouwer says that the Rhine is again open for navigation.

The stupid dispute between Zwolle and Kampen is finally settled, thanks to the wisdom of Geldenhouwer’s master, prince Philip, bishop of Utrecht. This was an allusion to the quarrel that had risen between the two towns (in Oversticht Utrecht) in 1520, presumably about a toll on the river IJssel which belonged to Kampen and which the merchants of Zwolle avoided by using the newly broadened Zwarte Water. However, another and more political explanation of the dispute is equally possible. After some minor actions and some negotiations bishop Philip, lord of Utrecht and Overijssel, managed to have a treaty signed on Palm Sunday, 24 March 1521. However, as the treaty seemed to be in favour of Kampen, Zwolle refused to submit to the bishop’s authority and, in July 1521, accepted Charles, duke of Guelders and the chief opponent of Charles V in the region, as its protector. A new civil war followed in Overijssel until Zwolle returned to the bishop in 1522. It is clear, therefore, that Geldenhouwer’s statement in his letter had been overoptimistic. On the facts see J. Prinsen, *Collectanea van Gerardus Geldenhauer Noviomagus* (Amsterdam 1901), pp. 2-7, 12, 26-28, 49, 52-53, 139-141, 243-246; J. F. M. Sterck, *Philips van Bourgondië (1465-1524), bisschop van Utrecht, als protagonist van de Renaissance. Zijn leven en maecenaat* (Zutphen 1980), pp. 51-85.

Luther has been in Worms in the company of many learned and noble men. He has gone back to Wittenberg after refusing to retract [on 18 April 1521] anything of what he had written and taught, because the Roman party has not been able to prove him to be in error. All the Electors are in favour of Luther, except the Cardinal of Mainz, who is a friend of the Pope, and the archbishop of Treves [Trier], who has lived in Rome for many years. If the Roman bull had disappeared from sight in Rome, there would have been less uproar among the German defenders of liberty. Geldenhouwer will wait with Peter [Rome] for the

outcome of the conflict, but with God's help without disavowing the truth (Geldenhouwer's report is not entirely correct: Joachim I, Elector of Brandenburg, supported the Edict of Worms, whereas the Cardinal of Mainz, Albert of Brandenburg, refused to sign it).

Greetings to the whole family of Cranevelt, to Laurinus, Fevynus and Leonardus [Clodius].

On Geldenhouwer and his relation with Cranevelt see letters 5 and 6.

S.P. Non egre coepisti<sup>1</sup>, sat scio, quod anno superiore te insalutato abierim. Id enim adversum habet aulica miseria ut ne amicos quidem salutare cum velis, possis. Spero brevi me liberum fore et ad Lovanium nostrum rediturum. Illinc fascibus literarum te (ut ita dicam) obruere conabor.

In patria[[m]] nostra<sup>2</sup> satis pacata sunt omnia. Vicini Clivi<sup>3</sup> [[latrat?]] latrarunt aliquantulum, sed non momorderunt. Rhenus rursus communi navigationi patet. Suollensium et Campensium stulta admodum dissentio Reverendissimi D<omini> ac Illustrissimi Principis nostri Traiectensis prudentia tandem sopita est.

Lutherus insigni multorum doctorum et nobilium virorum comitatu Vormacie fuit et Wittembergam rediit, nolens quicquam revocare eorum quae scripsit et docuit, nisi meliora doctus, id quod Romanenses nuncii praestare non poterant. Favent Lutheri causae principes Electores omnes praeter Maguntinum Cardinalem<sup>4</sup>, qui est in aere<sup>5</sup> (ut dicitur) Ro<mani> Epi<scopi>, et Archiepiscopum Treverensem, qui Romae multis annis habitavit<sup>6</sup>. Si bulla pont<ificis> Ro<mani> Rome evanisset, tantus tumultus contra ipsam [[non]] concitatus per libertatis assertores Germanos non fuisset. Ego expectabo cum Petro<sup>7</sup> ut videam finem, vaeritatem tamen [[p]] gratia Dei non negaturus.

<sup>1</sup> Understand: "(ac)cepisti."

<sup>2</sup> Geldenhouwer's and Cranevelt's native land is Guelders [Gelderland].

<sup>3</sup> Cleves [Kleve, Kleef], a small town to the South-East of Nijmegen across the modern Dutch-German border, which was the seat of a small duchy. When, in 1510, the heir of Cleves married the heiress of Jülich (Gulik, Juliers) it was agreed that both duchies would be united after the death of their parents. The unification was brought about in 1524 with the succession of John III of Cleves at Jülich.

<sup>4</sup> Cardinal Albert von Brandenburg. See letter 14, note 15 (p.45).

<sup>5</sup> The colloquial expression "esse in aere alicuius" means "to be a good friend of". Cf. Cic., *Fam.* XV 14.1: "Multi enim anni sunt cum ille in aere meo est et a me diligitur..."

<sup>6</sup> Richard von Greiffenklau (1467- 15 III 1531), elected archbishop of Trier on 15 May 1511. Did he go to Rome rather than to Paris in 1488? *CE* II, p. 127.

<sup>7</sup> It seems that Geldenhouwer means the Roman Catholic Church when he says "Petrus".

Haec habui, quae ad te scriberem, humanissime atque amantissime domine et frater unice. Bene vale<sup>8</sup> una cum uxore honestissima et liberis omnibus totaque familia. Salutabis meis verbis Dominum meum Decanum M<agistrum> Laurinum, M<agistrum> Johannem Fevinum, M<agistrum> Leonardum<sup>9</sup> etc.

Dorestati, Octava Ascensionis dominicae 1521<sup>10</sup>

Tuus totus

F<rater> Gerardus Geldenhouwer  
Noviomagus.

A *tergo*: Clarissimo atque doctissimo U<triusque> I<uris> / Doctori M<agistro> Francisco de Cra-/nevelt, celeberrimae civitatis / Brugensis pensionario primario / Domino meo, etc.  
The Brugghe naest die schilders / capelle<sup>11</sup>.

**Ep. 63.** Petrus Curtius (Louvain) to Fr. Cranevelt (Bruges).

64 (f. 89)

1 VII 1521

Petrus Curtius or Pieter De Corte from Bruges (b. 1491 — d. 17 X 1567) is a well-known Erasmian scholar with connections at Louvain, who towards the end of his life was consecrated as the first bishop of his native town (on 26 December 1561). In 1521 he was a member of the *Paedagogium Lillii* (De Lelie) at Louvain, which means that he lived in close contact with Erasmus. It is possible, therefore, that it was Erasmus who introduced Curtius to Cranevelt on the occasion of a visit by the latter to his family-in-law in Louvain. At the time of this letter, however, Erasmus was in Anderlecht, which explains why no greetings are conveyed. See *CE* I, pp. 344-345.

With this letter Curtius wanted to strengthen, after a first contact, his new friendship with Cranevelt, although he is daunted by the latter's high social position and learning. There is hardly any news, only some entirely unreliable

<sup>8</sup> *Bene vale* was added in the margin.

<sup>9</sup> Schoolmaster Leonardus Clodius. Cp. letter 11.

<sup>10</sup> Ascension Day 1521 fell on Thursday 9 May. Its Octave was on the following Thursday. From its place in the bundle (following letter 61) one can safely conclude that this letter was delivered in Bruges after 24 May.

<sup>11</sup> The "Schilderskapel" (Painters' Chapel), no longer in existence, was situated on the "Zilverstraat" (Silver Street).



rumours about war. The Lutheran affair is almost dead and there is now hardly anybody who wants to prosecute or to defend the case. Humanism is thriving notwithstanding the envy of a few old asses. Everybody is learning Latin and quite a few Greek as well. Curtius regrets that he did not have time to study Greek too: but he has to teach Latin to children [probably the young Arts students in Lily College], a very burdensome task; moreover, the theologians demand that he participate in all their disputations because of the "bursa" (scholarship) he enjoys. That explains also his barbarous style, since one day of such barbarous courses causes more damage than three days of good reading can restore (As a matter of fact, Curtius's Latin is far from barbarous, but it is true that a verbal form such as "odiam" reveals the influence of patristic Latin).

Curtius hopes to be liberated soon from this nonsense, which he hates. But, alas, the traditional Arts programme imposes such sophistry rather than good learning. As an afterthought he adds greetings to Fevynus.

On the address side of the letter Cranevelt wrote an (unfinished) list of Easter dates for the following years, obviously some sort of personal memorandum.

Salve plurimum, doctissime d<omine> Noviomage. Multa sollicitarunt animum meum ut amicitiam nuper partam et adhuc pene in cunis agentem crebris literis foverem, quo tandem adulta gaudio, usui atque voluptati nobis esse possit. Verum non pauciora ab instituto undique deterruerunt: hinc tua celsitudo, maioribus destinata negociis; illinc vero tua insignis eruditio atque facundia minime vulgaris, quam a barbaris interpellari non convenit. Sed vicit hec omnia genuina tua humanitas, dicam, an facilitas, quibus libenter proprie oblitus excellentie, tete inferioribus accommodas; id quod ego cum aliorum relatu, tum experientia in primo illo congressu compertum habeo.

Proinde ut et ego paululum te imiter, mee tenuitatis immemor audebo tuam d<ominationem> familiaris compellare. Iam tamen in hoc tanto rationum utroque versum rapientium conflictu nihil dignum occurrit quod ad te scribam. Ita sibi mens non constabat; istud ergo scribo ne nihil scribam. Nam populari rumore belli nihil incertius, qui eciam prius ad vos quam ad nos verisimiliter permanavit. Lutheri vero<sup>1</sup> negotium apud nos fere extinctum est, nemine propemodum neque accusante neque defendente. Sed bonarum literarum studia pulchre procedunt, vel invidia rumpentibus vetulis quibusdam amusis, siquidem Latinas nemo non discit ab infima ad ultimam usque etatem, Grecas autem quam plurimi. Atque utinam vel hoc mihi noverca fortuna concessisset ocii, quod Grecis literis possem impendere! Sic illius iniurias ferrem equanimius. Nunc vero vix tantulum mihi reliquum fecit temporis, quod

<sup>1</sup> *Vero* was added above the line.

non pueris docendis impartiat (quae molestissima provincia), ut Latinos autores liceat evolvere, presertim ut simul satisfaciam Theologis, qui a me gratia burse, quam possideo, exigunt ut singulas suas disputationes visitem, nunc arguendo, nunc respondendo. Quare veniam dabis si barbariuscule ac incondite scribam. Scit enim tua prudentia plus officere unius diei barbaricam lectionem, quam conferre trium dierum etiam diligentissimum doctissimumque studium. Deus aliquando faxit ut me hiis nugis libere possim excutere, atque id celerius. Ita enim me amet Iupiter ut nihil peius odiam illiteratis hiis nugis, quas docere cogor; non quin meliora docere possim, ut opinor, sed quia non sinit inveteratus ille in Artibus promovendorum ritus; quod quoniam non a bonis literis, sed a sophisticis cavillationibus, evasionibus, distinctionibus etc.<sup>2</sup> ordinem sortiuntur, cogimur scilicet cum lupis, quod aiunt, ululare<sup>3</sup>.

Hic finem imponam epistole, ne te diutius meis nugis distineam. Bene vale cum charissima coniuge tua, et Curtium inter tui nominis studiosos connumera.

Lovanii, Calendis Iulii anni 1521. Quod pene preterieram, me d<omino> Doctori Fevino ex animo commenda.

Tue D<ominationis> studiosiss<imus> Petrus Curtius Brugen<sis>.

*A tergo:* Doctissimo iuxta ac eloquentissimo utriusque / iuris Doctori, M<agistro> Francisco Craneveldio, / Oppidi Brugen<sis> Pensionario, amico incomparabili.

#### Brugis.

<i>Ibidem, e transverso:</i>	anno 22	xx aprilis
	23	5 aprilis
	24	27 martii
	25	16 aprilis
	26	prima aprilis
	27	21 aprilis
	28	13 aprilis <sup>4</sup>
	29	28 martii
	30	— 17 aprilis

<sup>2</sup> This sounds like an echo of Vives's *In Pseudodialecticos* published at Louvain in April 1519.

<sup>3</sup> Compare H. Walther, *Lateinische Sprichwörter und Sentenzen des Mittelalters* (Göttingen 1963-1969), no. 32113: "Ulula cum lupis cum quibus esse cupis", and the Dutch adage "meehuilen met de wolven in het bos", to run with the hare and hunt with the hounds.

<sup>4</sup> An error! read "12 aprilis".

31 — 9 aprilis

32 —

33 —

34 —

35 —

36 —

37 —

**Ep. 64. J. Fevynus (Bruges) to Fr. Cranevelt (Bruges)**

65 (f.90)

&lt; ca 10-15.VII.1521&gt;

A short note to tell Cranevelt that Carolus, who was in good health the day before, is now ill and confined to his bed. If Cranevelt can pay him a visit that would be most agreeable to the patient and to Fevynus.

There can be no doubt that Carolus is Fevynus's paternal cousin Carolus Hedenbault (ca. 1444 - 28 August 1527). On him see letter 21, note 13 (*HL* 41 [1992], 58).

The approximate date can be deduced from the position of the note in the bundle, viz. after Curtius's letter written at Louvain on 1 July and before two Greek letters of Vives written at Bruges, the second of which on 22 July.

Quae nostrae vite sors est! Carolus, quum hesterna adhuc nocte recte atque optime valeret, iam egrotus decumbit lecto. Quare si aut abesse poteris a Repub<lica><sup>1</sup> aut cum vacabit, ei mihique<sup>2</sup> sine dubio feceris rem gratis<simam> si invisas et soleris. Vale.

Fevynus.

*A tergo:* D<omi>no F<rancisco> Craneveldio.

<sup>1</sup> Viz. "Brugensi"; an allusion to Cranevelt's office as legal adviser to the Bruges town magistrate.

<sup>2</sup> "Mihique" has been added above the line.

**Ep. 65.** J. L. Vives [Bruges] to Fr. Cranevelt (Bruges)

66 (f. 91)

&lt;ante 22 VII 1521&gt;

A short letter entirely in Greek, the first of a series of three in that language. Vives lets Cranevelt know that the next day a student from Louvain, who is staying with him at his house, will leave for that city. If Cranevelt wants to send a letter, he has only to deliver it to Vives. After the greeting formula Vives adds his best regards to blind Homer, whom Antonius, he says, calls an “allophone” (speaker of a foreign language).

It is not easy to understand what the meaning of that last sentence is. We take it that Cranevelt (and Vives) were reading the Greek poet at the time (See also the next letter), but who Antonius may be is far from clear. Did Vives allude to some classical anecdote, which escapes us? Or is Antonius one of their friends in Bruges, maybe Antonius Sc(ho)onhovius, canon of St. Donatian’s since 1520 (cf. *HCT* 2, pp. 179-181; *HL* 42[1993], 18-19)?

We have not corrected Vives’s problematic accentuation of the Greek.

Ὁ Βίβης τῷ Κραναβελδίῳ τῷ ἑαυτοῦ ἑὺ πράττειν.

Ἄυριον πρῶτῃ σχολαστικὸς τις Λουανιεὺς Λουανιόνδε πορεύσει. Ἐι τί γράφειν ἐτέλης<sup>1</sup>, τὰ γράμματα<sup>2</sup> δεῦρο πρὸς ἐμὲ πέμψον σήμερον, καὶ μὲν ἔγω ἐκεῖνῳ δώσω<sup>3</sup>. Ἔστι γὰρ πάροιχος ἡμέτερος. Ἐβῆρωσο, καὶ τὸν τυφλὸν ἐκεῖνον τὸν Ὅμηρον ἀσπάζου μοι, τὸν, ὡς Ἀντωνιος ἔφη, ἀλλόθροον<sup>4</sup>. (*Craneveldi* [?] *manu*) diversilinguem.

**Ep. 66.** J. L. Vives (Bruges) to Fr. Cranevelt (Bruges)

67 (f. 92)

22 VII 1521

Another specimen of Vives’s Greek composition. Vives and Cranevelt were obviously encouraging each other in the study of Greek. Cranevelt had sent his

<sup>1</sup> Another hand (Cranevelt?) wrote a θ above the τ. Ἐθέλης is the correct form indeed.

<sup>2</sup> Vives first wrote γράμματα, then deleted one μ.

<sup>3</sup> Vives first wrote δόσω, and afterwards corrected the false letter above the line.

<sup>4</sup> The word was first written, it seems, as ἀλλόθροον, but the wrong form was completely crossed out.

composition(s) to Vives and the latter expresses his admiration at the fact that Cranevelt, a married man, had already learnt so much Greek without the help of a teacher.

Vives also replies to two letters of Cranevelt on the subject of sin. We cannot be sure that these letters were written in Greek, but it seems that Vives makes a distinction between the Greek compositions and these more theological letters. Vives's reply is rather evasive: he cannot correct Cranevelt, only caution him. Cranevelt will never become wiser through Vives. So, he advises Cranevelt to look for another master and to use Vives only as a companion in his studies and as a herald of his learning. Clearly, Vives did not want to express his views on a tricky theological problem.

The letter shows many traces of hasty writing: some words were added above the lines; many letters are crossed out, accents are lacking on many words, etc. We record only the more important changes in the apparatus.

At the bottom of the letter Cranevelt added a Latin translation of the Greek text.

Ὁ Βίβης τῷ Κραναβελδίῳ τῷ ἑαυτοῦ ἐϋ πράττειν.

Ἐγὼ δὲ θαυμάζω καὶ φιλοῦμαι ἐυφυίαν τε καὶ επιμελείαν τὴν σὴν ὡς ἀκριβῆ, λογιώτατε<sup>1</sup> Κραναβέλδιε, ὃ τοιοῦτα (*sic!*) ἡμῖν ἔγραψας γράμματα οὐ τῆς παιδείας μόνον μεστὰ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς φιλίας οὐ τῆς τυχούσης. Τίς γὰρ πιστεύσειεν ἄν σε γαμικὸν ἄνδρα, ἄνευ διδασκάλου τοσοῦτον οἶόντε τοῦ Ελληνισμοῦ τυγχάνειν, καὶ ταῦτα ἐν πράγμασι<sup>2</sup> μεγάλοις καὶ χωρὶς τῶν πεπαιδευμένων ἀνθρώπων, ἵνα ἐγὼ, ὃν τινὲς τι ἐπίστασθαι νομίζουσι, αἰσχύνειν ἠναγκάσθην σοι μὲν προσοίσας, ὅταν καὶ σχολὴν ἀμφοτέρων καὶ ἀφορμὰς τῆς παιδείας πρὸς ἀλλήλων συλλογίζομαι, φθόνοιμην<sup>3</sup> ἄν, νῆ τοὺς θεοὺς, εἰ μὴ καὶ φιλία ἡμετέρα κωλύσειε, καὶ νοήσαιμι ταῦτα ἅπαντα τάξει αἰωνίῳ καὶ ἀτρεπτῷ τρέχειν. Οὕτως ἐκέλευσα ἢ ἢ ἐιμαρμένη ἐκείνη, ἥς<sup>4</sup> ἐντολαῖς ὃ πᾶς κόσμος ἄγεται, ἢ ἢ προνοία οὐρανόθεν πάντα διοικονομοῦσα, τὸ δὲ ὅλον “Διὸς ἐτελήσετο βουλὴ”<sup>5</sup>, ὧς ὃ τυφλὸς ἐκείνός φησιν, ὧς ὥστε<sup>6</sup> μηδένα φθονεῖν προσήκει, ὅτι πάντα οὕτως γίνεσθαι, ὧς γίνονται, ἀνάγκη, μᾶλλον σοι προσευφραίνεσθαι χρῆ.

<sup>1</sup> First written λογιώτατε or λονγιώτατε.

<sup>2</sup> First written πράμγμασι.

<sup>3</sup> First written φθάνοιμην. The α is crossed out and the ο added above the line.

<sup>4</sup> After the relative a word has been deleted: διαν[οια].

<sup>5</sup> See Homer, *Iliad* I 5 and *Od.* XI 297: Διὸς δ' ἐτελείετο βουλή. Before the quotation δὲ was added above the line.

<sup>6</sup> This word was added above the line.

Ἐλεύθω ἡδὴ πρὸς τὰ δύο ἐπιστολὰ, ἃ μοι ἔπεμψας περὶ τῶν αμαρτημάτων. Ἐγὼ μὲν σε, ὃ βελτιστε Κραναβέλδιε, νουθετεῖν<sup>7</sup> δύναμαι, ὡς σοφώτατος διδάσκαλος πολεμικωτάτῳ ἀνδρὶ ἔφη, ἐυθύνειν δὲ οὐ δύναμαι, μὴ δὲ τοιοῦτος σύ εἰ, ὅφρα παρακλήσει μᾶλλον ενδεεῖς ἢ παραινέσει, ἀλλὰ φρωνιμότερος ὑπερ ἑμοῦ οὐδέποτε ποιηθήσῃ. Ἄλλους ζήτου, οἳ σε παιδεύσωσι, ἐμὲ δὲ ἐταίρῳ χρήσεις τῶν σπουδῶν<sup>8</sup> τῶν σῶν, καὶ κήρικι<sup>9</sup>. Ἐρῶσο, καὶ πρόσειπέ μοι τὴν καλλίστην γυνέκα καὶ ἀρίστην. xxii Iulii a° 1521.

Ego vero miror et deamo industrium ingenium ac curam tuam ut diligentem, prudentissime Craneveldi, qui tales mihi scribis literas, non eruditionis modo plena<s>, sed et amoris non vulgaris. Quis enim credat te virum coniugatum sine preceptore tantum potuisse<sup>10</sup> Grecitatis adipisci? Et hoc in rebus maximis<sup>11</sup> et extra doctos viros, ut ego — quem aliquid scire<sup>12</sup> opinantur, erubescere cogar tibi quidem collatus, et [ ] otium amborum et occasiones discipline inter sese<sup>13</sup> supputo vel comparo. Inviderem ipse, per deos, nisi amicitia nostra prohiberet et scirem hec omnia ordine perpetuo et incommutabili currere: sic iussit vel fatum illud, cuius preceptis universus mundus agitur, vel providentia ex celestibus omnia dispensans. Hoc autem totum<sup>14</sup> “ Iovis perficitur consilium ”, uti cecus ille inquit; ut<sup>15</sup> nemini<sup>16</sup> invidere decet<sup>17</sup>; quod omnia sic fieri, ut fiunt, necesse est, magis tibi congratulari oportet.

Venio nunc ad duas epistolas, quas mihi misisti de pecoatis. Ego quidem te, o optime Cranevelde, admonere possum ut sapientissimus preceptor bellic<os>issimo<sup>18</sup> viro dicebat<sup>19</sup>, corrigere<sup>20</sup> vero non possum,

<sup>7</sup> After this word ἢ σε was crossed out.

<sup>8</sup> First written σπουδαῖων.

<sup>9</sup> Read κήρικι.

<sup>10</sup> Written above a deleted word: quaecumque (?)

<sup>11</sup> Above it a variant was added: negociis magnis.

<sup>12</sup> Written above a longer deleted word: percipere (?)

<sup>13</sup> Written above the deleted words: ad alterutrum.

<sup>14</sup> Above “Hoc autem totum”, which is underlined, a variant is written: In summa.

<sup>15</sup> Above the line a variant: quocirca.

<sup>16</sup> First version: neminem.

<sup>17</sup> First version: deceat.

<sup>18</sup> Above “bellicissimo” (sic!) the name “Achilli” was added. Most probably Vives refers to the famous passage in *Iliad* IX, where Achilles’s preceptor Phoenix together with Odysseus and Aias try in vain to convince Achilles to join the Greeks again in their battle against the Trojans. For Phoenix’s speech see vv. 431-605.

<sup>19</sup> First crossed out version: inquit.

<sup>20</sup> A variant “arguere” was added above the line and then deleted.

neque talis tu es ut adhortatione<sup>21</sup> magis indigeas quam admonitione; sed sapientior per me nunquam fies. Alios quaere qui te doceant; me vero socio<sup>22</sup> uteris studiorum tuorum et precone. Vale et saluta mihi honestissimam uxorem tuam et optimam.

*A tergo: D<omi>no Fran<cisco> Craneveldio.*

**Ep. 67. J. L. Vives (Bruges) to Fr. Cranevelt (Bruges)**

68 (f. 93)

Shortly after 22 VII 1521

Vives's third Greek letter falls into two parts. In the first Vives refuses to accept the praise which Cranevelt has bestowed upon his Greek learning. On the contrary Vives feels himself outclassed over and over again by his friend, in vocabulary as well as in style. It is obvious from this letter and from the preceding one that Vives and Cranevelt were exchanging compliments on each other's achievements in Greek.

The second part is a discussion on the thorny problem of free will ("liberum arbitrium"! ). Cranevelt, quite clearly, had reacted to a passage in the previous letter where Vives had professed his belief in the unescapable power of Fate. If we understand Vives correctly — the Greek is rather awkward — Cranevelt had argued in favour of human free-will, whereas he himself argues that men depend entirely on the mercy of God, as Holy Writ says. Can Cranevelt dare to oppose that without being wickedly impious?

In the Greek text a few words are entirely or in part underlined.

In a Latin postscript Vives asks Cranevelt to find him someone who can sell him or lend him for a while a Greek-Latin lexicon.

“Ο Βίβης τῷ Κραναβελδίῳ τῷ ἑαυτοῦ ἐῦ πράττειν.

Ἐνίκησας ἀτεχνῶς ἐμὲ, γλύκιστε Κραναβέλδιε, καὶ μόλις τί ἀντεπιστέλλοιμιν<sup>1</sup> ἅν, οἶδα, ὥς ἐκάστοτε παρὰ σου ἐκπολιορκηθεῖς, τοῦτο μὲν ῥημάτων, τοῦτο δὲ λόγων καὶ συλλογισμῶν.

<sup>21</sup> “ut adhortatione” is written above “dum” (not deleted) and another long word which is crossed out.

<sup>22</sup> Written above first deleted version: amico.

<sup>1</sup> Above the μ this letter has been repeated three times and α̃ was put on the iota.

Καὶ τί φης πρὸς τοῦ Διὸς; ἀπ' ἐμῆς πηγῆς παραδέχειν σε ὕδωρ(!); καταγελαῖς ἐμέ; Καὶ ὥς τοῦτο σαφῶς δύξης<sup>2</sup>, ἐκ Παρνάσου ἐκείνου μυθικοῦ ἐμέ καταβῆναι ἐποίησας. Πῶς τοῦτο; Ὅς ἐκείσε οὐπώποτε ἀνέβην, ἀλλὰ συ [[ο]]ῶς εἴθικας παίζεις πρὸς με. Ἀλλῶς τε καὶ στίχους ἐλληνιστὶ ᾄσεις, ὃ γενναιότατε καὶ μακαριώτατε ἄνερ; ἄγε πρὸς τῶν Μουσῶν. Καὶ ποιοῦ σε θαυμαστὸν<sup>3</sup> ἅπασι τοῖς παρὰ σοι.

Περὶ διδασκαλίας τῆς ἐμῆς, καὶ τῶν τοιουτῶν, εἰ λέγειν. Εἰς γὰρ τὸ τῆς[[ου]] εἰμαρμένης σπεύδει ὁ<sup>4</sup> λόγος. Ἦν ἐγὼ δὲ Διὸς βουλὴν ὠνόμασα, τῷ τοῦ Ὀμήρου ἡμιστιχίου<sup>5</sup>, ταύτην [[----]] ὅν ἀξιοῖς ὅτι<sup>6</sup> ἐξέστιν ἡμᾶς ἐκφεύγειν. Ἦ ἐλευθερίας [[----]] μὲν μνημονεύεις, ὅπου βούλημα ἐστὶ δημιουργοῦ<sup>7</sup> καὶ ἄνακτος πάσης φύσεως. Ἐλευθερία μὲν ἐστίν, ὅ τι αὐτὸς βούληται καὶ τάττει. Βουλῇματι ἐκείνου τίς [[----]] ἀντιμάχεται; Καὶ ὁ μὲν αἴνου ἄξιόν ἐστίν, ὃ δὲ κατὰπτυστον, ὅτι ἀρχηγὸς ἐκεῖνος τοῦ παντὸς τοιοῦτο ἠθέλησα<sup>8</sup> εἶναι. Καὶ οὕτως τημηθήσεται<sup>9</sup>, ὄντινα<sup>10</sup> ἄναξ βουλευσείη τημηθῆσαι, καὶ οὐκ ἐστὶ τρέχοντος, οὐδὲ βουλομένου, ἀλλὰ θεοῦ οἰκτείροντος. Τί σοι ταῦτα δοκεῖται; Ἦ οὐκ ἐκ γραμμάτων [[ἀγ—]] ἁγίων; Τολμήσεις ἀντιχαίνειν ἄνευ μεγάλου ἀσεβείας ἀλισγῆματος; Ἐρῶωσο.

Vellem invenires mihi aliquem, qui haberet lexicon Graecolatinum vel venale[[m]] vel accomodatile[[m]] ad aliquod tempus.

*A tergo:* D<omino> Fran<cisco> Craneveldio.

<sup>2</sup> Vives first wrote δύξεις, crossed out the letters ει and wrote an η above them. The word is in any case wrong. The correct form most probably is δειξεις.

<sup>3</sup> στ is written above one or two (σζ?) deleted letters.

<sup>4</sup> The article was added above the line.

<sup>5</sup> The genitive clearly must be a dative. Homer's half verse, quoted also in letter 66 is *Iliad* I 5 and *Od.* XI 297.

<sup>6</sup> This word added above the line.

<sup>7</sup> Above the iota a Roman i (or an accent?) was added.

<sup>8</sup> Vives seems to confuse the first and the third person. The text demands the form ἠθέλησεν.

<sup>9</sup> A very strange form. Vives probably intended to say τιμηθήσεται. Similarly, a few words further on, the correct form must be τιμηθῆναι.

<sup>10</sup> The second part of the word (τινα) was added in the left margin.



**Ep. 68** Gerardus Geldenhouwer (Ghent) to Fr. Cranevelt (Bruges)

69 (f. 94)

Ghent, 17 VII 1521

Geldenhouwer has come with his master, bishop Philip, to Ghent where he had hoped to find Cranevelt for "the famous meeting".

Probably, several prominent figures were gathering in Ghent in preparation of the meeting of kings (Charles Vth, Christiern II of Denmark, and Cardinal Wolsey as ambassador of the English king) in Bruges at the end of July and in August. At that meeting Cranevelt was due to pronounce several discourses of welcome. We may, therefore, conjecture that he did not come to Ghent because he was busy with his own preparations for the meeting in Bruges.

Geldenhouwer then proceeds to family news from Nijmegen: Cranevelt's mother (Ermgarde, Baroness of Heusden-Elshout, d. 1528) is doing well for her age. His daughter Elisabeth (b. Louvain 1510) is growing up and her education needs a stronger hand than that of an old and affectionate grandmother. If Cranevelt wants help, Geldenhouwer is, as always, prepared to give it.

News from Guelders: Duke Charles has stirred up trouble in his peaceful land. The people of Zwolle have defected from bishop Philip to him and, in so doing, are bringing disaster on their common fatherland. Let us pray God for peace among the princes of the earth!

For this affair, which caused a bloody civil war in Overijssel during the years 1521-22, see the introduction to letter 62.

News from Antwerp: Aleandro, Glapion and Egmondanus have persuaded the emperor Charles to do a favour for the pope, who had switched to his side away from the king of France, by burning some purchased books of Luther at Antwerp. Almost everybody in Antwerp cursed this tragedy and ridiculed it.

On 8 May 1521 Leo X had signed a secret agreement with Charles, which was made public at the end of June after a French attack upon Reggio/Emilia. For Aleandro see *CE* I, pp. 28-32 and note 22 to *Lit. Cran. Bald.* 28 (*HL* 41 [1992], 81). The French Observant Franciscan Jean Glapion (d. 14 IX 1522) became confessor to Charles in 1520 and gained considerable influence over the emperor. See *CE* II, pp. 103-105. Finally, on Egmondanus or the Carmelite Nicholas Baechem, Erasmus's fiercest enemy at Louvain, see *CE* I, pp. 81-83 and note 4 to *Lit. Cran. Bald.* 22 (*HL* 41 [1992], 60).

A final request: Geldenhouwer's patron should like to see the Frisian book which Geldenhouwer had presented to Cranevelt some years earlier. He asks his friend to send it as soon as possible to their lodgings in Ghent, viz. the house of the abbot of Ter Duinen near St. John's Church. Greetings to Cranevelt, his wife and the whole family.

The Refuge in Ghent of the Cistercian abbey of the Downs (Abdij ter Duinen, at Koksijde, on the Flemish coast South of Ostend) was situated near St. John's Church (which is now St. Baafs Cathedral) in the Guldestraat (now Seminariestraat). On the former abbey, famous for its manuscripts, see L. De Vlieghe, "De Duinenabdij te Koksijde: ikonografie en archeologie", *De Biekerf* 61 (Brugge, 1960), 193-228 [= *Archaeologica Belgica*, 50] and

Marie-Thérèse Isaac, *Les livres manuscrits de l'abbaye des Dunes* (Aubel 1984).

S<alutem> P<lurimam>. Omnium mortalium longe amatissime Domine, veni Gandavum cum reverendissimo D<omino> T<raiectensi>, sperabamque hic te futurum ad hunc tam celebrem conventum. Sed quia ea spes me fefellit, non volui committere ne te meis literis licet aulicis, id est turbidis, non adloquerer.

Mater tua provectissima pro aetate recte valet. Id a sorore mea intra paucos dies audiui. Filia tua Elizabeta iam adulescit. Quare adhibenda est cura diligentior, quia mater tua, imo nostra, optima, senio gravis filiolaeque amantior forte negligentius hac in re aget. Tu pro tua prudentia nosti quid [[hac in re]] agere debeas. Haec ego pro meo erga te tuosque amore<sup>1</sup> candide libereque scribo. Si quavis in re opera mea uti voles, habes me tibi (quod nosti) addictissimum.

Princeps C<arolus> ditionem suam ex pacatissima turbulentissimam<sup>2</sup> fecit. Nam Suollani propter lites nescio quas a Reverendissimo D<omino> T<raiectensi> ad Gelriorum principem defecerunt trahuntque secum in perniciem communem patriam nostram. Oremus Dominum pacis ut pacificare dignetur principes orbis terrarum.

Aleander cum Glapione et Egmondano persuaserunt Carolo Augusto, ut in gratiam Pont<ificis> Max<imi> Episcopi Romani, qui a rege Galliarum defecit ad Caesaream Maiestatem, [[ut]] libri aliquot empticii Doctoris Lutheri comburerentur [[omnibus]] Antverpiae, omnibus fere Antverpianis execrantibus hanc tragoediam et eridentibus<sup>3</sup>.

Reverendissimus Dominus T<raiectensis> cupit videre librum illum Phrysicum, quem tibi ante aliquot annos dono dedi. Quare te oro, mi suavissime Domine, ut eum quamprimum huc ad me mittas. Hospitatur in aedibus Reverendissimi Patris Domini Abbatis de Dunen non procul a templo Divi Johannis.

Bene vale, optime frater et eximie domine. Gandavi, 17 Iulii 1521.

Commenda me honestiss<imae> coniugi tuae totique familiae.

D<ominationi> T<uae> deditissimus f<rater> Gerardus Noviomagus.

<sup>1</sup> "amore" is written above the line.

<sup>2</sup> Geldenhouwer wrote "turbulentissimas", clearly an error.

<sup>3</sup> If we read this verb correctly, it must be a kind of synonym for the classical "deridere". "Eridere" seems not to occur anywhere else and may result from the influence of the Dutch "uitlachen", to ridicule.

*A tergo: Doctissimo atque prudentissimo U<triusque> I<uris> / Doctori, M<agistro> Francisco Craneveldio / celeberrimae civitatis Brugen-  
sis / pensionario, praeceptori unice colendo /*

*The Brugge bij die Schilders / capelle.*<sup>4</sup>

**Ep. 69.** J. L. Vives [Bruges] to Fr. Cranevelt (Bruges)

70 (f. 95)

Received 5 VIII 1521.

For some reason Cranevelt had not written for some time and Vives seems to complain about that silence. Did he really feel hurt or, more likely, was he only joking — as he says himself towards the middle of the letter — when he ascribed Cranevelt's silence to sudden wealth?

The allusions in the first part of the letter are far from clear. The sudden wealth cannot be from a larger salary, because in these years Cranevelt requested it in vain from the Bruges Town Council. See *Lit. Cran.*, p. liii. More probably, it has to do with the visits of the Danish king Christiern II, the emperor Charles V and Cardinal Wolsey in July and August. Cranevelt delivered the official welcoming orations in Latin to the king (27 July), the emperor (7 August) and Wolsey (14 August) and will certainly have performed other representative duties (cf. *Lit. Cran.*, p. li). That will have brought him some extra income and princely presents, but also — as he had remarked to Vives — a lot of care and concern. Had perhaps the Danish king committed some valuables to his care? That could explain what Vives says about treasures which do not help one if one cannot use them.

The next part of the letter concerns the impending visit of Thomas More and Cardinal [Wolsey] to Bruges. Vives heard from an English nobleman that More was coming. Cranevelt certainly knew everything about the visit of the boisterous Cardinal: when the latter still was in England, the whole town was already in such a fluster as if he were standing at the gates. Wolsey, as we know, was received by the emperor at Bruges on 14 August and stayed there until about 25 August. See Allen 1223.

Finally, Vives insists again on receiving Cranevelt's letters. He wants to keep them together with his other friends' letters as a precious treasure. Let Cranevelt enjoy his imaginary wealth. The ladies [presumably of the Valdaura household] and Vives himself send greetings to Cranevelt and his wife. Vives can add nothing more since the sheet of paper is full and he does not want to write on the verso side of it.

The whole letter is sloppily scribbled with several deletions of words and letters and a couple of additions in the lower left margin.

<sup>4</sup> For this address see letter 62.

Vives Cranaveldio suo S<alutem>.

Mirabar equidem, sapientiss<ime> Cranavel<di>, quid esset causae cur tamdiu taceres. Nimirum<sup>1</sup> nunc nihil miror. Nam et surditas cum Pluto ingreditur, et caecitas, et obmutiscentia<sup>2</sup>, sed illud in primis, oblivio amicorum neglectusque officii. O virum paulo plus quam beatiss<imum>, apud quem hospitari contigit Plutum ipsum, credo, quod satellitium suum, comites individuos non dimisit, nempe elationem, vecordiam, iactantiam, mollitiem<sup>3</sup>, violentiam, dolos non bonos illos quidem, sed malos, ut vos dicitis<sup>4</sup>. Quos omnes divus ille apud eos collocat, quos quum ditat, dementat etiam, hoc est eos, qui se sapientiae antidotis non praemunierunt. Et curis quoque locupletatam tuam domum ais? O praeclaras divinasque opes, quae non possidentes modo anxios reddunt plenosque curarum, sed illos quoque ad quos aliquomodo se applicant. Ille est enim spiritus huius dei, qui non solum dominos afflat, sed proximos etiam, a quibus tamen non contingitur. Itaque tu, mi Craneveldi, amisisti quietem illam tuam altiss<imam>que tranquillitatem; recepisti cum Pluto tempestates quot non habet Oceanus, aestus quot non Euripus<sup>5</sup>. Et haec quidem omnia, quia caecus Plutus<sup>6</sup>. Nam si videret, ibi suam supellectilem collocaret, ubi cum altiss<imis> divitiis minimum esset strepitus tumultusque. Utinam intueri liceret ipsi vel ad punctum temporis! Tunc demum et vere plaudere ipse posses, et ego tibi gratulari. Affixus enim haereret tibi, tuique simillimus non tenuis aut malignus, sed plena manu, sed<sup>7</sup> universus, satellitio illo suo excluso. Quamquam recte consyderanti<sup>8</sup>, si bene est ventri, si capiti, si pedibus, non refert cuius vocetur Plutus. Prius te per iocum appellavi beatiss<imum>, quippe ironice dicens illa omnia; nunc te vere dico beatiss<imum>, addo etiam sapientiss<imum>. Vel illo tuo verbo interea tamen fruar non aliter quam meis. Certe verissimum illud est, nec te magis frui illis quam

<sup>1</sup> Between "nimirum" and "nunc" something like "ad<huc>"(?) is crossed out.

<sup>2</sup> First written as "obmutescencia".

<sup>3</sup> First written "mollities".

<sup>4</sup> An allusion to juridical language. Cf. Paulus Diac. ex Festo, p. 69, 10 Müll.: "doli vocabulum nunc tantum in malis utimur, apud antiquos etiam in bonis rebus utebatur. Unde adhuc dicimus 'Sine dolo malo', nimirum quia solebat dici et bonus." Cf. et Cic., *Off.* III 60; *Dig.* IV 3.1, etc.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Cic., *Mur.* 35: "Quod enim fretum, quem Euripum tot motus...habere putatis... quantos aestus habet ratio comitorum?"

<sup>6</sup> For the blindness of Plutus see Aristophanes, *Plutus* 90.

<sup>7</sup> In the left margin next to "sed" (which is the first word of a line) another hand has written "nemo", but it is hard to see where it belongs to.

<sup>8</sup> Vives first wrote "consyderantis".

tuis, nec illum magis tuis quam suis, nec te minus frui illis quam beatum illum, quisquis tandem est. Creditus Plutus in archis<sup>9</sup> cuius tandem est? Usus ostendit dominum, non custodia. Alioqui thesaurarii principum ditiores erunt ipsis principibus. Magnos divites Cicero †magno atriensis† vocat<sup>10</sup>. Itaque, mi Cranavel<di>, ne tibi videar nimis philosophari, praesertim inter aulicos, ubi est ineptissimum, gratulor tibi tuam illam mentem sapientia instructiss<imam>, qua de rebus incorruptissime iudicas; doleo cursum tuum studiorum oblectamentorumque esse scopulo isto Plutico impeditum et retardatum; spero futurum brevi ut Plutus iste<sup>11</sup> alienus<sup>12</sup>, qui more Syrtium iactatur, alio se transferat sinatque te agere navem tuam instituto et arbitrio tuo, aut multus apud te resideat iam tuus plane, sed quietior ac mansuetior<sup>13</sup>.

De Moro accepi a nobili quodam Britanno eum venire cum Cardinale. Porro Cardinalem non ignoras huc adventare. Cui enim ignotus esse potest tantus hospes tamque streperus<sup>14</sup>? Qui in Britannia adhuc erat<sup>15</sup>, hoc est in altero mundo, et iam hic trepidabat tota civitas, ut eum exciperet; in portis dicebatur esse.

Epistolas nisi reddidisses, iam eram convitiosissimis litteris efflagitaturus; nec dicas me non egere charissimi hominis dulcissimis pignoribus! Nequeo non<sup>16</sup> perpetuo frui, illasque in delitiis non habere. Quin et scrinium Darico illo praetiosius<sup>17</sup> facere mihi destinaui, quo non unguenta vel iliadem malorum<sup>18</sup> servem, sed tuas alio-

<sup>9</sup> It seems as if Vives first wrote "archa".

<sup>10</sup> The reading of the text is clear enough, but does not make sense. It should be perhaps "magnos atrienses". Moreover, there is no such sentence in Cicero, but very probably Vives had Cic., *Parad.* V (§§ 35-38) in mind.

<sup>11</sup> "iste" is written above "ipse", which has been deleted.

<sup>12</sup> "alienus" is added in the left margin.

<sup>13</sup> The end of the sentence, "aut multus ... mansuetior" is added in the left margin.

<sup>14</sup> The adjective "streperus" (from "strepere") does not occur in classical Latin. For later neo-Latin attestations see *HL* 40 (1991), 438: Basilius Plinius in Riga (1595) and an anonymous Swedish poet (1740).

<sup>15</sup> after "erat" the words "et iam hic brug<is>" have been crossed out.

<sup>16</sup> after "non" a short word has been deleted.

<sup>17</sup> Vives has adapted to his own case an anecdote told by the elder Pliny about Alexander the Great (*Nat. Hist.* VII 108): "Itaque Alexander Magnus ... inter spolia Darii Persarum regis unguentorum scrinio capto, quod erat auro margaritis gemmisque pretiosum, varios eius usus amicis demonstrantibus, quando taedebat unguenti bellatorem et militia sordidum: 'Immo hercule, inquit, librorum Homeri custodiae detur', ut pretiosissimum humani animi opus quam maxime diviti opere servaretur." An adjective "daricus" is not attested in classical Latin, but corresponds to the Greek δαρεικός.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Cic., *Att.* VIII 11.3: Tanta malorum impendet ἱλιάς.

rumque amicorum epistolas, quas ostentem, ut alii magna in rationibus nomina.

Tu valebis, et frueris quamdiu licebit opibus istis imaginariis. Matronae istae<sup>19</sup> tibi et coniugi tuae S<alutem dant>. Huic quoque meis verbi[s]. Deest charta; nam opistographas epistolas nolo mittere.

*A tergo: D<omino> Francisco / Craneveldio. /*

*Manu Craneveldi: 5 Augusti.*

**Ep. 70.** Fr. Cranevelt (Bruges) to J. Fevynus (Bruges).

71 (f. 96)

14 III <1521?>

A short note to announce the birth on that very day of Cranevelt's son, a healthy boy who looks just like the young Hercules in his cradle, who killed the serpents sent to him by the angry Juno. Although Cranevelt is now wondering philosophically whether or not to follow the old Thracian custom, recorded by Valerius Maximus, of mourning for the new-born and rejoicing at death, he is now more inclined to joy because Christ gave his wife a safe delivery.

The son probably is Alardus, who indeed was very healthy; he died an octogenarian on 10 March 1602.

The date (14 March) shows that the letter was misplaced in the bundle (already by Cranevelt himself, since he gave it number 96). If it was written in 1521, which is likely, the new-born son must be the same as the child on which More complimented Cranevelt and his wife in his letter of 9 April (*Lit. Cran. Bald.* 49. See *HL* 42 [1993], 37).

The letter shows no corrections and it is certainly not a draft. If it is not a copy, it may never have been dispatched, the reason being that Fevynus possibly called at Cranevelt's house before the messenger brought him the note. The letter has already been published by Dirk Sacré in his article "*Nudus ... infans* (Lucrèce, V, 222-227). La survie d'un τόπος littéraire dans la poésie néo-latine", *Les études classiques* 60 (1992), 243-252 (p. 244). We corrected his readings in two places.

<sup>19</sup> The "matronae" presumably are the widow and the mother-in-law of Bernard Valdura, to whom Vives was very close and who gave him accommodation in Bruges. See *Lit. Cran. Bald.* 1 and 2 (*HL* 41 (1992), p. 10 and 14).

Eruditiss<ime> Fevyne, natus est mihi hodie filius talis forme<sup>1</sup>, qualem fingunt fuisse Herculem in cunis iacentem<sup>2</sup>, qui angues ab irata Iunone in perniciem eius missos interemit<sup>3</sup>. Sed nunc philosophico more mecum delibero, an vetus illud Thracum institutum, de quo apud Valerium Maximum, probem, qui natales hominum flebiliter, exequias cum hilaritate celebrabant.<sup>4</sup> Vincit tamen apud me gaudium, quod Christus Op<timus> Max<imus> uxorem servavit incolumem. Vale ex cubiculo meo, XIII Martii.

**Ep. 71. J. L. Vives (Bruges) to Fr. Cranevelt (Bruges).**

72 (f. 97)

[ VI or early VII 1521?]

A short note in Vives's handwriting. Vives lets his friend know that he has got the permission of his doctor to go for a walk at about three o'clock. Vives invites Cranevelt to join him for that walk, but if Cranevelt prefers, he is prepared "to creep" to him as best he can.

If Vives's illness was the same as the one from which he had almost recovered on 10 July (See his letter to Erasmus, Allen 1222), this letter, just like the preceding one to Fevynus and also, presumably, letter 73 (of Vives) must have been misplaced in the bundle by Cranevelt. The fact that Vives seems to take for granted that Cranevelt was not very busy also points to a date before the second half of July and August, viz. before the arrival of King Christiern and the Emperor.

The doctor may be Nicolaus Eucollius: See letter 2 [HL 41 (1992), p. 11] and letter 85, written at Louvain on 12 October 1521, in which he sends his greetings "Eucollio quoque Aesculapio nostro."

S<alutem>. Medicus meus mihi hodie dedit veniam deambulandi ad horam tertiam aut circiter. Si huc tibi vacat venire, deambulabimus quae voles. Sin vis me ire ad te, repam ut potero. Tu quid velis nos facere hodie, significa mihi. Et vale.

T<uus> Vives

<sup>1</sup> Not "forma" as in Sacré, *o. c. supra*.

<sup>2</sup> Not as in Sacré, *o. c. supra*: "Herculi... iacenti".

<sup>3</sup> See, e. g., Servius, *Aen.* VIII 288.

<sup>4</sup> "Qui ... celebrabant" is a literal quotation from Valerius Maximus II 6.12, except that the original text has "quae" and "celebrans". Some manuscripts and humanistic editions, however, read "celebraba(n)t".

**Ep. 72.** J. Fevynus (Bruges) to Fr. Cranevelt (Bruges).

73 (f. 98)

&lt;first half of August 1521?&gt;

During the previous day's dinner Fevynus had come to talk about the separation of gold and silver from any other metal, and he knows that Cranevelt is interested to see the process. At four o'clock in the afternoon Fevynus is planning a visit to the workshop of Dominick, and he invites Cranevelt to come with him. After the visit they will attend the benediction at St. Donatian's, because that is the wish of Vives, who is leaving the next day.

Dominick must belong to the patrician family in Bruges of that name, which counted several goldsmiths among its members. He may well be Pieter Dominick (d. 17 April 1548), dean of the goldsmiths' guild in 1512, with whom the town's magistrates used to place all their official orders in the first decades of the 16th century, including the silver cup Vives received in 1526 in return for his *De subventionem pauperum*. See *Lit. Cran.* 72 (p. 178, n. 1); D. Marechal, *Meesterwerken van de Brugse edelsmeedkunst. Catalogus* (Brugge 1993), pp. 31-32 and p. 419; A. Dewitte, "Stadsmecenaat als stadscultuur te Brugge 1515-1540", *Biekorf. Westvlaams Archief voor Geschiedenis, Archeologie, Taal- en Volkskunde* 89 (1989), 5-9 (p. 7).

The "laudes" in St. Donatian's cannot be the early morning prayers of that name in the Roman Catholic Breviary, but rather the afternoon benediction with the Eucharist, also called "laus" (Dutch: Lof), which became popular from the 15th century onwards. It disappeared from the liturgy in the wake of the second Vatican Council.

The invitation does not bear a date, but letters 74 and 75, also by Fevynus, were written during More's stay in Bruges. More was in Bruges on 14 August. Therefore, this letter may be written a little bit earlier. Since we do not know when Vives wanted to leave, a more precise date is not possible.

S<alutem>. Quod hesterna coena inciderim in sermonem auri atque argenti separandi a metallo quovis alio neque non<sup>1</sup> lateat me eius rei visende esse te avidissimum, hora quarta pomeridiana adibo Dominici domum. Tu si voles hoc ipsum videre, adesse tu quoque poteris. Deinde ad laudes apud divi Donatiani aedem comparebimus. Sic enim Vives cupit, cras discessurus. Vale et [[si]] quid constitueris ut hoc sciam.

Fevynus Tuus.

*A tergo:* Domino suo Craneveldio

<sup>1</sup> Fevynus' use of the negations is confused. "Non" is superfluous with "lateat me".



## Ep. 73. J. L. Vives (Bruges) to Fr. Cranevelt (Bruges)

74 (f. 99)

&lt;early August 1521?&gt;

A short note without an address on the verso side. An important friend of Vives would like to buy the *Corpus Iuris Civilis*, but they could not find it in the bookshop. Vives asks Cranevelt if he or Fevynus know of a copy which is for sale.

When Cranevelt has time Vives would enjoy a chat. He wants his friend to be free of those dirty “postica negotia” so that he may devote himself to more pleasant occupations.

We do not know what the strange expression “postica negotia” (literally: “backdoor” affairs) can mean, but it must refer to some of Cranevelt’s professional duties, maybe a legal action against some base persons.

In a postscript Vives tells that he has just had lunch with a friend and, on coming home, has heard that Cranevelt had called. He regrets that he was absent. He hopes to see Cranevelt the next day.

The date of this note is uncertain. On the basis of its position in the bundle one would suppose it to be in the latter part of August, but that is unlikely for other reasons. Indeed, from 14 August onwards More was in Bruges, and there is not a word about him in the note. Moreover, in the preceding letter (nr. 72) Fevynus mentions that Vives was leaving the next day. Again, in this note there is no trace either of a leave-taking or of a postponed departure. All this points to an earlier date, probably late in July or early in August, but whether it is before or after Vives’s letter of 5 August (nr. 69) is hard to tell.

On the verso side of the letter some Greek and Latin verses and adages are scribbled down, most probably by Cranevelt. One wonders if there is a connection between them and something Vives wrote at the end of his letter of 10 July to Erasmus (Allen 1222). In that letter he told Erasmus that he was sending further proverbs that had turned up during his reading. It looks as if Vives and Cranevelt were collecting adages for Erasmus in the course of their common readings. This assumption, however, is contradicted by the fact that at least some of the adages are already found in the Venice 1508 edition of Erasmus’s *Adagia*. Finally, two of the quotes, viz. Horace, *Epist.* I 5.18 and Epicharmus, are to be found again among a second list of adages preserved on a piece of paper accompanying letter 81 (f. 107).

Sal<ve>, mi Cranaveldi. Amicus quidam maximus meus cuperet emi sibi Corpus Iuris Civilis; apud bibliopolam non invenimus. Si vel tu vel Fevinus scitis aliquod venale, rem feceris mihi gratiss<imam> si mihi significaris. Vale et fac colloquamur quum tibi vacabit et quum voles. Nam spurcis istis posticis negotiis non parum puto distineri te<sup>1</sup>, a quibus

<sup>1</sup> “te” is added above the line.

vellem esses explicatus ut gratioribus vacares, qualia gratiosum istud pectus scio percipere. Tuus Vives.

Nunc venio e prandio amici domum<sup>2</sup> rescivique te hic fuisse; doleo me abfuisse. Videbimus te, ut spero, cras.

*A tergo (manu Craneveldi?):*

1) *in summo folio, a dextra:*

Ausonius Ter bibe vel toties ternos: sic mistica lex est.<sup>3</sup>

Μὴ παντὶ ἐμβαλλεῖν [[την]] δεξιάν.<sup>4</sup>

Νῆφε καὶ μέμνησον ἀπιστεῖν.<sup>5</sup>

2) *in folio transverso:*

πολλοὶ ἀκκιζόμεθα πίνειν τὰ ἴσα.<sup>6</sup>

Persius<sup>7</sup>

Ut sit mens sana in corpore sano.

Menander

εὐτακτὸν εἶναι ταλλότρια δειπνοῦντα δεῖ.<sup>8</sup> Menander.

Horatius<sup>9</sup>

Superbum convivam caveo, qui me sibi comparat.

Lucanus

Luxuries nunquam parvo contenta.<sup>10</sup>

Horatius

Sine amore iocisque nil est iucundum.<sup>11</sup>

Lucanus

Discite quam parvo liceat producere vitam.<sup>12</sup>

Lucanus

Fluviusque Ceresque nature satis est.<sup>13</sup>

Ovidius

<sup>2</sup> Vives began to write "ad", then crossed out the "a".

<sup>3</sup> Aus., XVI (*Griphus*), v. 1.

<sup>4</sup> From Plut., *Mor.* 12e, quoted by Erasmus, *Adagia* I i.2.iv (*ASD* II 1, p. 94).

<sup>5</sup> Epicharmus apud Suidam, s. v. Νῆφε, quoted by Erasmus, *Ad.* 2255 (*ASD* II 5, p. 216).

<sup>6</sup> Source not yet ascertained.

<sup>7</sup> An error for Juvenal (X 356)!

<sup>8</sup> Men., *Sent.* 229

<sup>9</sup> Another error! Read again Juvenal (XI 129-130).

<sup>10</sup> Luc., IV 374

<sup>11</sup> Hor., *Epist.* I 6.65-66

<sup>12</sup> Luc., IV 377

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Luc. IV 381: Satis est populus fluviusque Ceresque.

Vina parant animos Veneri.<sup>14</sup>

Horatius

Nocet empta dolore voluptas.<sup>15</sup>

Horatius

Sollicitis animis onus eximit ac docet artes.<sup>16</sup>

Idem

Fecundi calices qui non fecere<sup>17</sup> disertum.<sup>18</sup>

Ovidius

Officium praestent mensque pedesque suum.<sup>19</sup>

**Ep. 74.** J. Fevynus (Bruges) to Fr. Cranevelt (Bruges).

75 (f. 100)

<after 14 VIII 1521>

When Thomas More was with Cranevelt, the latter had brought with him two translations of William Cop, viz. Paulus Aegineta and another one which Fevynus cannot remember though interesting it was. Fevynus would be grateful if Cranevelt could tell him the name of the author. He would be even more grateful if he could borrow the book.

The letter must have been written about the middle of August. More and Wolsey arrived at Bruges on 14 August and from the following (equally undated) letter it is clear that More was still in Bruges.

William Cop of Basel (b. about 1460/65 — d. 2 XII 1532), a friend of Erasmus, was a well-known medical doctor in Paris (physician to Louis XII and François I) and translator of Greek medical works: Paulus Aegineta (Paul of Aegina [Paris 1511]), Galen (Paris 1513 and 1528) and Hippocrates (Paris 1511-12). See *CE* I, pp.336-337. It is, of course, impossible to say whether the second translation brought by Cranevelt was Galen or Hippocrates. In the following letter Fevynus wrote that he had almost finished reading Aegineta, but he did not mention the other author.

On the verso side of the letter there are, apart from the address, a few notes in Cranevelt's hand comparing (ancient?) coin or weight values (solidus, denarii, oboli, siliquae). Cranevelt's equation of 12 denarii with 24 oboli is sur-

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Ov., *Ars* I 237: Vina parant animos faciuntque caloribus aptos.

<sup>15</sup> Hor., *Epist.* I 2.55

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Hor., *Epist.* I 5.18: Sollicitis animis onus eximit, addocet artes.

<sup>17</sup> "qui non fecere" is written above a crossed out "fecere".

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Hor., *Epist.* I 5.19 (in Horace: "quem")

<sup>19</sup> Ov., *Ars* I 590.

prising, as a denarius normally is six oboli (Cf. *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* IX 2.1, col. 142, ll. 1-15, s. v. Obolus). Similarly, a Roman gold coin (solidus) ordinarily equals 24 siliquae, not 144. Also, it is difficult to take the Roman terms as equivalents for 16th-century values, since they do not seem to fit any of the monetary systems used in Flanders at the time. See "Money and Coinage of the Age of Erasmus", in *The Correspondence of Erasmus. Letters 1 to 141: 1484 to 1500*, translated by R. A. B. Mynors and D. F. S. Thomson, Annotated by Wallace K. Ferguson, *The Collected Works of Erasmus*, 1 (Toronto 1974), pp. 335-347.

S<alutem> D<ico>. Cum esset apud te Morus, attuleras tecum unum atque alterum libellum et, ni fallor, uterque translatus erat a Copo. De Egineta commemini; alius excidit memoria, sed tamen erat dignus lectione. Quare erit mihi gratum, si scierim ex te quis fuerit is author, et multo gratiss<imum> si possim uti. Vale.

Fevynus.

A tergo: D<omi>no Craneveldio

(in transverso folio, a sinistra): olobus(!) continet sex siliquas 144.  
solidus habet 12 d<enarios>  
solidus habet 24 obolos  
solidus habet 144 siliquas.

**Ep. 75.** J. Fevynus (Bruges) to Fr. Cranevelt (Bruges).

76 (f.101)

<ca. 20 VIII 1521>

A short letter from Fevynus written in the period when More was staying in Bruges. Returning from his church (St. Donatian's) Fevynus had met Eucollius, who had called on More before Vespers, and asked him if More had time for a visit. He himself was very busy. Since Fevynus and Cranevelt had planned also to call on More, Fevynus now wanted Cranevelt to know that they would have to wait for a better opportunity. He also added some information about his readings: Platina does not appeal to him, and he has almost finished Aegineta. He will give back the books before long.

Nicolaus Eucollius or Goethals is the medical doctor from Bruges who accompanied More to England. On him see the introduction to letter 2 (*HL* 41, 1992, p. 11).

Bartholomaeus Platina (b. 1421 — d. 1481) is a well-known Italian humanist

and the first librarian of the Vatican Library. He is the author of several widely read works, among them the *De Vitis Maximorum Pontificum Historia*, a humanist rewriting of the *Liber Pontificalis*, and the *De Honesta Voluptate et Valetudine libri X*, on the art of cooking. Which book or books Fevynus had in mind is impossible to tell. The two works mentioned were available easily enough. The first had been published, *i. a.*, in Venice in 1518; the cookery book had even been printed at Louvain by John of Westphalia about 1480. On Platina see furthermore CE III, pp. 100-101 and Bartolomeo Sacchi il Platina (*Piadena 1421 — Roma 1481*). *Atti del Convegno internazionale...* (Cremona, 14-15 nov. 1981), a cura di A. Campana e Paola Medioli Masotti (Padua 1986).

On Paulus Aegineta (Paul of Aegina) see letter 74.

S<alutem> D<ico>. Rediens iamiam ex aede nostra perscrutatus sum ex Eucol<l>io, quod is ante Vesperas apud Morum agebat, an vacaret colloqui cum Moro. Adfirmavit is eum multo occupatissimum. Quare cum constituissemus adire ipsum, ne ludamus operam, alio tempore et commodiore ipsum invisemus. Hoc volui ut scyres.

De Platina: nihildum oblectavit ille me. Sed Eginetam prope absolvimus. Eos propediem remittam. Et interim vale, mi Cra<nevel>di optime atque omnium humanissime.

Fevynus ex animo tuus.

*A tergo:* D<omi>no suo Fr<ancisco> Craneveldio.

**Ep. 76.** Leonard Clodius (Bruges) to Fr. Cranevelt (Bruges).

77 (f. 102<sup>r-v</sup>)

2 X 1521.

Clodius is too ill to pay a visit to Cranevelt. Therefore, he has written this letter which, he hopes, will not inconvenience his serious and busy master. But he is convinced that Cranevelt has been so good to him that he did not hesitate to put to work his thumb, though sore as a result of blood-letting. What was the matter? The previous night doctor Leonardus Vandevalus had come to see him, but instead of inquiring about his health asked if he should not congratulate Clodius. At first Clodius did not understand him until at last the doctor gave a hint as to Clodius's appointment as rector of the school of St. Donatian's and, after further questions, named as his sources Petrus Songevilla and Jodocus, a teacher at the Bogards school. At that news Clodius was so delirious with joy that he wanted to write immediately notwithstanding his fever and bilious colic.

Indeed, Clodius understood perfectly well that, ultimately, he owed his good fortune to Cranevelt. In the last part of the letter Clodius seems to express a fear that doctor Bertrand may interfere and that something still might go wrong. If that were the case it would not escape the attention of Fevynus who is the expert in the Chapter's affairs. Clodius ends with the expression of his utter devotion to Cranevelt.

On the schoolman Leonardus Clodius see introduction to letter 48 (*HL* 42, 1993, p. 35). He may be the same person as Leonardus Cloet de Brughis, who registered as a poor student at Louvain on 27 November 1514 (At the time, "oe" was pronounced as a long o). See A. Schillings, *Matricule de l'Université de Louvain*, t. III. 31 avril 1485 — 31 août 1527 (Brussels 1962), p. 501, n. 56. But see also, hereafter, letters 82 and 83.

Leonardus Vandevalus, appearing here for the first time, returns later in the bundle as the author of two long letters (*Ep.* 98 and 105). In *Ep.* 98 he signed his name in Greek (Λεονάρδος ὁ βανδέβαλος) thus settling the question whether to read Vandevalus or Vandalus. Apart from the fact that he was a physician in Bruges we only know that he matriculated at Louvain as a poor student in the Pedagogy (Arts College) The Lily on 2 October 1508. See A. Schillings, *o. c.*, p. 365, nr. 174: "Leonardus van der Vale de Brughis, pauper" In the Lily he will have been a pupil of Martin Dorpius and the fact that, in 1521, he still quoted Plautus seems to be a distant remembrance of Dorpius's reading and performing the Roman playwright with his students in the years 1508-10.

Petrus Songevilla and Jodocus are hardly better known. On the Bogards school in Bruges see Z. van Male, *Een beschrijving van de bogardenschool te Brugge omstreeks 1555*. Edited by A. Schouteet (Bruges 1960).

Gulielmus Bertrandus studied in Rome, Perugia (1493-94) and Louvain (1495-99) and was Fevynus's predecessor as *scholaster* of St. Donatian's Chapter School. Fevynus succeeded to him in 1523. See A. Himpe, *Studie over het humanisme aan het Sint-Donaaskapittel te Brugge* (unpubl. licent. thesis, Univ. of Ghent, 1941), pp. 134-135, 59.

Egredi non sinunt, si occupationes dicam mentiar, sed febres illae violentae, quae me ita confecere continue ut suspectum pepererint exitum. Boni itaque precor consulas, doctissime praeceptor, hanc nostram impudentem temeritatem, qui a senioribus studiis, quibus numquam te non impendis profusius, nugacibus hiisce literulis ausus sum avocare. Verum interim tam persuasum est mihi tua de humanitate ut, nullo ante perpenso discrimine, phlebotomatum pollicem exercui audacter<sup>1</sup>, idque meo sane iudicio non abs re.

<sup>1</sup> Obviously, the sick Clodius had undergone a blood-letting shortly before, and writing was still painful to him. Notice that he wrote "pollicem" (thumb), although he could not mean his thumb but the wrist underneath it, where he had undergone the blood-letting.

Hesterno namque crepusculo accersitus ad nos venit doctissimus Leonardus Vandevalus, medicus per Iovem non temerarius. Is cubile ingressus, nihil plane de valitudine scissitatus<sup>2</sup>, rogabat num mihi debeat aggratulari<sup>3</sup>, nulla praeterea addita ratione. Tum ego, hominis facetias non semel atque iterum expertus et doctus: "Num, inquam, quod male habeam?" Ille (inquit): "Minime. Verum aliud est", subiunxit, "quam quod pueri in faba<sup>4</sup>." Precabar rem ipsam laconice absolveret. "Salve", inquit, "Ludi-magister Donatiane!", innuens praesentem scolarium rectorem a Capitulo, ut vocant, destitutum. Me autem non dixit vocandum, sed iam institutum. Pernegabam ita esse, ut quem nihil magis lateret. Rogatus rursus quibus autoribus id edidicisset, "Petro Songevilla" respondit, "probo hercle cive, et Iodoco Bogardensium praeceptore, preconibus tuis<sup>5</sup> haud elinguibus."

Hinc est suborta debilibus meis articulis aliquantula titillatio, quae febricitantem simulque calculosum ad scribendum impulit, quando diis visum est ita ut scriptorem ire liceat male, quo nuncias mittit literulas. Non ignoro profecto, amicorum integerrime, quos mea causa promptissimus super eodem negotio subieris labores, et quod nihil interim innovaretur a doctore Bertrando, te imprimis aliisque nonnullis inconsultis. Atqui si quicquam tractatum // fuerit interea, Fevinum tuum doctissimum haud, puto, effugerit, cuius iudicium merito in tractandis capitulinis<sup>6</sup> negociis penditur maximi. Quem (si non<sup>7</sup> sit permolestum) super ea re precor roges exsculpasque<sup>8</sup> totam comediae seriem<sup>9</sup>. Habebis me tibi ministrum perpetuum, officiosissimumque eum et impigrum, quem Croesum non dedit Fortuna<sup>10</sup>. [[Vall]]

<sup>2</sup> It would be more correct to write "sciscitatus".

<sup>3</sup> This variant of "congratulari" seems not to occur in classical Antiquity, but it was used repeatedly by Erasmus. See R. Hoven, *Lexique de la Prose Latine de la Renaissance* (Leiden 1993), s. v.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Plautus, *Aul.* 818: "-Quid repperisti? -Non quod pueri clamitant in faba se repperisse". See also A. Otto, *Die Sprichwörter und sprichwörtlichen Redensarten der Römer* (Leipzig 1890), p. 128. The expression means something without value.

<sup>5</sup> "tuis" added above a cancelled "meis".

<sup>6</sup> A curious variant of the common adjective "capitularis". Clodius certainly had "Capitolinus" in his mind as an obvious parallel. Not in Hoven.

<sup>7</sup> "non" follows a "not" which was cancelled.

<sup>8</sup> The use of "exsculpere" with the meaning of asking emphatically is borrowed from Terence, *Eun.* 712-13: "Possumne ego hodie ex te exsculpere / verum" (Cf. also Plautus, *Cist.* 541: "vix exsculpisi ut diceret").

<sup>9</sup> These words suggest that the position of rector had been the object of intrigues in the Chapter.

<sup>10</sup> A rather obscure comparison. If the text is read correctly (the letters "em" and "oe" are heavily blotched) the allusion seems to be to the Lydian king Croesus, who became a slave (Herod. I 86) and a friendly counsellor of the Persian king Cyrus.

Vale foelicissime. Ex aedibus nostris, hodie. (*manu Craneveldi*) 2<sup>a</sup> Octobris a° 1521.

Tuus ex animo Leonardus Clodius.

*E transverso*: Iureconsultissimo doctōri / Francisco Craneveldio, a / secretis consiliisque Bruganis.

**Ep. 77.** Paulus de Mera <Louvain> to Fr. Cranevelt (Bruges).

78 (f. 103)

Received 3 X 1521.

On 3 October Cranevelt received two letters from Louvain, one from Petrus Curtius (see letter 78) and the present one, written by a young student, probably a pupil of Curtius.

Paulus de Mera, as we now can see, is also the author of the anonymous *Lit. Cran.* 31 and 34. Not much more is known about him and his name (Van der Meeren) is too common to allow room for much speculation. At Louvain there were several persons bearing that name, the most famous being Gabriel de Mera, professor of law (d. 1530), about whom see *Lit. Cran.* 1 (pp. 1-2) and *Lit. Cran. Bald.* 9 (*HL*, 41, 1992, p.34, n.18). Johannes de Mera, notary to the Court of the Conservator of the Privileges of the University from 1505 to his death in 1542 (*Lit. Cran.* 111, p. 301, n.46), is another one and could be the father of the boy. A namesake Paulus de Mera registered as a wealthy student in the Arts College The Falcon (De Valk) on 31 August 1524 (see A. Schillings, *Matricule*, t. III, p. 731, nr. 319). If Cranevelt's cousin was a pupil of Curtius, his Arts College was the Lily.

Paul is most happy because Cranevelt sent him greetings in the letter to his father. It is proof of how much his relative appreciates a young student still at his Aesop. Paul now knows the essentials of grammar and is making steady progress with the help of his teacher, who also reads with him the classical authors. In Greek so far he only knows the alphabet but, if his father consents, his teacher will teach him the language. With some humanist tags on the happiness of their time, the need for intellectual ability and a good memory, and with a quotation on wisdom taken from Plautus he concludes his letter. Greetings from both his parents and his master.

Paul got the permission of his father to do Greek also. In *Lit. Cran.* 34 of 9 January 1523 he was able to quote in Greek an epigram from the Greek Anthology (XI 381, not identified by De Vocht).



The young man's hand is very clumsy and errors are not infrequent. A typical characteristic of his hand is the consistent suspension of m and n, at the end of a word, by a tilde above the line.

Paulus de Mera cognato suo charissimo

S<alutem D<edit> P<lurimam>

Maxime mihi fuit voluptati, carissime<sup>1</sup> domine cognate, quod in primis me iusseris salutari in epistola illa tua elegantissima<sup>2</sup> nuperrime ad charissimum meum patrem tran<s>missa. Hinc satis animadverto quantus sit animi tui candor, quanta benevolentia, quanta humanitas, quod mei et iuvenis indocti et adhuc versantis Aesopum<sup>3</sup> tam serio meminervis.

Rudimenta grammatices utcumque teneo. Datis mihi modicissimis preceptis atque iis optimis, simul cum illis bonos inculcat autores preceptor ille meus, in quibus iam mediocriter<sup>4</sup>, quantum per etatem et corporis imbecillitatem liceat, profeci proficioque quotidie. In grecis nihil adhuc preter elementa prima calleo; post mens{e}s<sup>5</sup> aliquos, si patri ita placebit meo, preceptor<sup>6</sup> meus me fideliter instituet. Non video quid laboris minuat mihi ista temporum felicitas. Nisi felix adsit ingenium, tenax memoria, studium assiduum et preceptor eruditus, non puto aliquem<sup>7</sup> posse bene proficere. Plautus in Trinummo dicit: "Sapientie aetas condimentum est, sapiens etati cibus est."<sup>8</sup>

Bene valebis, amantissime d<omi>ne cognate. Salutant te charissimi mei parentes ambo, salutat et preceptor meus qui se totum tue commendat humanitati.

<sup>1</sup> Originally "carissimae"; "a" erased.

<sup>2</sup> "elegantissima" added above the line.

<sup>3</sup> The schoolbook Paul was studying was, of course, not the original Greek version of the fables, but the collection of Latin translations and adaptations known as *Aesopus Dorpii*. This collection printed for the first time at Antwerp by Dirk Martens in April 1512 became a European best-seller. Maybe Paul used a copy of the new edition printed by Martens at Louvain in January 1520. See P. Thoen, "Aesopus Dorpii. Essai sur l'Esope latin des temps modernes", *HL* 19 (1970), 241-316; and Id., "Les grands recueils ésopiques latins des XV<sup>e</sup> et XVI<sup>e</sup> siècles et leur importance pour les littératures des temps modernes", in J. IJsewijn and E. Keßler, *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Lovaniensis* (Leuven — München, 1973), pp. 659-679.

<sup>4</sup> A second "t", later erased, was added after the first one above the line.

<sup>5</sup> The young man wrote "mensas", confusing maybe "mensis" and "mensa", although the gender of "mensis" is correct.

<sup>6</sup> The first "p" was added above the line after the deletion of another one (presumably an abbreviated "per", but a hole in the paper made it disappear)

<sup>7</sup> Paul seems to have written "aliquem(m)"

<sup>8</sup> Plaut., *Trin.* 368. The correct text reads: "Sapienti aetas condimentum..."

*A tergo: Litteratissimo viro M<agistro> Francisco / Craneveldo doctissimo, utriusque / iuris doctori, cognato meo charissimo.*

*Brugis*

*manu Craneveldi: R<ecepta> iii octobris a° XXI°*

**Ep. 78.** Petrus Curtius (Louvain) to Fr. Cranevelt (Bruges)

79 (f. 104)

24 IX 1521.

Received 3 X 1521.

The original is slightly worn on the right side with some loss of text in the lower half of the letter.

A letter of friendship in reply to one of Cranevelt. In the first part of the letter Curtius expatiates on letters as a link between friends. Bodily presence is not necessary to friendship, which is declared and perceived by clear signs, written or other. Such signs are necessary, because not to be at a distance [“loci indistantia”] does not help to discern one’s mood. A fact which is called by *Momus* a defect of man’s bodily structure.

Next Curtius thanks Cranevelt for his sound advice. From his words it is clear that Cranevelt had reacted to his complaints (in letter 63) about the injustice of Fortune, which obliged Curtius to teach Latin to children and to participate in theological disputations rather than to study Greek. He will follow Cranevelt’s advice and not put the source of his income in jeopardy.

Furthermore, Cranevelt had recommended Gisbertus Roseus to the care of Curtius, who will certainly do what he can for the young man.

Gysbertus Roseus is the author of *Lit. Cran.* 15, 26 and 255, but until now we have not known his first name. It is now clear that De Vocht’s proposal to identify him with the Louvain student Johannes Rose de Bomalia can no longer be upheld. In *Litt. Cran.* 26 of 27 November 1522 Gysbertus calls Curtius “preceptor meus...” (ll. 11-12).

Finally, Curtius has forwarded Cranevelt’s remembrances to Naeuius, Gaverius and Dorpius, and they send in return their thanks and greetings. Curtius has informed Dorpius about the arrival of More (he had received the same news through Erasmus). Dorpius has enthusiastically promised to meet More, if that were possible, or at least to send him a letter. No further news.

Naeuius, Gaverius and Dorpius are all well-known Louvain humanists. Naeuius or Jan De Neve from Hondschoote in Southern Flanders (now Northern France) was regent of the *Paedagogium Lili* from 1505 until his death on 25 November 1522. Roseus described to Cranevelt his passing away after a stroke and a fall from the stairs of his College in a letter written two days afterwards

(*Lit. Cran.* 26, ll. 1-9). See his biography in the introduction to that letter and *CE* III, p. 15 (with false date of death!). For Gaverius, who had left the Lily in the preceding spring, see *Lit. Cran. Bald.* 52 (*HL* 42, 1993, pp. 41-44). Martinus Dorpius is the best known of the three because of his close relationship with Erasmus and More. If anything, this letter proves that there were no bad feelings between More and Dorpius. See further *CE* I, pp. 398-404 and J. IJsewijn (ed.), *Martinus Dorpius, Orationes IV cum Apologia et litteris adnexis* (Leipzig 1986).

Salve vicissim, clariss<ime> D<omine>! Nihil est verius, mi Craneveldi, quam mutuis literis praesentes inter se fieri amicos, id quod abunde superioribus tuis literis didici. Nam ita me amet Iupiter, si non adeo fuerim perfusus gaudio receptis illis, ac<sup>1</sup> si te coram datum fuisset comtemplari. Et quantum, queso, est quod corporalis adfert praesentia? Nam praeter quam quod animum [[praesentem]] amici praesentem facit, nil confert aliud quam statua. Iam vero ipsa loci indistantia<sup>2</sup> animum non indicat (quod Momus ille Ligurinus<sup>3</sup> in hominis architectura carpendum putavit), nisi per signa colligas. Quod si signa sint necessaria, eaque non minus absens literis quam praesens gestibus aut sonis percipere queas<sup>4</sup>, non video cur optanda sit amicorum praesentia.

Porro quod me consolaris adversus herae fortunae iniurias<sup>5</sup>, et eas forti animo perferendas consulis, facis tu quidem et prudenter et amice. Atque hinc amicissimum te esse mihi firmiter persuadeo, quod ita mihi ex animo perspectum esse cupis, priusquam veterem relinquam conditionem. Tuo consilio plane sum obtemperaturus, statque firma sententia non eiiciendum hoc iugum antea quam solidior aliqua ocii ratio m[ihi] pariat.

Postremo commendas [[mihi]] Gisbertum Roseum tuum, qui mihi profecto multis nominibus est commendatissimus cum ob indolem bonam, tum ob studium indefessum; quibus quando iam accedit tua commendatio, non est q[ui] charior fieri possit. Eundem vicissim tibi

<sup>1</sup> Curtius first wrote "atque".

<sup>2</sup> As far as we can tell classical Latin only used the adverb "indistanter". R. Hoven in his *Lexique* (p. 180), has noted the noun "indistantia" in the work of Giovanni Pico della Mirandola and it is found also in A. Blaise's *Lexicon Latinitatis Medii Aevi* (Turnhout 1975), p. 475.

<sup>3</sup> This is an allusion to a story about Momus criticising the structure of the human body told by Erasmus, *Adage* I v 74=474 (*ASD* II 1, pp. 546-548). Further on in the text Erasmus quotes Cicero, *Att.* V 20.6 where one reads the expression "Ligurinus Momus".

<sup>4</sup> queas: queant *ante correctionem*.

<sup>5</sup> Compare letter 63: "...noverca fortuna..."(l. 21); "...illius iniurias ferrem..."(l. 22).

commendo ut illum, quod facis, [iuves]. Digniss<imus> enim est in quem beneficium collocetur. Ego certe quantum potero, illi ad[ero].

Ceterum quod addidisti cupere te Nevio, Gaverio ac Dorpio comm[endari], functus sum meo officio strenue, atque illorum nomine gratiam maximam habeo, sa[lutem] quoque plurimam comprecor. Ita enim illi iussere. Dorpio significavi adesse Morum, virum omnibus modis doctissimum, atque aliquantisper mansurum, id quod eciam a[b] Erasmo intellexerat. Respondit is, ut solet hilariter, curaturum se uti ho[minem] vel praesens praesentem, si ita ferant negocia, vel absens saltem<sup>6</sup> per literas conveniat.

Cupieram adiicere huc coronidem aliquam [[rem]] rerum novarum, verum nihil certi po[tuit] apud nos resciri. Quare per vale concludendum censui. Itaque vale!

Lovan[ii], octavo Calendas Octobres.

Tuus ex animo P<etrus> Curtius.

*A tergo:* Ornatissimo, et eruditione, et / facundia, iuris utriusque Doctori, M<agistro> / Francisco Craneveldio, pensionario Brugensi./

Brugis.

*Manu Craneveldi:* 3<sup>a</sup> Octobris a<sup>o</sup> xxi<sup>o</sup>.

### Ep. 79. J. L. Vives (Bruges) to Fr. Cranevelt (Bruges).

80 (f. 105)

< Summer 1521>

Vives lets Cranevelt know that he has arrived at Bruges in order to plunder both Cranevelt's and their friends' libraries. This seems to refer to the early stage of his work on the Commentary on St. Augustine, probably sometime in June. We know from letter 61 that Vives was still at Louvain on 22 May. According to the Preface to his Commentary he went to Bruges because he was ill, and allusions to that illness are found indeed in letter 71. In his Preface he furthermore says that he went back to Louvain at the end of September where he was working until the late spring of <1522>. Cf. *Opera Omnia I. L. Vivis Valentini*. Vol. II: Philologica, 1. *Commentarii ad Divi Aurelii Augustini De Civitate Dei, Libri I-V*. Curaverunt F. G. Pérez Durà & J. M. Estellés González (Valencia 1992), pp. 25-26. From its contents and from Vives's own statement

<sup>6</sup> "saltem" was added above the line.

about the time of his departure from Bruges it is clear that letter 79, following letters received on 3 October, was misplaced by Cranevelt in his collection.

Cranevelt has already sent Erasmus's New Testament. Vives asks also for Erasmus's Annotations, the *Moralia* of Plutarch and the philosophical works of Cicero. He hopes to borrow from Fevynus a Lactantius. From the next sentence we can deduce that Fevynus did not easily part with his books. At least, that is how we understand Vives's suggestion that Cranevelt send to him a rather bold servant. Finally, Vives also wants to see the *Antiquities* and the *Jewish War* of Flavius Iosephus, if someone of their friends possesses these works.

In a postscript Vives mentions that he will be at St. Donatian's that afternoon for the "Laudes" (the Benediction with the Eucharist). If Cranevelt will come too, they will walk about in the church; otherwise they will do so the day after or, at the latest, the day after that.

From all this it is clear that Vives had no more health problems and was not yet thinking of leaving.

S<alutem>, mi Cranaveldi. Brugas veni ut et tuam et amicorum omnium bibliothecas spoliarem. Misisti ad me Novum Testamentum Erasmi; mitte, quaeso, et Annotationes eius et opuscula Plutarchi et opera philosophica Ciceronis. Ex Fevyno nostro habebimus Lactantium. Mittes eum famulum, qui semel verecundiae terminos transgressus est, cum oportet bene et gnauiter esse impudentem. Adde etiam Iosephum De Antiquitatibus et Bello Judaico, si quis habet amicorum. Bene vale.

*Alio atramento adscriptum:* Vesperi ero in Laudibus apud S<ancti> Donatiani. Si veneris, deambulabimus in eo templo; sin minus cras, aut ad summum perendie.

*Atramento priore subscriptum:* Tuus Vives.

**Ep. 80.** Thomas More (Bruges) to Fr. Cranevelt (Bruges).

81 (f. [106])

<shortly after 5 X 1521>

A hasty farewell note scribbled on a roughly pentagonally shaped strip of paper torn from some (English) document. This at least we can deduce, it seems, from the fact that one reads a word "righte" on the extreme top of the pentagon, which makes up the very short right margin. The word is written perpendicularly to the lines of More's note.

Presumably the right-hand part of More's first line was torn off (or eaten by

mice) at some unspecifiable date. The tear begins just at the fourth word, which began, possibly, with either “ex” or (an abbreviated) “qua..” (probably: “quam” or “quantum”). Towards the end of the line the lower tail of an x or a g survives above the first syllable of the word “super” on line 2.

Probably More told Cranevelt in the first line that there was no time to come and say goodbye. In the second line he says that just a bit of paper is left. He is going to mount his horse and herewith returns Cranevelt’s book. With Cranevelt he is also leaving a bundle of letters which Erasmus had sent him to read, but not to publish. Publication will not serve a useful purpose, unless the enemy (viz. Edward Lee; see letter 82) continues to rage. In case that happens, More is leaving the letters in the safe care of Cranevelt, also at the request of Erasmus. Cranevelt may show them to Marcus Laurinus, [the dean of St. Donatian’s. Cf. *CE* II, pp. 307-308], if the latter wants to read any.

Greetings and wishes to Cranevelt’s dearest wife and sweetest children.

More wrote this farewell at the end of his stay in Bruges during and after the diplomatic meeting he attended in the second part of August in the company of Cardinal Wolsey. From letter 85 we know that he still was in Bruges on 5 October but preparing to leave soon.

[See also p. 68!]

En, mi Craneveldi, ex[ ] *aut* qua[m?] /ntum? ] x(?)[ ] /  
[[car]] chartae quidem honestum frustum superest. Ego nunc equum  
conscendo; librum tuum remitto. Accipies una fasciculum litterarum  
quas ad me misit Erasmus ut legerem. Edi illas neque vult neque usus  
[[est]] id postulat, nisi quid adversarius pergat furere. In quem eventum  
ut salvae sint etiam ipsius iussu depono apud te. Tu D<omino> Laurino  
si quam legere volet impartire. D<ominam> Matronam eximiam uxorem  
tuam meo saluta nomine. Cui et tibi et dulcissimis liberis vestris salutem  
longam et felicitatem precor. Ego nunc ad equum vocor. Iterum vale.  
Tuus totus T<homas> M<orus>.

*E transverso, in extremo margine dextro: righte.*

### Ep. 81. <Fr. Cranevelt (Bruges) to?>

82 (f. 107a and b)

<X 1521?>

Two small pieces of paper, the first a rectangular one bearing the series number 107 and a letter, the second more or less of a square shape and containing some adages. From the handwriting we can be sure that both were written by

Cranevelt. The addressee of the letter is unknown, maybe Fevynus or Vives. The suggested date depends on the position in the bundle.

In the letter Cranevelt states that he had made two errors in one letter. First he had written that in unknown languages we are mute instead of deaf, as if what we do not understand, we do not hear. Next, he spelled “cirotheca” instead of “chiroteca”. (As a matter of fact, the correct spelling is “chirotheca”, a mediaeval and humanistic term for glove. See Niermeyer’s *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon minus*, p. 176, and Hoven’s *Lexique*, p. 59). Cranevelt apologizes, but notes that in writing we always commit errors.

The adages are partly the same as those found with letter 73. All are in Latin but for the last one, which is written in Greek capital letters.

(Text a)

S<alutem> P<lurimam>. Bis peccavi per festinationem in unis literis: primum, quod scripsi nos in his linguis, quas non intelligeremus, esse mutos, cum surdi simus perinde quasi quod non intelligimus etiam non audiamus; secundo, quod scripsi cirothecas, cum chirotecas scribere debuerim. Sed tu minutie isti boni consulis et in multis connives, aut potius in omnibus. Quid enim scribere possimus, in quo non multis modis hallucinemur et labamur? Vale.

(Text b)

Versus de impl... parte ...domini (?) Mori.  
 Sollicitis animis onus eximit ac docet artes.<sup>1</sup>  
 Quo mihi fortuna est, si non conceditur uti.<sup>2</sup>  
 Sobrius hilarescit Bacchus, ebrius furit.<sup>3</sup>  
 Vilius argentum est auro, virtutibus aurum.<sup>4</sup>  
 Fecundi calices quem non fecere disertum.<sup>5</sup>  
 [[Multi submerguntur in fluctibus vini.]]  
 [[ Fecere multos naufragos fluctus meri.]]  
 Multi naufragium fecerunt in urceo.<sup>6</sup>  
 ΝΗΦΕ ΚΑΙ ΜΕΜΝΙΣΘΝ ἈΡΙΣΤΕΪΝ.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hor., *Epist.* I 5.18. See also letter 73.

<sup>2</sup> Hor., *Epist.* I 5.12.

<sup>3</sup> Not ancient, unless a translation from an unidentified Greek text.

<sup>4</sup> Hor., *Epist.* I 1.52.

<sup>5</sup> Hor., *Epist.* I 5.19. See also letter 73.

<sup>6</sup> Are this and the two cancelled texts tentative translations from a Greek verse?

<sup>7</sup> Taken from Erasmus’s *Adage* 2255. See letter 73.

**Ep. 82.** <J. Fevynus (Bruges)> to Fr. Cranevelt (Bruges)

84 (f. 108)

&lt; X 1521&gt;

The anonymous letter is clearly written by Fevynus. The handwriting and inside information on Leonardus Clodius do not leave any doubt on that point.

Fevynus is, obviously, referring to the letters of Erasmus which Thomas More had left in the care of Cranevelt (see letter 80). From Fevynus's words we learn that these were (at least in part) letters of vindication against Lee, which explains, of course, why Erasmus had entrusted them to More and did not want to publish them if Lee kept quiet.

Fevynus and Cranevelt have been reading the letters and each of them is watching the reactions of the other. Fevynus now invites Cranevelt to indicate his feelings. As for himself, he finds the tone of the letters too sharp and too malicious for a good Christian. It is true that <Lee> is envious of another's glory, is a scandal-monger etc. But what if he changes his mind? Did not Dorpius do the same?

There is not yet a decision regarding Clodius, but Fevynus will be glad to help if he can. Cranevelt must tell Clodius to find out from Bertrand (prebendary of St. Donatian's; see letter 76), whether he has taken a decision. It depends upon him. This information clearly refers to the appointment of Leonardus Clodius, for which see letter 76.

Here and in letter 83 Fevynus wrote "Coldius". If this was not an admittedly transparent device to hide the name from unwanted eyes, the explanation must be that the real name of Clodius was Colde. But see the introduction to letter 76!

Finally, Fevynus asks Cranevelt to let him know if he wishes to read the other letters.

S<alutem> P<lurimam>. Ut nihil sit quod ad te scribam, et hoc quale id cunque est certum scio quam non satisfaciet palato illo<sup>1</sup> tuo delicatiss<imo>. Non potui tamen hoc ipsum tibi per literas non aperire. Atque inprimis cum Apologeticas Ger<maniae> totius literatiss<imi><sup>2</sup> aepistolas una perlegerimus, videbare tu mihi tantisper suspendere iudicium tuum illud acerrimum quoadusque ego aut effutissem imprudens quicquam, aut temerarius (ceu Leiculus ardelio<sup>3</sup>) tanta de re, viris tantis et tam eruditis severius pronunciassem. Sed nescio quo fato ego contra subauscultabam ecquid ea de re tu sentires; tum fortassis prudentior, qui

<sup>1</sup> An obvious error for "illi".

<sup>2</sup> Fevynus avoids the name Erasmus!

<sup>3</sup> "As rash as the dabbler Lee." For a description of an "ardelio" (meddler, dabbler), see Martial II 7. For Edward Lee see CE II, pp. 311-314 and R. Coogan, *Erasmus, Lee and the Correction of the Vulgate: the Shaking of Foundations* (Geneva, 1992).



thezauro<sup>4</sup> tibi concredito<sup>5</sup>, tantulo silentio, plurimum detulerim. Quare cum pressius hec iterum atque iterum evolvisse te reor, libens audierim quid tu sentias. Nam quod ad me attinet, ut sint multa cum eleganter, docte, tum etiam acriter dicta, improbarim ego plane nimiam illam maledicendi licentiam. Quid enim eque alienum viro bono est, adde Christiano, quam maliciam simili malicia retundere? Esto, sit aliene invidus glorie, sit susurro, detractor, sit laudis avidior; fieri potest ut aliquando recantet suffragium. Quid quod Dorpius palinodiam recantavit?<sup>6</sup> Hic cum elegantior, copiosior, doctior, tum theologus eruditionis summae, et fortassis fame appetentior quam theologum decet. Ergo ut nihil pronuncio, pergratum mihi erit, si sententiam intelligam tuam.

De Coldio nihildum actum est. Ego si quid illi prodesse possum, libens vel tua ac etiam illius causa quidvis subiero. Hoc illi dicere possis, et ut exploret apud Bertrandum ecquid decreverit. Nam ex illo res pendet.

Vale, et cum reliquas legere voles, ut sciam.

*A tergo:* Undecumque doctissimo / viro D<omi>no suo Craneveldio / praeceptori unice obsequendo.

### Ep. 83. <J. Fevynus (Bruges)> to Fr. Cranevelt (Bruges).

85 (f. unnumbered)

< X 1521 >

A short note hastily scribbled by Fevynus. Since it was not given a separate series number by Cranevelt it apparently is a postscript to letter 82. It is, in any case, a sequel to the matter of Clodius's appointment, on which see letter 76.

Cranevelt must get Clodius (Fevynus has again written Coldius, as in *Ep.* 82) write him a letter on the pretext of inquiring from Fevynus what might be of assistance. But Clodius should not know that Fevynus is lobbying for him.

<sup>4</sup> For the use of z instead of s by Fevynus see letter 33 (*HL* 42, 1993, p. 9): "Aziana".

<sup>5</sup> By Thomas More. See letter 80.

<sup>6</sup> An allusion to the conflict between Martin Dorp and the Faculty of Theology in the years 1519-21. See *CE* I, pp. 398-404.

.√. D<omi>ne Craneveldi, curaveris<sup>1</sup> Coldius ad nos scribat, hoc ceu arg<ument>o ut exploret quasi ex me, quid proficere possit. Tamen ne resciat id me laborare aut cupere. Vale.

**Ep. 84.** G. Geldenhouwer (Hoor) to Fr. Cranevelt (Bruges).

86 (f. 109).

30 IX 1521.

Geldenhouwer is always thinking of Cranevelt, as this letter shows, written in the midst of civil war and in danger at sea. After they [ viz. Bishop Philip and his retinue] had left Bruges they spent several days in Brussels with Charles V. From there they travelled by lengthy stages to Holland. They are now at Hoor on the coast of the Zuiderzee [nowadays the IJsselmeer] opposite Guelders and Frisia. That very night the Bishop's fleet will get under way to invade Guelders as well as Zwolle, which has defected from its Lord. They are also waiting for another naval force to join the invasion. Geldenhouwer sees in these events the clear proof that wars are not waged by human decision but by God's.

Greetings to Cranevelt's wife and family, to Carolus [Hedenbault; see letter 20, n. 13], Fevynus, Laurinus and all the other friends.

In July 1521 Zwolle had defected from Philip of Burgundy and hailed Charles of Guelders as its protector. While staying at the court of the Emperor, Philip had raised an army. After his arrival in Holland he gathered an army and fleet at Hoor (North of Amsterdam), from where he finally set sail on 13 October 1521. Until the end of January 1522 his actions were rather successful, after which his plans failed because of lack of money. Philip plundered the Veluwe region in Guelders, sent part of his troops North to Frisia in a successful campaign, and liberated the town of Hasselt in Overijssel [not to be confused with Hasselt, the capital of the modern Belgian province of Limburg!]. See on the events, J. Sterck, *Philips van Bourgondië* [see letter 62], pp. 61-66.

S<alutem> P<lurimam>. Quam tui non sim immemor etiam hae literae ostendunt, quas in ipso hoc plusquam civilis belli tumultu<sup>1</sup>, in extremo furentium undarum periculo (id quod et papyrus haec ostendit<sup>2</sup>) scribere cepi.

<sup>1</sup> Fevynus wrote "Curas" with a horizontal stroke above "ras". The normal solution "curans" does not make sense.

<sup>1</sup> A reminiscence of Lucan I 1: "Bella per Emathios plus quam civilia campos."

<sup>2</sup> The letter is very unevenly written. One can imagine Geldenhouwer trying to write on a rocking ship.

Post abitum nostrum a Brugis<sup>3</sup> aliquot dies commorati sumus Bruxel-  
lae apud Caro<lum> Augustum. Illinc magnis itineribus per Hollandiam  
venimus ad Hornam oppidum in littore Austrini maris situm e regione  
Gelrophrysiorum. Hac nocte classis nostra solvet e portu Hornano,  
magno animo invasura Gelrophrysios et Suollanos [[desertores]] prin-  
cipis sui desertores. Nos [[aliquot dies]] alium<sup>4</sup> expectabimus [[et  
milites]] navalem exercitum ut iunctis maritimis terrestribusque copiis  
hostilem agrum invadamus et [[in eis noceamus]] eos expugnemus, ad  
quos nulla parte hoc bellum pertinet. Hinc est apertissimum argumen-  
tum, mi Craneveldie, bella<sup>5</sup> non hominum arbitrio<sup>6</sup> sed Dei Op<timi>  
Max<imi> voluntate sic vel sic administrari.

Ego, quod nosti, tuus sum tam [[neque tum]] in prosperis quam adver-  
sis<sup>7</sup>. Commenda me uxori honestiss<imae> totique familiae, Carolo nos-  
tro, Fevinio, Laurino caeterisque amicis omnibus. Bene vale.

Horne, pridie Kalendas Octobris 1521.

Tuus ad omnia f<rater> Gerardus Noviomagus.

*A tergo:* Clarissimo atque prudentiss<imo> U<triusque> I<uris> /  
Doctori, M<agistro> Francisco Crane-/veldio, celeberrimae civitatis /  
Brugen<sis> pensionario primario.

Tho Brugghe bij die Schilders / Capelle.

**Ep. 85.** J. L. Vives (Louvain) to Fr. Cranevelt (Bruges).

87 (f. 110)

12 X 1521

Vives wants to explain why he will be writing less frequently during the next  
winter. The first reason is his work on the Commentary on St. Augustine, which  
is being urgently requested by both Froben and Erasmus. Next he has to teach  
two classes every day, one on Pliny in the University Hall, another privately on

<sup>3</sup> After the meeting with the Emperor, the King of Denmark and ambassador Wolsey  
in the latter half of August.

<sup>4</sup> "Alium" has been written above the cancelled words.

<sup>5</sup> First written "bellum".

<sup>6</sup> First written "abbitrio".

<sup>7</sup> The passage "tam...adversis" is very unclearly written. Above "tam" two words  
have been deleted between the lines, probably [[etiam in]].

the Georgics of Virgil. Soon a third class will be added, presumably on [the Geography of] Pomponius Mela. And all this, contrary to what Cranevelt may think, brings little or no financial gain. Then follow the usual complaints about his depressing life at Louvain. Vives hopes that Cranevelt will continue to send him frequent and long letters and he will try to find time to answer them.

In referring to the Louvain University Hall Vives uses the mediaeval term “fallae” (cf. Niermeyer’s *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon minus*, p. 405) instead of “halae”, which was (and still is) usual at Louvain. Cf., for instance, Lipsius’s *Lovanium* (Antwerp 1605), III iv (p. 98): “Halae nostrae, sive Scholae publicae..... Aedificium vetus est... Vocant Halas, ut solent ista hominum aut mercium receptacula: liceret Latine Basilicas dixisse.” The reason for Vives’s choice is the making of a pun: because he is poorly paid, he says: “Ex fallis fallimur.”

Vives has received Cranevelt’s letter written on 5 October and thanks him for it.

Concerning peace: would that there were a “deus ex machina” to bring it about! Vives adds ironically that at Louvain there are persons who know all about how things stand regarding war and peace: what happened, what did not happen nor ever will happen. St. Peter’s market [the main square in the centre of Louvain] is like an oven ablaze with lies.

Some private matter: when Vives left Bruges a maidservant of his relative [the latter presumably Margaret or Maria Valdaura] had entrusted him with some affair clearly to be settled in Brussels. Vives asks Cranevelt to tell her that her relative, to whom he was to speak at Court, was away with the King on a campaign and would come back to Brussels or Mechelen for the winter. If the Emperor returns, as is hoped, Vives will talk to the man. Otherwise he will write a letter and give it to the man’s wife in Mechelen, to be forwarded to the army camp or the Court.

Greetings to Fevynus. Vives regrets that he cannot himself stir him up now to practise his Latin style. Cranevelt must do it instead. Greetings also to our medical friend Eucollius [On this man see letter 2, introduction: *HL* 41 (1992), p. 11]. Vives would write to More, if he knew him still to be at Bruges. But Cranevelt has mentioned that he was leaving soon. Greetings to Cranevelt’s wife.

Finally, Vives asks to arrange for a servant to take the other letter [not preserved] to his relative.

Lines 4-8 “scis me ... obruent” were published as *Lit. Cran.* 5 by H. de Vocht from a quotation by Andreas Valerius. The date given by Valerius (1522) is clearly a mistake.

#### Vives Cranaveldio suo S<alutem>

Scribo ad te, mi Cranaveldi, non tam ut scribam, et fruar solita iucunditate tuarum literarum, quam ut rationem tibi reddam cur posthac putem minus crebro me scripturum ad te, praesertim hac hyeme. Primum scis me occupatum esse commentariis Augustini, urgente operam Frobenio, expostulante subinde Erasmo. His accedit duplex professio quottidiana, altera in fallis Plinii, altera Georgicorum Virgilii privatim. Addetur brevi tertia, ut puto, [[et]] Melae. Quae me ad ambas aures obruent negotio

molestiss<imo>. Ἀλλὰ καρπὸς μέγας, φης. O mi Craneveldi, omnia sterilia et ingrata! Caseum premimus Vergilianum, pinguem illum quidem, sed ingratae urbi: ex fallis fallimur! Ex Vergilio non redibit domum manus aere gravis.<sup>1</sup> In Mela peregrinabimur, et in via consumemus viaticum. Hoc est plane trahere vitam, non ducere. Quid labor aut bene facta iuvant?<sup>2</sup> Nisi haec inter ἀδιάφορα ponerem<sup>3</sup>, μέμψιν δίκαιαν τῷ θεῷ αὐτοῦ προνοίᾳ μέμφοιμεν ἄν. Sed haec, quae nos dicimus bona, nihil minus esse reor. Itaque, ut ad id quod institueram redeam, tu facies nobis rem omnium quam gratissimam, mi Crane<veldi>, si quam frequentiss<imas> et quam longiss<imas> epistolas ad nos dederis. Nam etsi scribere non vacabit, legere certe vacabit<sup>4</sup>. Et consules boni, si vel rarius tibi responderimus, vel brevi<u>s. Quamquam interdum suffurabimur nugis nostris aliquid temporis ut tecum confabulemur, quo nihil (mihi crede) facimus libentius.

Tuas literas accepimus datas 3 Non<as> huius mensis. Habeo gratiam quod nullam occasionem praetermittas scribendi mihi.

De pace: utinam deus aliquis ex istis scenicis eam conficeret! Lovanii quantum ad nuncios belli pacisque attinet, plane sunt homines scientiss<imi>, qui non solum ea quae sunt, sed ea quae nec<sup>5</sup> sunt nec fuerunt nec futura sunt sciunt. Forum Divi Petri est fornax mendaciorum follibus bene ventosis.

Si forte famula consanguineae meae<sup>6</sup> ad te veniret percontans num tibi aliquid scripsissem de negotio, quod ipsa mihi istinc disce{n}denti commendarat, dic ei scripsisse me tibi<sup>7</sup>, affinem illum suum, cui eram in aula locuturus, ivisse cum rege in bellum, rediturum Brussellam aut Mechliniam hac hyeme. Si imperator redeat, ut speratur, tum me [[ei]] illi prolixo locuturum; sin non redeat, scripturum me ad illum unas litteras, quas curabo dandas eius uxori Mechliniae<sup>8</sup>, ut ad illum mittantur in castra, aut certe in aulam.

Salvebit a nobis Fevinus noster, quem mirum quam doleam, quod litteris meis ad exercendum stilum [[cu]] excitare hoc tempore non possum.

<sup>1</sup> A paraphrase of Verg., *Ecl.* I 34-35: "Pinguis et ingratae premeretur caseus urbi; / Non unquam gravis aere domum mihi dextra redibat.

<sup>2</sup> Verg., *Georg.* III 525: "Quid labor aut benefacta iuvant?"

<sup>3</sup> Notion borrowed from Stoic philosophical terminology.

<sup>4</sup> Vives first wrote "vacabat".

<sup>5</sup> "nec" added above the line.

<sup>6</sup> See the same expression at the end of letter 55 (*HL* 42, 1993, p. 51).

<sup>7</sup> "tibi" added above the line.

<sup>8</sup> "Mechliniae" added above the line.

Tu esto semper homini hortator atque author ut det operam stilo optimo dicendi magistro.

Eucollo quoque, Aesculapio nostro, S<alutem> P<lurimam>.

Moro scriberem, si crederem eum esse adhuc<sup>9</sup> Brugis. Nam tu dicis eum fuisse, quum scriberes, brevi discessurum.

Salutem et optimae uxori meis verbis. Vale, chariss<ime> omnium Cranavel<di>.

Lovanii, XII Octobris.

Has alteras litteras mittes per famulum consanguineae meae.

*A tergo:* D<omino> Francisco Craneveldio / pensionario Brugen<si>, amico / incomparabili.

Brugis.

Postscript to letter 80: An edition with facsimile and an English translation was published by Cl. H. Miller, "Thomas More's Letters to Frans van Cranevelt", *Moreana* XXXI, N° 117 (1994), 1-66 (pp. 22-23). His dating to "September 1521" is definitely too early.

<sup>9</sup> "adhuc" added above the line.

Eduard PETRŮ

## DIE ERFORSCHUNG DER LATEINISCHEN LITERATUR IN DEN BÖHMISCHEN LÄNDERN

Die Beziehung der tschechischen Literaturhistoriographie zu der in den böhmischen Ländern lateinisch geschriebenen Literatur oszilliert zwischen zwei grundsätzlichen Einstellungen: einerseits wird diese Literatur für einen integrierten Bestandteil der Entwicklung der tschechischen Literatur gehalten, andererseits wird sie als heterogenes Element empfunden, das stärker mit der Entwicklung der europäischen lateinischen Literatur zusammenhängt als mit der nationalen Literatur. Diese gegensätzlichen Verhaltensweisen bildeten sich bereits am Anfang der Epoche der nationalen Wiedergeburt aus, wie es František Šmahel belegt<sup>1</sup>. Während die Vertreter der älteren Generation (Voigt, Procházka, Pelcl) dank ihrer lateinischen Bildung und Orientierung an der Fachliteratur noch im lebendigen Kontakt mit der lateinischen Literatur der vorherigen Epochen standen, konzentrierte sich das Interesse der jüngeren Generation nach Dobrovský (Jireček, Menčík, Rybička) im Zeichen der Versuche um eine Wiederbelebung der tschechischen Schriftsprache eindeutig auf tschechisch geschriebene Literatur. Ein Einlenken stellt Šmahel erst in den 70er Jahren des 19. Jahrhunderts fest, als in der tschechischen Literaturwissenschaft die positivistische und heuristische Methode Oberhand gewonnen hatte. In dieser Zeit erstellte Josef Truhlář eine übersichtliche Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts und Antonín Truhlář legte die Grundlagen für ein Verzeichnis der humanistischen Dichtung aus Böhmen und Mähren. Die Vernachlässigung des lateinischen Schrifttums wurde schließlich, Šmahels Ansicht nach, in Vlček's Konzeption der Geschichte der tschechischen Literatur überwunden. Die dritte Entwicklungsetappe in den Beziehungen zur lateinisch geschriebenen Literatur legt Šmahel nach 1945 ein, als es zur

<sup>1</sup> Šmahel, F., "Přehled českého bádání o renesanci a humanismu", *Československý časopis historický* 9(1961), 265-269.

neuen Belebung des Interesses am lateinischen Schrifttum und zur Entfaltung der Forschung kam.

Man sollte jedoch nicht übersehen, daß dieses Interesse nach 1945 doch ziemlich schwankend war, und daß es immer wieder Bestrebungen gab, die lateinische Literatur aus den böhmischen Ländern als ein von der Nationalliteratur dermaßen abweichendes Phänomen zu betrachten, daß es eine selbständige Bearbeitung in einer speziellen Geschichte des lateinischen Schrifttums<sup>2</sup> erfordere, die dem Vergleich der beiden Literaturen vorangehen müsse.

Es wäre zu einfach, den bis heute unabgeschlossenen Streit mit dem Hinweis auf das Sprachprogramm der tschechischen Aufklärungsepoche erklären zu wollen. Es handelt sich in Wahrheit um ein viel komplexeres Problem, das nicht nur die tschechische Literatur (oder andere slawische Literaturen) belastet, sondern auch in den Geschichten der westeuropäischen Literaturen anzutreffen ist. So z.B. schreiben Ernst und Erika von Borries in ihrer Geschichte der deutschen Literatur: "Auf die neulateinische humanistische Dichtung wird hier nicht eingegangen; wir beschränken uns auf die deutschsprachige Literatur..."<sup>3</sup> Demnach muß es also einen bestimmten Bereich von gemeinsamen Merkmalen der lateinischen Literatur innerhalb einzelner Nationalliteraturen geben, die die lateinische Literatur (zumindest zum Teil) aus dem Nationalschrifttum ausschließen.

Für das grundlegendste Merkmal halte ich die sog. Doppelhäusigkeit des lateinischen Schrifttums: Die lateinische Literatur entstand zwar immer in einer bestimmten kulturellen Umgebung und übernahm dadurch Merkmale der Nationalliteratur, dank der sprachlichen Gestalt lebte sie jedoch zwangsläufig im übernationalen Kontext und wurde dadurch zum Bestandteil eines breiteren literarischen Prozesses. Man muß sich jedoch vor Augen führen, daß dieser Vorgang eine gewisse Allgemeingültigkeit besitzt, indem er die Problematik des fremdsprachigen Schrifttums innerhalb der Nationalliteratur generell betrifft.

Aus diesem Grunde eben können wir die lateinische Literatur aus dem Kontext der Nationalliteratur nicht ausschließen. Eine analoge Situation herrscht in den Beziehungen der nationalen Literatur zur Weltliteratur. Zur Weltliteratur werden ja auch nur die Werke gezählt, die als Bestand-

<sup>2</sup> Nechutová, J., "Study of Latin Medieval Literature in Bohemia", *Listy filologické* 115(1992), 148-156.

<sup>3</sup> von Borries, E. u. E., *Deutsche Literaturgeschichte*. Bd. 1: *Mittelalter — Humanismus — Reformationszeit — Barock* (München 1992), S. 281.



teile einzelner Nationalliteraturen entstanden sind. Kein Werk der Weltliteratur (nach dem Verständnis der heutigen Literaturkomparatistik, vgl. P. van Tieghem und E. Auerbach) entstand unmittelbar als übernationale Schöpfung. So sind auch die lateinischen Werke des Mittelalters, der Renaissance und des Barocks primär im Kontext der Nationalliteratur entstanden, erst sekundär gelangten sie (dank des größeren sprachlichen Radius) in ein breiteres, übernationales Bewußtsein. Dies kann jedoch kein automatischer Vorgang gewesen sein. Ähnlich wie nicht jedes Werk der Nationalliteratur in den Kanon der Weltliteratur aufgenommen wird, so fanden auch nicht alle lateinischen Werke Eingang in ein breiteres Bewußtsein, viele beschränkten ihre Wirkung auf das Kulturumfeld, in dem sie entstanden sind.

Der engen Verknüpfung der lateinischen und tschechischen Literatur im böhmischen Kulturumfeld wurden sich viele Forscher nach 1945 bewußt und bemühten sich um die Belebung des Studiums des böhmischen und mährischen lateinischen Schrifttums. Während in den 30er Jahren des 20. Jahrhunderts Jan Vilikovskýs Streben nach einer Verknüpfung der Erforschung der tschechischen und lateinischen Literatur recht isoliert dastand<sup>4</sup>, beginnt sich nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg eine zwar kleine, jedoch intensiv arbeitende Gruppe von Forschern zu bilden, deren deklariertes Ziel es ist, das Materialfundament für eine systematische Erforschung der böhmischen lateinischen Literatur vorzubereiten und die Materialsammlung in einer die lateinische mit der Nationalliteratur vergleichenden Monographie zu verarbeiten<sup>5</sup>. Mit dieser Tätigkeit hängen auch die theoretischen, die Notwendigkeit des Studiums der lateinischen Literatur begründenden Ansätze dieser Forscher zusammen, die auf Tagungen<sup>6</sup> vorgetragen oder in Fachzeitschriften veröffentlicht<sup>7</sup> wurden.

Die Schlüsselbedeutung kommt in diesem Zusammenhang der "Humanistischen Konferenz" aus dem Jahre 1966 zu. Der Konferenz-

<sup>4</sup> Vilikovský, J., *Písemnictví českého středověku*. Hrsg. v. A. Škarka (Praha 1948).

<sup>5</sup> Hejnic, J., "Úkoly současného bádání o latinizujícím humanismu v Čechách a na Moravě v XVI. a na počátku XVII. století", *Česká literatura* 3 (1955), S. 380. In Bezug auf die Erforschung der regionalen Kulturzentren behandelt diese Frage Martínek, J., "Über die Kontinuität der Erforschung des humanistischen Schrifttums", *Listy filologické* 100 (1977), S. 214-219.

<sup>6</sup> Zum Beispiel Hrabák, J., "Význam latinské knižní vzdělanosti pro slovanské literatury starší doby". in: *Československé přednášky pro V. mezinárodní sjezd slavistů v Sofii* (Praha 1963), S. 195-206.

<sup>7</sup> Unter andern Hrabák, J., "Dnešní stav našeho bádání o starší české literatuře a jeho úkoly", *Listy filologické* 88 (1963), S. 320.

sammelband<sup>8</sup> fixiert sehr deutlich den Stand der Ansichten bezüglich der lateinischen Literatur in Böhmen und Mähren. Auf der einen Seite setzt sich Antonín Škarka für das Studium des "literarischen Prozesses in allen seinen sprachlichen Ausformungen"<sup>9</sup> ein und betrachtet die antithetische Einheit der tschechischen und lateinischen Literatur<sup>10</sup>, auf der anderen Seite neigt J.B. Čapek zur Betonung der Unterschiede zwischen dem tschechischen und lateinischen humanistischen Schaffen: "Es ist problematisch von einer organischen Einheit unseres Humanismus zu sprechen. Vor allem im Bereich der Lyrik ist der Entwicklungsunterschied der lateinischen und tschechischen Produktion fast erdrückend."<sup>11</sup>

Der Zwiespalt, der die gesamte Geschichte der Erforschung der lateinischen Literatur in den böhmischen Ländern beherrscht, wurde auf dieser Tagung also nicht beseitigt. Das Verdienst der Tagung liegt jedoch in der Feststellung, daß dieser Streit auf rein theoretischer Basis — ohne die Rückgriffsmöglichkeit auf eine repräsentative Materialsammlung — nicht auszutragen ist. Dadurch wurde die Bedeutung der heuristischen Forschung bekräftigt, die durch die Sammlung der humanistischen Lyrik aus den böhmischen und mährischen Ländern, herausgegeben von A. Truhlář und K.Hrdina, eingeleitet und mit modernen Methoden von J.Hejnic und J. Martínek weitergeführt wurde<sup>12</sup>.

Die Sammlung der humanistischen Dichtung aus Böhmen und Mähren, mit außergewöhnlicher Sorgfalt aus Materialien aus tschechischen und ausländischen Bibliotheken zusammengestellt, hatte nicht nur verzeichnenden Wert. Die damit verbundene Absicht war vielgestaltig und bestand u. a. auch im Hervorrufen eines Interesses am bearbeiteten Material. Eine direkte Auswirkung zeigte sich am deutlichsten bei den Herausgebern der Sammlung selbst, die neben diesem Lebenswerk eine Reihe kleinerer Studien über lateinisch schreibende humanistische Autoren publizierten (Jan Martínek z.B. über Šimon Ennius Klatovský, Bohuslav Hasištejnský aus Lobkovic, über die Beziehung Konrad Celtis' zu Böhmen, über den späten Humanismus in Mähren; Josef Hejnic

<sup>8</sup> *Humanistická konference 1966*. Red. L. Varcl (Praha 1966).

<sup>9</sup> Škarka, A., "Poznámky k budoucím Dějinám českého humanismu", *Ibid.*, S. 41.

<sup>10</sup> Škarka, A., "Protikladná jednotnost českého humanismu latinizujícího a národního", *Ibid.*, S. 195.

<sup>11</sup> Čapek, J.B., "K referátu J. Hrabáka a A. Škarky", *Ibid.*, S. 197.

<sup>12</sup> Der erste Band stammt aus dem Jahre 1966, das ist aus dem Jahre der Humanistischen Konferenz.

publizierte vor allem Studien über den Pilsner Dichter Fagellus Villaticus). Die Anregungen, die die Herausgabe der Sammlung mit sich brachte, hatten jedoch noch breitere Wirkung.

Es läßt sich allgemein feststellen, daß ab den 60er Jahren unseres Jahrhunderts nicht nur die Bestrebungen nach tieferer Kenntnis unserer lateinischen Literatur, nach der Lösung des Problems der Eingliederung der lateinischen Produktion in die nationale deutlich werden, sondern daß sich in der Erforschung der lateinischen Literatur des tschechischen Mittelalters, der Renaissance und des Barocks ein qualitativ neuer Zug durchsetzt. Die Forscher sind sich zwar dessen bewußt, daß die primäre Aufgabe darin besteht, die Funktionen und Positionen der lateinischen Literatur in der Zeit ihrer Entstehung zu bestimmen, stellen sich aber nichtsdestoweniger immer öfter die Frage, inwieweit das lateinische Schrifttum in unsere heutige Kultur integrierbar ist. Diese Frage ist desto komplizierter, je weniger der heutige Leser fähig ist, die lateinische Literatur im Original zu lesen. Die Grundlage bilden freilich weiterhin kritische Editionen der lateinischen Texte (wie die Herausgabe der gesammelten Werke Hus', Comenius', Bohuslav Hasištejnskýs aus Lobkovic<sup>13</sup>), aber es kommt auch zu Versuchen, die kritische Edition mit einer parallelen tschechischen Übersetzung zu verbinden und dadurch das Werk einer breiteren Öffentlichkeit zugänglich zu machen. So verband Josef Hejnic die Herausgabe der lateinischen Schrift Simons Fagellus Villaticus "Wonne-, Ernst- und Trauerstunden" mit der tschechischen Übersetzung Miroslav Švábs<sup>14</sup>; an die ältere Edition des Werkes Jan Dubravius' "Über das Teichwesen" von Anežka Vidmanová aus dem Jahre 1953 knüpfte er mit seiner Edition der "Theriobulie" an (hrsg. von Miroslav Horna, übersetzt von Eduard Petrů<sup>15</sup>) und widmete sich der Problematik dieser Übersetzungen auch theoretisch<sup>16</sup>.

Üblicher sind jedoch die für ein Laienpublikum bestimmten Publikationen der tschechischen Übersetzungen ohne die Verbindung mit dem

<sup>13</sup> Bohuslai Hassensteinii a Lobkowicz *Epistolae*. Tom. I-II. Ed. J. Martínek et D. Martínková (Leipzig 1969-1980).

<sup>14</sup> Fagellus Villaticus, Simon, *Chvilé rozkošné, vášně i teskné*. Hrsg. v. J. Hejnic. Übers. M. Šváb (Plzen 1979).

<sup>15</sup> Dubravius, Jan, *Theriobulia — Rada zvířat*. Hrsg. v. M. Horna und E. Petrů, Übers. E. Petrů (Praha 1983).

<sup>16</sup> Petrů, E., "Jak překládat latinské humanisty?" in: *Slavica Lublinensia et Olomucensia* (Lublin 1979), S. 267-285.

lateinischen Original. Zu diesen Zwecken wurden teils Neueditionen älterer Übersetzungen herausgebracht. Es handelt sich um die Übersetzung der Chronik Cosmas im Jahre 1972 erneut, und um die Zbraslauer Chronik (1976). Neu erschien auch die Hussitische Chronik des Vavřinec aus Březová, deren Übersetzung bereits 1940 zum ersten Mal herausgegeben wurde und im Jahre 1951 auch die Übersetzung des Gedichts "Carmen insignis Coronae Bohemiae". Teils erschienen neue Anthologien der übersetzten lateinischen Werke.

Prinzipielle Bedeutung kommt in diesem Zusammenhang der tschechischen Anthologie der lateinischen mittelalterlichen weltlichen Lyrik "Die Musenschwester" zu, die Anežka Vidmanová aus eigenen und fremden Übersetzungen zusammenstellte<sup>17</sup>. Die Gegenüberstellung der Verse tschechischer Autoren und der europäischen lateinischen Produktion dieser Anthologie ermöglicht den Vergleich lateinischer böhmischer Werke mit lateinischen Werken anderer Nationalliteraturen und die Herausarbeitung von Ähnlichkeiten einerseits und Unterschieden andererseits. Zu einem solchen Vergleich regt bereits das Vorwort von Anežka Vidmanová an.

Die gleiche Bedeutung, die die Anthologie "Die Musenschwester" für das Zeitalter des Mittelalters, stellt für die Renaissancezeit die Anthologie "Renaissancelyrik" dar<sup>18</sup>.

Die Übersetzungen von Helena Businská und das Vorwort von Jan Martínek bieten zum ersten Mal ein in sich abgeschlossenes Bild der lateinischen Lyrik der böhmischen Länder aus der Zeit der Renaissance und des Humanismus. Diese Anthologie ist entschieden als gelungener zu bezeichnen als die älteren Paraphrasen der lateinischen Gedichte aus der Feder von Kamil Bednář<sup>19</sup>. Helena Businská übersetzte auch das lateinische Werk Pavels aus Jizbice, das Vorwort stammt von Dana Martínková<sup>20</sup>.

Eine Anthologie von humanistischen Texten, die Olmütz betreffen, gab Petrů heraus. Er übersetzte unter Mitwirkung von Miroslav Horna Werke von Valentin Eck, Stephanus Taurinus, Georgius Sibutus und

<sup>17</sup> *Sestra Múza* (Praha 1990).

<sup>18</sup> *Renesanční lyrika*, Übers. H. Businská (Praha 1975).

<sup>19</sup> *Med a hořec. Parafraze Kamila Bednáře z latinské poezie XVI. století v Čechách* (Praha 1942).

<sup>20</sup> z Jizbice, Pavel, *Panence. Schedismatum farrago nova. 1598*. Übers. H. Businská. Nachw. v. D. Martínková (Praha 1974).

Šimon Ennius Klatovský und öffnete so den Blick für die humanistische Werke außerhalb des Prager Zentrums<sup>21</sup>.

Die Kenntnisse der lateinischen Literatur wurden auch um Werke der Fachprosa bereichert. Es ist die Übersetzung der "Verteidigung der Lyrik" von Augustin aus Olmütz (übersetzt von Jana Nechutová<sup>22</sup>) und die Übersetzung Balbíns "Verisimilia humaniorum disciplinarum" (übersetzt von Bohumil Ryba, der dadurch die Aufmerksamkeit auch auf das lateinische Barock lenkte<sup>23</sup>).

Schließlich sei noch bemerkt, daß auch das Interesse ausländischer Forscher an unserer lateinischen Literatur (das am Anfang der 60er Jahre von Josef Hrabák noch bemängelt wurde<sup>24</sup>) erheblich gestiegen ist. So entwickelte z.B. das Komitee der Bundesrepublik Deutschland zur Förderung der slawischen Studien<sup>25</sup> beachtliche Aktivitäten und unterstützte durch seine Publikationen die Erforschung unserer lateinischen Literatur.

Angesichts der beschriebenen Forschungslage (die um weitere Einzelstudien zur lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters und der Renaissance bereichert werden könnte — z.B. J. Hejnic, M. Kopecký, J. Martíněk, D. Martínková, J. Nechutová, E. Petrů, A. Vidmanová u.a.) und angesichts der andauernden Bestrebungen, die lateinische Literatur in den Kontext der Nationalliteratur einzugliedern<sup>26</sup>, ist das Programm zur Erforschung unserer lateinischen Literatur, das in den 50er Jahren Josef Hejnic in Bezug auf die humanistische Literatur artikulierte und das von der "Humanistischen Konferenz" 1966 ausführlich formuliert worden war in allen Teilbereichen als realisiert anzusehen. Die Herausgabe der Sammlung humanistischer Poesie wurde fortgesetzt und im Grunde abgeschlossen. An die Herausgabe dieser grundlegenden Anthologie knüpft eine Reihe Einzelstudien an. Eine Reihe von Editionen lateini-

<sup>21</sup> *Humanisté o Olomouci*. Hrsg. u. übers. v. E. Petrů unter Mitw. von I. Hlobil, M. Horna u. J. Sobotka (Praha 1978).

<sup>22</sup> Augustin Olomoucký, *Obrana básnictví. 1492*. Übers. J. Nechutová (Brno 1987).

<sup>23</sup> Balbín, Bohuslav, *Verisimilia humaniorum disciplinarum - Nástin humanitních disciplín*. Übers. B. Ryba (Praha 1969).

<sup>24</sup> Hrabák, J., "Dnešní stav našeho bádání o starší české literatuře a jeho úkoly", *Listy filologické* 88(1963), S. 320.

<sup>25</sup> Das Komitee arbeitet als Mitglied der Association internationale pour l'étude et la diffusion des cultures slaves (UNESCO) in Bundesrepublik Deutschland und gibt mit Unterstützung der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft in Bonn seine Schriften heraus.

<sup>26</sup> Kopecký, M., *Pokrokové tendence v české literatuře od konce husitství do Bílé hory*. Spisy Univerzity J.E. Purkyně v Brně, fil. fak. 224 (Brno 1979). — Hlobil, I.-Petrů, E., *Humanismus a raná renesance na Moravě* (Praha 1992).

scher Werke der älteren tschechischen Literatur wurde publiziert, teils von Übersetzungen begleitet. Man stößt auf Bemühungen die lateinische Literatur im breiten Kontext der Nationalliteratur zu bewerten. Auch wenn der größere Teil der Arbeit noch zu leisten ist, ist anzunehmen, daß schon ein nicht unwesentlicher Teil der Arbeit erledigt ist.

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## QUINTILIAN AND THE REVIVAL OF LEARNING IN ITALY

For P. O. Kristeller

Though Quintilian wrote the most comprehensive handbook of rhetoric in classical antiquity,<sup>1</sup> his *institutio oratoria* was not much read and used in the following centuries. A few rhetoricians relied heavily on him, especially Iulius Victor,<sup>2</sup> to a lesser degree Fortunatianus, Cassiodorus, and later Isidorus of Seville.<sup>3</sup> But there is no trace of a commentary comparable to those Marius Victorinus or Grillius composed on Cicero's *De inventione*.<sup>4</sup> Nor do writers on education seem to have paid

<sup>1</sup> Cf. M. Winterbottom (ed.), *M. Fabii Quintiliani Institutionis oratoriae libri duodecim*, I-II (Oxford 1970). Literature on Quintilian is listed alphabetically by K.V. Erickson, "Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria* and Pseudo-*Declamationes*", *Rhetoric Society Quarterly* 11 (1981), pp. 45-62; a critical survey of recent publications is given by J. Adamietz, "Quintilian's 'Institutio oratoria'", in: *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt II* 32, 4 (Berlin 1986), pp. 2226-2271. No comprehensive study of Quintilian's *Nachleben* exists. Helpful: A. Messer, "Quintilian als Didaktiker und sein Einfluß auf die didaktisch-pädagogische Theorie des Humanismus", *Neue Jahrbücher für Philosophie und Pädagogik* 156 (1897), pp. 161-204; 273-292; 321-336; 361-387; 409-423; 457-473, and F.H. Colson (ed.), *M. Fabii Quintiliani institutionis oratoriae liber I* (Cambridge 1924), pp. XLIII-LXXXIX; R. Johnson, "Quintilian's Place in European Education", in: M. Kelly (ed.), *For Service to Classical Studies. Essays in Honour of Francis Letters* (Melbourne 1966), pp. 79-101.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. R. Giomini, M. S. Celentano (edd.), *C. Iulii Victorii ars rhetorica* (Leipzig 1980). Iulius Severianus made use of Quintilian without mentioning his name, see R. Giomini (ed.), *Iulii Severiani Praecepta Artis rhetoricae* (Roma 1992), p. 1 (index).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. L. Calboli Montefusco (ed.), *Consulti Fortunatiani ars rhetorica* (Bologna 1979); R.A.B. Mynors (ed.), *Cassiodori Senatoris Institutiones* (Oxford 1961), see also U. Schindel, "Textkritisches zu lateinischen Figurenlehren", *Glotta* 52 (1974), pp. 95-114, esp. 100 n. 19; W.M. Lindsay (ed.), *Isidori Hispalensis episcopi etymologiarum sive originum libri XX*, I-II (Oxford 1911).

<sup>4</sup> For Marius Victorinus see C. Halm (ed.), *Rhetores Latini Minores* (Leipzig 1863), pp. 153-304; on this work P. Hadot, *Marius Victorinus* (Paris 1971), pp. 72-113; Grillius: J. Martin (ed.), *Grillius* (Paderborn 1927). There are very few references to Quintilian in the Latin grammarians, see the indices in H. Keil (ed.), *Grammatici Latini I-VII* (Leipzig 1855-1878).

much attention to Quintilian's views. While it is possible that Lactantius at least knew the *institutio*,<sup>5</sup> St. Jerome certainly followed it for elementary education in his famous letter to Laeta (*ep.* 107), but occasionally also elsewhere.<sup>6</sup> On the other hand, the great teacher of rhetoric from Thagaste never mentions Quintilian; and while some ideas occur in his writings which may go back to the *institutio oratoria*, it cannot be said with certainty that they do, because they are too general.<sup>7</sup>

In the Middle Ages one meets with much the same picture.<sup>8</sup> "Only two ancient manuscripts seem to have survived the Dark Ages",<sup>9</sup> one complete, one mutilated. From the latter several manuscripts of the ninth, tenth and the following centuries derive directly or indirectly, and it is to this incomplete version — or to *florilegia* — that the medieval authors who refer to Quintilian's work or who are influenced by it in their general approach or with regard to particular precepts owe their knowledge.<sup>10</sup> Their names need not and cannot be listed here, though their number is not very large. At any rate, it is clear that the *institutio*

<sup>5</sup> On Lactantius see H. Jagielski, *De Firmiani Lactantii fontibus quaestiones selectae*, Diss. phil. (Königsberg 1912), pp. 84-93; F.H. Colson *op. cit.* (see n. 1) p. XLIII, both assuming some familiarity of Lactantius with Quintilian.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. J. Labourt (ed.), *Saint Jérôme. Letters*, I-VIII (Paris 1949-1963), V pp. 144-158; H. Hagendahl, *Latin Fathers and the Classics* (Göteborg 1958), pp. 196-202; 294-297 *et saep.*

<sup>7</sup> See P. Keseling, "Augustin und Quintilian", in: *Augustinus Magister*, I-III (Paris s.a. (1954), I pp. 201-204.

<sup>8</sup> See P. Lehmann, "Die Institutio oratoria des Quintilianus im Mittelalter", *Philologus* 89 (1934), pp. 349-383 (= P.L., *Erforschung des Mittelalters. Ausgewählte Abhandlungen und Aufsätze* I-V (Stuttgart 1941-1962), II pp. 1-28); A. Mollard, "L'imitation de Quintilien dans Guibert de Nogent", *Le Moyen Age* 44 (1934), pp. 81-87; *id.*, "La diffusion de l'Institution oratoire au XIIe siècle", (*ibid.*) pp. 161-175 and 45, (1935), pp. 1-9; P.S. Boskoff, "Quintilian in the Late Middle Ages", *Speculum* 27 (1952), pp. 71-78. For a general survey see J.J. Murphy, *Rhetoric in the Middle Ages* (Berkeley 1974), for a bibliography *id.*, *Medieval Rhetoric. A Select Bibliography* (Toronto 1989); M. Reeve, "The Circulation of Classical Works on Rhetoric from the 12th to the 14th Century", in: C. Leonardi et al. (edd.), *Retorica e poetica tra i secoli XII e XIV* (Perugia 1988), pp. 109-124.

<sup>9</sup> M. Winterbottom in: L.D. Reynolds (ed.), *Texts and Transmission* (Oxford 1983), p. 332. On the manuscripts see J. Cousin, *Recherches sur Quintilien. Manuscrits et éditions* (Paris 1975); B. Munk Olsen, *L'Étude des auteurs classiques latins aux XI<sup>e</sup> et XII<sup>e</sup> siècles*, I-III (Paris 1982-1989), II pp. 289-305; III pp. 113-114.

<sup>10</sup> R. Johnson *loc. cit.* (see n. 1) pp. 89-93 pays special attention to the influence of Quintilian's educational ideas and shows that in the twelfth century they were most popular in Northern France. On the *florilegia* see J. Cousin *op. cit.* (see n. 9), pp. 14-23; B. Munk Olsen *op. cit.* (see n. 9) II p. 291 and pp. 292-305, also on *florilegia* in general pp. 837-877, on the *florilegium Gallicum* p. 861.



*oratoria* does not form the basis of rhetorical instruction in the Middle Ages with their emphasis on preaching (*ars praedicandi*) and letter-writing (*ars dictaminis*) to which the art of pleading (*ars arengandi*) should be added;<sup>11</sup> and commentaries are written again not on Quintilian, but now mainly on the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, the *Rhetorica Nova*.<sup>12</sup>

Yet Quintilian was not forgotten entirely, and with the renewed interest in the Classics in the fourteenth century his work began to play an increasingly influential role. When Petrarch was given a copy of the *institutio oratoria* — it is still extant as *codex Parisinus Latinus* 7720 — by his friend Lapo da Castiglionchio, it was the mutilated version only; yet enthusiastically he addressed a letter to Quintilian in which he mixed admiration and delight with disappointment at the *liber ... discerptus et lacer*.<sup>13</sup> However, he covered the margins with his notes, often expressing approval, especially on books X-XII, and later quoted from the *institutio* in his letters or inserted quotations in his earlier letters and other writings.<sup>14</sup> Moreover,

<sup>11</sup> See in addition to the general surveys P. O. Kristeller, *Renaissance Thought and Its Sources* (New York 1979), p. 94 and p. 278; J.R. Banker, "The *Ars dictaminis* and Rhetorical Textbooks at the Bolognese University in the Fourteenth Century", *Medievalia et Humanistica*, n.s. 5 (1974), pp. 153-168; R. Witt, "Medieval 'Ars Dictaminis' and the Beginning of Humanism: a New Construction of the Problem", *Renaissance Quarterly* 35 (1982), pp. 1-35.

<sup>12</sup> See e.g. S. Karaus Wertis, "The Commentary of Bartolinus de Benincasa de Canulo on the 'Rhetorica ad Herennium' ", *Viator* 10 (1979), pp. 283-310 (also on "Alanus": pp. 290-291), and in general J. O. Ward, "From Antiquity to the Renaissance: Glosses and Commentaries on Cicero's *Rhetorica*", in: J.J. Murphy (ed.), *Medieval Eloquence. Studies in the Theory and Practice of Medieval Rhetoric* (Berkeley 1978), pp. 26-67; *id.*, "Renaissance Commentators on Ciceronian Rhetoric", in: J.J. Murphy (ed.), *Renaissance Eloquence. Studies in the Theory and Practice of Renaissance Rhetoric* (Berkeley 1983), pp. 126-174, esp. pp. 126-146; earlier editions and studies are listed by P.O. Kristeller, *Renaissance Thought and Its Sources* (New York 1979), p. 317 n. 15.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. V. Rossi (ed.), *Francesco Petrarca. Le Familiari*, I-IV (Firenze 1933-1942), IV pp. 240-243 (*ep.* 24, 7), see also III p. 300 (*ep.* 18, 14, 10); see P. de Nolhac, *Pétrarque et l'humanisme* I-II (Paris 21907), II pp. 83-86; J. Cousin *op. cit.* (see n. 9) pp. 39-45.

<sup>14</sup> See P. de Nolhac *op. cit.* (see n. 13) II pp. 86-94; A. Messer *loc. cit.* (see n.1) pp. 273-274; M. Accame Lanzillotta, "Le postille del Petrarca a Quintiliano (Cod. Parigino lat. 7720)", *Quaderni petrarcheschi* 5 (1989). Later references and insertions: *Le Familiari* I pp. 41-42 (*ep.* 1, 8, 13-15: *inst.* X 3, 12-15); III p. 354 (*ep.* 19, 18, 22: *vir bonus dicendi peritus* — not certain, as it may come from Seneca pater); IV p. 95 (*ep.* 21, 15, 6: *inst.* X 1, 25); *De vita solitaria* (see G. Martellotti et al. (edd.), *Francesco Petrarca. Prose* (Milano 1955), pp. 285-591) I 4 (p. 336: *inst.* X 3, 27-30); I 7 (pp. 362-366: *inst.* X 3, 22-25); I 8 (pp. 386-388: *inst.* X 2, 9-10); II 12 (p. 540: *inst.* X 3, 30) — see now K. A. E. Enenkel (ed.), *Francesco Petrarca, De vita solitaria, Buch I. Kritische Textausgabe und ideengeschichtlicher Kommentar* (Leiden 1990), pp. 85; 100-101; 114 (texts) with commentary: pp. 420-431; 539-549; 616-617; the expressions in the *prooemium* for which Enenkel cites parallels from Quintilian (pp. 56 n. 13 and 18; 60 n. 54) need not

some of his general ideas seem to be suggested or coloured by Quintilian's views.<sup>15</sup>

Petrarch was not alone in regretting that only truncated copies of the *institutio* were available. In 1396 the famous Florentine chancellor Coluccio Salutati, who had studied rhetoric with Pietro da Moglio and taken a notarial course at Bologna, wrote to Jean de Montreuil that he had heard about the discovery of the complete *institutio* and urged him to obtain exact information and to assist him in getting a transcript.<sup>16</sup>

have been inspired by the *institutio oratoria*. See in general B. L. Ullman, *Studies in the Italian Renaissance* (Roma 1955), pp. 157-158; 162; 165.

<sup>15</sup> The literature on Petrarch (1304-1374) is too vast to be listed here, see e.g. E. Kessler, *Petrarca und die Geschichte* (München 1978), also J.G. Fucilla, *Oltre un cinquantennio di scritti sul Petrarca (1916-1973)* (Padova 1982). For general accounts of the development of educational ideas during the age of the renaissance see e.g. A. Rösler, *Kardinal Johannes Dominicus Erziehungslehre und die übrigen pädagogischen Leistungen Italiens im 15. Jahrhundert* (Freiburg 1894); W. Krampe, *Die Italienischen Humanisten und ihre Wirksamkeit für die Wiederbelebung gymnastischer Pädagogik* (Breslau 1895); G.B. Gemini, *Gli Scrittori Pedagogici Italiani del secolo decimoquinto* (Torino 1896); W.H. Woodward, *Vittorino da Feltre and Other Humanist Educators* (Cambridge 1897); A. Messer *loc. cit.* (see n. 1); W.H. Woodward, *Studies in Education, during the Age of the Renaissance 1400-1600* (Cambridge 1906); G. Saitta, *L'educazione dell'umanesimo in Italia* (Venezia 1928); V.M. Geerts, *De humanistische Paedagogiek in Italie tijdens de Vroeg-Renaissance* (Leuven s.a. (1953)); E. Garin, *L'educazione in Europa (1400-1600)* (Bari 1957); German version with sources in translation: E. Garin, *Geschichte und Dokumente der abendländischen Pädagogik I-III* (München 1964-1967), esp. II: *Humanismus*; F. Battaglia (ed.), *Il pensiero pedagogico del Rinascimento* (Firenze 1960); G. Müller, *Bildung und Erziehung im Humanismus der italienischen Renaissance. Grundlagen, Motive, Quellen* (Wiesbaden 1969); *id.*, *Mensch und Bildung im italienischen Renaissance-Humanismus* (Baden-Baden 1984); A. Grafton L. Jardine, *From Humanism to the Humanities. Education in the Liberal Arts in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Europe* (London 1986). These works will not be referred to afresh for each author, except for particular views or information.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. F. Novati (ed.), *Epistolario di Coluccio Salutati I-IV* (Roma 1891-1901), III pp. 143-147 (ep. 9, 20: "Audio, nescio tamen si verum est, quod Andreuolus de Arisiis ... repperit totum Quintilianum De institutione oratoria, quem habemus admodum diminutum". On Salutati (1331-1406) see e.g. A. v. Martin, *Coluccio Salutati und das humanistische Lebensideal* (Berlin 1916); L. Borghi, "La dottrina morale di Coluccio Salutati" and "La concezione umanistica di Coluccio Salutati", *Annali della Scuola Superiore di Pisa*, ser. 2, 3 (Bologna 1934), pp. 75-102 and pp. 469-492; B.L. Ullman, *The Humanism of Coluccio Salutati* (Padova 1963); E. Kessler, *Das Problem des frühen Humanismus. Seine philosophische Bedeutung bei Coluccio Salutati* (München 1968); R. Witt, *Coluccio Salutati and his Public Letters* (Genève 1976); *id.*, *Hercules at the Crossroads. The Life, Works, and Thought of Coluccio Salutati* (Durham 1983); J. Lindhardt, *Rhetor, Poeta, Historicus. Studien über rhetorische Erkenntnis und Lebensanschauung im italienischen Renaissancehumanismus* (Leiden 1979); H. Langkabel, *Die Staatsbriefe Coluccio Salutatis* (Köln 1981). — I have to stress that in view of the limited space available I cannot deal with all humanists who deserve a place in this discussion; thus I am not forgetting, but deliberately omitting G. Boccaccio (see C.C. Coulter, "Boccaccio's Knowl-

However, he had a copy of the mutilated version at his disposal and frequently quoted from it in his letters and elsewhere, but never in his official letters, and in his personal letters only for factual information or judgements on ancient authors (from book X), except for his famous (fragmentary) response to the criticism of Giovanni Dominici's *Lucula Noctis*.<sup>17</sup> Thus right from the beginning of the new movement, Quintilian seems to have inspired the humanists, but mostly in a very general manner through some basic concepts or ideas such as *imitatio* or the need to study poetry or Greek. The particular precepts of education or rules of rhetoric were not mentioned by the poet Petrarch or the notary and politician Salutati, while Gasparino Barzizza (1360-1431), who taught first at Padua, later at Milan, after he had studied rhetoric with Giovanni Traversi da Cremona and at the same time worked at the court of the Visconti at Pavia, is alleged to have made attempts to fill the gaps in the mutilated *institutio oratoria* with supplements of his own.<sup>18</sup> Yet,

edge of Quintilian", *Speculum* 33 (1958), pp. 490-496), Uberto Decembrio (1350-1427), Niccolò Niccoli (1364-1437), Bernardino da Siena (1380-1444), Ambrogio Traversari (1386-1439) and Francesco Filelfo (1398-1481; cf. C. de' Rosmini, *Vita di Francesco Filelfo da Tolentino*, I-III (Milano 1808); V. Giustiniani, in: *Lexikon des Mittelalters* IV (1989), col. 444-445; see also n. 26).

<sup>17</sup> For his official letters see R. Witt *op. cit.* (1976) and H. Langkabel *op. cit.* (see n. 16); for his personal letters cf. I p. 151 (*ep.* 3, 8: *inst.* X 1, 129); I p. 182 (*ep.* 3, 15: *inst.* X 1, 105 and 85); II p. 307 (*ep.* 7, 3: *inst.* X 1, 112); III p. 81 (*ep.* 9, 9: *inst.* X 1, 125-127); III p. 261 (*ep.* 10, 10: *inst.* I 6, 32- a particular word); IV p. 120 (*ep.* 14, 17: *inst.* X 1, 131); IV p. 156 (*ep.* 14, 21: *inst.* X 1, 23); IV p. 177 (*ep.* 14, 23: *inst.* I 8, 14: technical terms); see also I pp. 106; 262; III p. 605; IV p. 204; a long quotation from *inst.* I 4, 2-5 in the letter to Giovanni Dominici: IV pp. 221-222, see also p. 230 (*ep.* 14, 24). On G. Dominici (1356-1419) see A. Rösler, *Giovanni Dominici* (Freiburg 1893); P. da Prati, *Giovanni Dominici e l'umanesimo* (Napoli 1965); W. Decker, W. Rüegg, in: *Lexikon des Mittelalters* III (1986), col. 1185-1186; and E. Hunt (ed.), *Iohannis Dominici Lucula noctis* (Notre Dame 1940). Other references occur in Salutati's *De nobilitate legum et medicinae* (E. Garin (ed.) (Firenze 1947), p. 224: general reference to *inst.* I 10, no quotation - now reprinted in P. M. Schenkel (ed.), *Coluccio Salutati. Vom Vorrang der Jurisprudenz oder der Medizin* (München 1990), p. 224) and *De laboribus Herculis* (B.L. Ullman (ed.) I-II (Zürich 1951)); they show the author occasionally not willing to accept the authority of the *maximi auctores* like Quintilian and Boethius (*De lab. Herc. IV prooem.*).

<sup>18</sup> *Blondi Flavii Forliviensis De Roma triumphante lib. X* (Basel 1559), p. 346. His works: J.A. Furius (ed.), *Gasparini Barzizii Bergomatis ... Opera* (Roma 1723) (with *vita*: pp. XXV-XXXVIII): *De compositione* (pp. 1-14), *orationes* (pp. 15-89) etc. See further G. Martelotti, in: *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* 7 (1965), pp. 34-39; R.G.G. Mercer, *The Teaching of Gasparino Barzizza With Special Reference to his Place in Paduan Humanism* (London 1979); F. Schalk, in: *Lexikon des Mittelalters* I (1980), col. 1502; G.W. Pigman III, "Barzizza's Studies of Cicero", *Rinascimento*, sec. ser. 21 (1981), pp. 123-163; see also L. A. Panizza, "Gasparino Barzizza's Commentaries on Seneca's Letters", *Traditio* 33 (1977), pp. 297-358; on Giovanni Traversi da Cremona see below n. 40.

unlike Petrarch and Salutati, he lived to see the discovery of the complete version, which he then used daily and with much pleasure.<sup>19</sup> Indeed, while he was — in all probability in accordance with general practice — officially obliged in his ordinary lectures on grammar and rhetoric to deal with Priscian, the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* and Cicero's *De inventione*, he also offered extraordinary ones in which he seems to have treated Quintilian, just as in his *De compositione* he added sections from Quintilian to what he took from other authors on the subject.<sup>20</sup> As a teacher he paid attention to such details as orthography and the position of the verb in a sentence (in this following Quintilian against the practice of the Middle Ages);<sup>21</sup> and his general views on teaching show that they are based on Cicero's ideal of a broad education and on Quintilian's ideal of *vir bonus dicendi peritus*.

While Petrarch, Salutati and Barzizza only occasionally and mostly by implication point to their educational principles, Pier Paolo Vergerio wrote a treatise on the subject (about 1402-1404).<sup>22</sup> Scholars have argued whether this unusually learned author with degrees in law, medicine and philosophy, who studied in Padua with Giovanni Conversini and early displayed an interest in educational problems, as is shown by his comedy *Paulus. Comedia ad iuvenum mores corrigendos*,<sup>23</sup> and later

<sup>19</sup> See R. Sabbadini, *Storia e Critica di Testi Latini* (Padova 1971), pp. 288-291; L. Bertalot, *Studien zum italienischen und deutschen Humanismus I-II* (Roma 1975), II pp. 99-100 (ep.54).

<sup>20</sup> See R.G.G. Mercer *op. cit.* (see n. 18) pp. 41; 95; on *De compositione* see also R. Sabbadini, *La scuola e gli studi di Guarino Guarini Veronese* (Catania 1896), pp. 72-73, on a commentary on the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* IV 19-68 attributed to Barzizza see G.W. Pigman III *loc. cit.* (see n. 18) pp. 128-130; pp. 145-146.

<sup>21</sup> See R.G.G. Mercer *op. cit.* (see n. 18) pp. 56; 93; for a reference to the newly discovered Quintilian in *De orthographia* see R. Sabbadini, *La scuola* (see n. 20) pp. 50-51; see also *id.*, "Spogli Ambrosiani Latini", *Studi Italiani di Filologia Classica* 11 (1903), pp. 362-376, esp. p. 365; on the teaching of grammar at the time see W. K. Percival, "Grammar and Rhetoric in the Renaissance", in: J.J. Murphy (ed.), *Renaissance Rhetoric* (see n. 12) pp. 303-330.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. *Senioris Petri Pauli Vergerii Iustinopolitani, De nobilium puerorum educatione, libellus gravissimus* (s. l. 1560) (text: fol. B 1<sup>r</sup>-G 1<sup>r</sup>); an analysis is given by A. Messer *loc. cit.* (see n. 1) pp. 285-291. On Vergerio (1370-1444) see C. Bischoff, *Studien zu P.P. Vergerio dem Älteren* (Berlin 1909); H. Baron, *The Crisis of the Early Italian Renaissance* (Princeton 1966), pp. 126-134 *et saep.*; D. Robey, "P.P. Vergerio the Elder: Republicanism and Civic Values in the Work of an Early Humanist", *Past and Present* 58 (1973), pp. 3-37; *id.*, "Humanism and Education in the Early Quattrocento: The *De ingenuis moribus* of P. P. Vergerio", *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 42 (1980), pp. 27-58. For his letters see L. Smith (ed.), *Epistolario di Pier Paolo Vergerio* (Roma 1934).

<sup>23</sup> Cf. K. Müllner, "Vergerios Paulus. Eine Studentenkomödie", *Wiener Studien* 22 (1900), pp. 232-257 (text: pp. 236-257); on its date see L. Smith *op. cit.* (see n. 22) p. 54.

became secretary to a cardinal and then to the German emperor, in writing his *De ingenuis moribus et liberalibus studiis adolescentiae* followed Quintilian and if so, how closely. The very fact that only vague parallels and possible reminiscences can be adduced — as also no certain quotation from the *institutio oratoria* can be found in Vergerio's letters<sup>24</sup> — to my mind leaves no doubt that his work as a whole was not modelled on that of Quintilian and that the resemblance is due to the fact that both authors wrote on the same subject-matter. When Salutati congratulated Vergerio on the completion of his work, he summarized his positive judgement in the words *quod ad institutionem vite pertinet, Ciceronem nostrum et Ambrosium tractantes de officiis exhaustisti*, without even mentioning Quintilian.<sup>25</sup> Moreover, J. E. Sandys' statement in his authoritative *History of Classical Scholarship* that Vergerio "produced the first modern introduction to the study of Quintilian" has no foundation; he was obviously misled by a reference to the work published in Paris in 1554 under the title *M. Fab. Quintiliani Institutionum oratoriarum libr. XII in commentarios redacti, Petro Vergerio auctore*, the author of which was, in fact, as was shown long ago, Francesco Patrizi Senese,<sup>26</sup> a pupil of Francesco Filelfo and teacher of rhetoric in

On Giovanni Conversini (1343-1408) see R. Sabbadini, *Giovanni da Ravenna, insigne figura d'umanista (1343-1408)* (Como 1924); B.G. Kohl, in: *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* 28 (1983), pp. 574-578; on his library: L. Gargan, "Per la biblioteca di Giovanni Conversini", in: R. Avesani et al. (edd.), *Vestigia. Studi in onore di Giuseppe Billanovich*, I-II (Roma 1984), I pp. 365-385 (373-375: *fragmentum Quintiliani*). G. Calò, "Nota Vergariana", *La Rinascita* 2 (1938), p. 232 n. 3, thinks that there are references to Quintilian already in Giovanni's works (referring to R. Sabbadini, *Giovanni* (see n. 23) pp. 102-103).

<sup>24</sup> A. Messer *loc. cit.* (see n. 1) pp. 277-282 regards Quintilian's influence on Vergerio as improbable, while it is assumed by D. Bassi, "L'epitome di Quintiliano di Francesco Patrizi Senese", *Rivista di Filologia e di Istruzione Classica* 22 (1894), pp. 430-431 with n. 37-39 (but see below n. 65); C. Bischoff *op. cit.* (see n. 22) p. 83; F.H. Colson *op. cit.* (see n. 1) p. LIX; V.M. Geerts *op. cit.* (see n. 15) pp. 17-20; D. Robey, *Humanism* (see n. 22) pp. 52-53; J. M. McManamon, S.J., "Innovation in Early Humanist Rhetoric: The Oratory of Pier Paolo Vergerio the Elder", *Rinascimento*, sec. ser. 22 (1982), pp. 3-32, esp. 6. E. Keßler in: E. Garin *op. cit.* (see note 15 (1966)) p. 196 refers for the definition of *eloquentia* as *civilis scientiae pars quaedam* to Quint. *inst.* II 15, 33; but the phrase is also found in Cic. *inv.* I 6, as Quintilian himself stresses. Similarly of the three passages in the letters where a reference to Quintilian is assumed, one must derive from Macrobius because the section of the *institutio* was unknown to Vergerio (see L. Smith *op. cit.* (see n. 22) p. 198 (n.)), the other two (*ep.* 73 and 75, pp. 172 and 179) are too vague to make immediate borrowing certain; see also G. Müller, *Bildung* (see n. 15) pp. 168-169.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. *Salutati Epistolario* (see n. 16) IV pp. 78-86 (*ep.* 14, 11) = *Vergerio Epistolario* (see n. 22) pp. 253-257.

<sup>26</sup> J. E. Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship*, I-III (Cambridge 1903-1908), II p. 48 n. 4 refers to C.A. Combi (ed.), *Epistole di Pietro Paolo Vergerio Seniore da*

Siena and Verona and later bishop, who composed it probably at a time when the *institutio oratoria* became more popular as a text-book and was found too detailed and elaborate in its full form.

That Quintilian's work was not the book Italian humanists turned to when writing on problems of education in the first two decades of the fifteenth century is also shown by the tract *De re uxoria* composed in 1416 by Francesco Barbaro, a Venetian pupil of Giovanni Conversini, Barzizza and Guarino, who later played a prominent part in the life of his home town.<sup>27</sup> The section *De liberorum educatione et cura* (II 8) of his treatise draws largely on Ps.-Plutarch, and occasionally on various Roman writers, but not on Quintilian.

Thus before Poggio Bracciolini's revolutionary discovery of 1416 Quintilian's influence appears to have been very limited, as long as one ignores yet another source that has rather surprisingly never been used by scholars who concern themselves with the *Nachleben* of Quintilian, the commentaries on Cicero's speeches. The brief and rather elementary *argumenta* of Sicco Polenton, also a pupil of Giovanni Conversini and later public notary and chancellor at Padua, need not detain us, because they do not betray any familiarity with the *institutio oratoria*, and it is only in his (later) *Scriptorum illustrium Latinae linguae libri XVIII*, written over a long period of his life and not finished till 1437, that he

*Capodistria* (Venezia 1887), p. XXI, who speaks of no more than Vergerio's *Compendio delle Istituzioni di Quintiliano*, not knowing D. Bassi *loc. cit.* (see n. 24). P.O. Kristeller, *Iter Italicum* I-VI (Leiden 1977-1993), lists sixteen manuscripts of Patrizi's epitome. On F. Patrizi (1412-1494) see also F. Battaglia, in: *Enciclopedia Italiana* 26 (1935), pp. 521-522; *id.*, *Enea Silvio Piccolomini e Francesco Patrizi. Due politici senesi del Quattrocento* (Firenze (Siena) 1936); his works: *De institutione reipublicae libri IX* (Strasbourg 1594); *De regno et regis institutione libri IX* (Strasbourg 1594). On Francesco Filelfo (1398-1481) see V. Rossi, in: *Enciclopedia Italiana* 15 (1932), pp. 281-282; his negative judgement of Quintilian (see G. Voigt *op. cit.* (see n. 41) I p. 464) is due to the fact that he includes the *declamationes*, the *inventio* of which he approves of, while he criticizes their composition and style. In his commentary on the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* Filelfo cites or refers to Quintilian several times, cf. L. Firpo (ed.), *Francesco Filelfo educatore e il 'Codice Sforza' della Biblioteca Reale di Torino* (Torino 1967), pp. 40; 47.

<sup>27</sup> 1390-1454, cf. G. Gualdo, in: *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* 6 (1964), pp. 101-103; F. Schalk, in: *Lexikon des Mittelalters* I (1980), col. 1438, important: P. Gothein, *Francesco Barbaro. Frühhumanismus und Staatskunst in Venedig* (Berlin 1932); *Francisci Barbari ... de Re uxoria libelli duo* (Paris 1513) (the section *De liberorum educatione* II 8: fol. XXIX<sup>v</sup> - XXXII<sup>v</sup>); P. Gothein (ed.), *Francesco Barbaro. Das Buch von der Ehe. De re uxoria* (Berlin 1933) (German translation with commentary).

refers to Quintilian mainly for specific information or judgments and rarely for general precepts and advice.<sup>28</sup>

However, Antonio Loschi, born in Vicenza and after study in Padua and various other activities finally papal secretary, is of the greatest importance.<sup>29</sup> While working as secretary, later as cancellarius for the Visconti in Milan he published what in the manuscripts is called *Inquisitio artis in XI orationibus Ciceronis*, a very thorough and careful rhetorical analysis. In each case Loschi, after a brief *argumentum*, determines *genus* and *constitutio causae*, discusses at length the *partes orationis* and explains numerous aspects of the *elocutio*. In doing so, he frequently refers to Quintilian as well as to Cicero's rhetorical works (including the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, which he seems to regard as genuine<sup>30</sup>) and occasionally also to Martianus Capella and Aristotle. These references deserve our full attention, because they have been ignored in this context, even though they illustrate most vividly an aspect otherwise not attested, that at least in some quarters Quintilian's

<sup>28</sup> For Polenton's *argumenta* see Q. Asconii Pediani in Ciceronis Orationes Commentarii. Georgii Trabezuntii: de artificio ciceronianae orationis Pro. Q. Ligario ad Victorinum Feltrensem. Antonii Lusci Vicentini super Undecim Ciceronis Orationes Expositio. Xicchoni Polentoni Patavini super decem Ciceronis orationes argumenta (Venezia 1477), fol. G III<sup>r</sup>-VI<sup>r</sup>; see further: B.L. Ullman (ed.), *Sicconis Polentoni Scriptorum illustrium Latinae linguae* (Roma 1928), for his life (1375-1447) and works briefly: A. Segarizzi, *La Catina, le Orazioni e le Epistole di Sico Polenton umanista Trentino del secolo XV* (Bergamo 1899), pp. XIII-LXIII; his *De ratione studendi* seems lost (*ibid.* p. XLII).

<sup>29</sup> (1365-1441) see G. da Schio, *Sulla vita e sugli scritti di Antonio Loschi Vicentino uomo di lettere e di stato commentarii* (Padova 1858); L. Pàstine, "Antonio Loschi umanista Vicentino", *Rivista d'Italia* 18 (1915), pp. 831-879; V. Zaccaria, "Le epistole e i carmi di Antonio Loschi durante il cancellierato visconteo (con tredici inediti)", *Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei* 372, *Memorie, Cl. di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, ser. 8, 18 (1975), pp. 367-443; P. Mack, "Rudolph Agricola's Reading of Literature", *Journal of the Warburg Courtauld Institutes* 48 (1985), pp. 25-26 (also pp. 26-27 on George of Trebizond); D. Girgensohn, "Antonio Loschi und Baldassarre Cossa vor dem Pisaner Konzil von 1409 (mit der oratio pro unione ecclesiae)", *Italia Medioevale ed Umanistica* 30 (1987), pp. 1-93; D. Coppini, in: *Lexikon des Mittelalters* V (1991), col. 2121. For the text see Q. Asconii Pediani .. (see n. 28) fol. A I<sup>r</sup>-G III<sup>r</sup> and *In omnes M. Tulli Ciceronis orationes* .. (see n. 31). Decisive for the disputed date of publication seems to me to be the title *Antonii Lusci Vincentini secretarii illustrissimi ducis Mediolani* .. (found in some manuscripts, see R. Sabbadini, *Storia* (see n. 19) pp. 20-21).

<sup>30</sup> Cf. *In omnes M. Tulli Ciceronis orationes* .. (see n. 31) I col. 252, 24-31 (on *Manil.* 6): "Cicero orator summus, quod in Arte docet fieri, hic eleganter exequitur", referring to *Rhet. Her.* III 3; see also I col. 590, 13-15 *et saep.*; but see R. Sabbadini, *Storia* (see n. 19), p. 22. The authenticity of the *Rhetorica* was clearly questioned by Guarino's pupils, see Angelo Decembrio in his *De Politia litteraria* (begun in 1447, published about 1462, cf. *Politia litterariae Angeli Decembrii .. libri septem* (Augsburg 1540), fol. XIV<sup>r</sup>-XVI<sup>r</sup>).

*institutio oratoria* was studied most carefully in all its details and exploited for rhetorical appreciation and instruction. Of the eleven speeches on which Loschi wrote his comments, two do not give him an opportunity to mention Quintilian at all, *pro Quinctio* and *pro Archia*; indeed, the former is mentioned by Quintilian only twice.<sup>31</sup> Other speeches suggest no more than one or two general remarks, *de lege Manilia* (with a quotation), *pro Flacco*, *pro Sulla*, *pro Plancio* (with a quotation), *pro Marcello* and *pro rege Deiotaro*, only the first two of which are mentioned by Quintilian.<sup>32</sup> But when one turns to *pro Cluentio*, *pro Milone* and *pro Ligario* one soon realizes how thoroughly familiar Loschi was with the *institutio oratoria* and how thoughtfully and appropriately he exploited it. His remarks fall into two categories. Either he applies Quintilian's general rules or pieces of advice, where he thinks they have been observed by Cicero in particular instances, e.g. that the length of an *exordium* should correspond to the nature of the case (on *Deiot.* 1-7: IV 1, 62), that the purpose of a *narratio* is not just that the judge becomes fully acquainted with the facts, but a little more: that he agrees with them (and the manner in which they have been presented: on *Cluent.* 11-18: IV 2, 21), that sometimes cases are so brief that they have rather a summary (*propositio*) than a full exposition of the facts (*narratio*: on *Planc.* and *Marc.* 2: IV 2,4), that it is the *epilogus*, the final section of a speech, where the emotions may be expressed without restraint (on *Flacc.* 101, *Planc.* 104 and *Deiot.* 1: IV 1, 28), that the business of a counsel for the defence consists wholly in refutation (on *Sull.* 3: V 13, 1), that the speaker in a court of law offers not only defence, but also the trustworthiness of a witness (on *Cluent.* 1: IV 1, 7).<sup>33</sup> In one case Loschi gives information on Caesar which he found

<sup>31</sup> For references to Loschi's commentary I use the collection published in Basel 1553 *In omnes M. Tulli Ciceronis orationes, quot quidem extant, doctissimorum virorum enarrationes, summa diligentia, ac singulari erga Ciceronianae eloquentiae studiosos fide in unum velut corpus collectae*: *pro Quinctio*: I col. 1-6, *pro Archia*: I col. 1105-1109; for the references in the *institutio oratoria* see M. Winterbottom's index (see n. 1).

<sup>32</sup> *De lege Manilia* (once mentioned in the *institutio*: II 4, 40): I col. 247-261 (references to *inst.*: col. 248, 38-46; 249, 40-44: *inst.* III 7, 28); *pro Flacco* (once in *inst.*: XI 1, 89): I col. 960-966 (reference to *inst.*: col. 964, 44-46: IV 1, 28); *pro Plancio*: I col. 1305-1320 (references to *inst.*: col. 1308, 4-10: IV 2, 4-5; col. 1317, 47-51: IV 1, 28); *pro Sulla*: I col. 1063-1071 (reference to *inst.*: col. 1066, 36-37: V 13, 1); *pro Marcello*: I col. 1876-1879 (reference to *inst.*: col. 1877, 58-61: IV 2, 4-5); *pro rege Deiotaro*: I col. 2067-2075 (references to *inst.*: col. 2068, 46-49; 2069, 11-13).

<sup>33</sup> On *Deiot.* 1-7: I col. 2068, 46-49; on *Cluent.* 11-18: I col. 586, 57-87; on *Planc.*: I col. 1308, 4-10; on *Marc.*: I col. 1877, 58-61; on *Flacc.*: I col. 964, 44-46; on *Planc.*



in Quintilian (III 7, 28), and he uses it in the discussion of the *constitutio causae* of the speech for the *lex Manilia*.<sup>34</sup>

Or — and this is the second category — Loschi refers to Quintilian because a particular passage from Cicero is discussed in the *institutio* or adduced as an example for a rule or precept, and Loschi now in his turn explains that passage with the help of Quintilian's remark or general rule.<sup>35</sup> There is no need to present the evidence in full here,<sup>36</sup> yet a summary and some general observations will not be superfluous. In his comments on two speeches Loschi does not mention Quintilian at all, in the case of three others he refers to general rules laid down in the *institutio*, while Quintilian does not deal with these speeches. The bulk of Loschi's references to Quintilian are found in his commentaries on *pro Cluentio*, *pro Milone* and *pro Ligario*. He pays special attention to the first and second chapter of the fourth book of the *institutio oratoria*, i.e. the *inventio* for *exordium* and *narratio*, and also to the fourth and fifth chapter of the same book (*propositio* and *partitio*) and to the last four chapters of the fifth book (10-14: *loci*, *exempla*, *refutatio* and *enthymema*). In the commentary on *pro Milone* there is no reference to the later books, in that on *pro Cluentio* there is one (IX 2, 19: function of a particular figure) and a longer quotation from book eleven on what is proper and appropriate to say (1, 60-63); in the section on *pro Ligario* Loschi explains matters of style several times with references to books eight (chapters 4 and 5) and nine (2). Clearly, the main interest lies with problems of invention and arrangement; but *elocutio* is by no means ignored.

Moreover, it should not be overlooked that Loschi bases his comments on the *institutio oratoria*, not only where he explicitly refers to it, but also elsewhere, e.g. when on Cicero's attack on Tubero in his speech for Ligarius (§ 9: *Quid enim Tubero tuus ille dstrictus in acie Pharsa-*

104: I col. 1317, 45-58; see also on *Deiot.* 1: I col. 2069, 10-13; on *Sull.* 3: I col. 1066, 36-37; on *Cluent.* 1: I col. 583, 34-36: *inst.* IV 1, 7.

<sup>34</sup> I col. 249, 40-44.

<sup>35</sup> Loschi cites (I col. 583, 38-40) Cicero's own view of his strategy in the speech *pro Cluentio* as quoted by Quintilian (*inst.* II 17, 21), on *Cluent.* 4 he refers (col. 584, 21-26) to Quintilian on the *dubitatio* (*inst.* IX 2, 19), on *Cluent.* 12 and 15 (col. 586, 11-34 and col. 585, 59-586, 3) to *inst.* XI 1, 60-63 and IV 2, 105; see further on *Cluent.* 1 (col. 584, 3-5): *inst.* IV 1, 36, also 69, on *Cluent.* 9 (col. 585, 4-6 and 12-21): *inst.* IV 5, 11, on *Cluent.* 117 (col. 589, 17-19): *inst.* IV 1, 75, see also col. 589, 61-590, 3.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. II col. 1945, 58 - 1946, 3: *inst.* IX 2, 28; col. 1946, 6-9: *inst.* IX 2, 14; col. 1946, 30-33: *inst.* IX 2, 7; col. 1948, 8-10: *inst.* IX 2, 29; col. 1949, 35-36: *inst.* VIII 4, 27; col. 1950, 12-16: *inst.* VIII 5, 7, all on *Lig.* 7-10.

*lica gladius agebat? cuius latus ille mucro petebat? qui sensus erat armorum tuorum? quae tua mens, oculi, manus, ardor animi? quid cupiebas?*) he remarks *utitur hoc loco amplificatione per congeriem*<sup>37</sup>, without mentioning the relevant passage from the *institutio oratoria* (VIII 4, 26), where Quintilian cites this passage from the *Ligariana* as an example. Also, in his dedicatory letter to Astolfino Marinoni, after discussing the true nature of *eloquentia*, Loschi emphasizes *non est enim orator nisi sit idem bonus*, without giving his source, while doing so for two other statements.<sup>38</sup> But, of course, it is Cicero's perfect oratory he praises, and he points out that Marinoni asked him *ut quod occultius esset artis in ipsis (i.e. orationibus) inquirerem planeque detegerem*. The aim of this undertaking is more clearly expressed in such occasional remarks in the body of the commentary as *Lector peritus ergo consideret potius quanta arte, quanto ingenio utendum fuit in causa praesenti: in qua de insidiis contra Caesarem agebatur*.<sup>39</sup> The reader, clearly not only the beginner, but also the more advanced student, is called upon carefully to examine how such a case was to be tackled, and he will see — this is implied — that Cicero found the best possible solution, a model for others to learn from. Obviously, Loschi's purpose is, by elucidating what Cicero wrote, to make others understand the details of the master's *artificium* in order to assist them in developing their own faculties and to teach them how to compose speeches, or more generally, how to write successfully.

One last question remains, or rather a group of questions: Where did Loschi get the idea of writing such a work from, especially as he was neither a private teacher nor a professor at a university? From whom did he learn this method of commenting upon a work of an ancient author or rather of instructing through such a commentary? Little is known about Loschi's youth and early training; it has been suggested that, as he was a *scholaris in artibus* at the university of Pavia in 1388-1390, he was also taught by Giovanni Travesi like Barzizza.<sup>40</sup> But while Barzizza later

<sup>37</sup> I col. 1946, 25-26.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. *Q. Asconii Pediani* .. (see n. 29) fol. A I<sup>v</sup>, the references to Quintilian (*inst.* II 17, 27, also XII 1, 38, and to II 17, 34) immediately before and after this; for Marinoni's request see fol. A II<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>39</sup> I col. 2068, 49-52 in his comments on *pro rege Deiotaro*.

<sup>40</sup> See e.g. R.G.G. Mercer *op. cit.* (see n. 18) p. 33; J. Monfasani, *George of Trebizond* (Leiden 1976), p. 165. On Giovanni Travesi see G. Mainardi, "Il Travesio, il Barzizza e l'umanesimo pavese", *Bollettino della società pavese di storia patria*, n.s. 5 (1953), pp. 13-25; D. Bianchi, "Per Giovanni Travesio da Cremona", *ibid.* n.s. 6 (1954), pp. 37-44;

showed great interest in Loschi's *Inquisitio* and used it in his lectures on Cicero's speeches, there is no evidence that he explained ancient texts in this manner independently of Loschi (so that one could attribute this method to their common teacher). I am inclined, therefore, to assume that in this Loschi was his own master, especially as there was virtually no older tradition of composing such commentaries either.<sup>41</sup> It is for this reason that I have given so much space and time to Loschi's *Inquisitio*. I should add that roughly at the same time as he was engaged in this work, he also translated the *declamationes* attributed to Quintilian and composed eight brief *declamationes controversiales* himself. Moreover, it has been shown that Loschi himself wrote in the most carefully considered manner, paying much attention throughout to the arrangement of the whole as well as figures of style and *clausulae*.<sup>42</sup> Furthermore, there is evidence that even in his later years at the papal court he was still regarded as *praeceptor*, master and expert in matters of style.

Thus, it was through the commentaries which one of the greatest early Ciceronians wrote on some of Cicero's speeches that Quintilian's *institutio oratoria* began to exercise influence — not as a set of general educational principles, but as a manual of rhetoric with numerous detailed rules and precepts — and to do so widely and for many years, because Loschi had no immediate follower.

It was in the autumn of 1416, as is only too well known, that Francesco Poggio Bracciolini, who studied with Giovanni Malpaghini in Florence and there also enjoyed the patronage of Coluccio Salutati, found the complete text of Quintilian's *institutio oratoria*, and with great excitement announced his discovery,<sup>43</sup> copied the work himself and took

*id.* "Opere di Giovanni Travesio", *ibid.* n.s. 7 (1955), pp. 3-31; G. Mainardi, "Ancora il Travesio, il Barzizza e il l'umanesimo pavese", *ibid.* n.s. 9 (1957), pp. 19-51; D. Bianchi, "Ultima battuta su Giovanni Travesio", *ibid.* n.s. 10 (1958), pp. 91-95.

<sup>41</sup> On the earliest commentaries see G. Voigt, *Die Wiederbelebung des klassischen Alterthums oder das erste Jahrhundert des Humanismus* I-II (Berlin <sup>3</sup>1893), pp. 387-389.

<sup>42</sup> See D. Girgensohn *loc. cit.* (see n. 29) pp. 67-77. On his translation of Quintilian's *declamationes* see R. Sabbadini, *Storia* (see n. 19) pp. 21-22.

<sup>43</sup> (1380-1459). Cf. H. Harth (ed.), *Poggio Bracciolini. Lettere* I-III (Firenze 1984-1987), II pp. 153-156 (*ep.* 4, 5), see also II pp. 444-447 (another version); see R. Sabbadini, *Storia* (see n. 19) pp. 284-293, who shows pp. 293-294 that Poggio found a second codex of Quintilian; see also E. Walser, *Poggius Florentinus. Leben und Werke* (Leipzig 1934), pp. 52-53; doubts are expressed by M. Winterbottom, "Fifteenth-Century Manuscripts of Quintilian", *Classical Quarterly* 17 (1967), p. 353 n. 5, but see P. L. Schmidt, *Die Überlieferung von Ciceros Schrift „De Legibus“ in Mittelalter und Renaissance* (München 1974), p. 122 and P. Thiermann, "Redécouverte et influence de manuscrits

care to send first information about the content and later the complete transcript to his friends in Florence and elsewhere.<sup>44</sup> Thereby, he rendered the greatest possible service to the *institutio oratoria* and initiated a new era of influence of and interest in Quintilian. However, while at this stage he himself praised the *institutio* enthusiastically, as his letters testify, later in his life he still considered Quintilian to be one of the ancient masters of rhetoric; but he left no doubt that he regarded Cicero as superior,<sup>45</sup> and he recommended him as the authority to be followed, while he rebuked the *insulsitas et perversitas mentis* of those who gave preference to Quintilian.<sup>46</sup>

How did his contemporaries react? When and in what manner did the complete text of the *institutio oratoria* change the scene.<sup>47</sup> Not only did many friends, scholars and notaries, congratulate Poggio on his new success.<sup>48</sup> A teacher like Barzizza at once made use of the full text now available for his lectures and for his own manuals, as was shown above. The same is true of Guarino Guarini, another pupil of Giovanni Conversini and a friend of Vergerio and Polenton who taught at Florence, Verona and Ferrara.<sup>49</sup> For his lectures on rhetoric he relied on Cicero

d'auteurs latins classiques au début du XVe siècle", *Revue d'Histoire des Textes* 17 (1988), pp. 66-69. On his teacher Giovanni Malpaghini see R. Sabbadini, in: *Enciclopedia Italiana* 17 (1933), pp. 261-262.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. L. Mehus (ed.), *Leonardi Bruni Arretini Epistolarum Libri VIII*, I-II (Firenze 1741), I pp. 111-113 (ep. 4, 5), also pp. 119-120 (ep. 4, 9); *Francisci Barbari et aliorum ad ipsum Epistolae* (Brescia 1743), pp. 1-8 (ep. 1).

<sup>45</sup> For his views on Quintilian see e.g. his remarks in his *Historia tripartita disceptativa convivalis* (see *Poggii Florentini ... Opera* (Basel 1538)) in the third of the table talks (pp. 54-55), on Cicero cf. *Lettere* (see n. 43) II pp. 213-214 (ep. 5, 10); III p. 354 (ep. 7, 21); for particular phrases from Quintilian used by Poggio see the notes of Ph. W. G. Gordan, *Two Renaissance Book Hunters. The Letters of Poggius Bracciolini to Nicolaus de Niccolis* (Columbia 1974), pp. 268; 297; 313; 317; 323; 330.

<sup>46</sup> *Lettere* (see n. 43) III pp. 344-345 (ep. 7, 16); this was, of course, aimed at Valla. J. Monfasani, "Episodes of Anti-Quintilianism in the Italian Renaissance: Quarrels on the Orator as a *Vir Bonus* and Rhetoric as the *Scientia bene Dicendi*", *Rhetorica* 10 (1992), pp. 119-138, is primarily concerned with the specific problems mentioned in the title and with writers of the last quarter of the fifteenth century and later.

<sup>47</sup> W.H. Woodward, *Studies* (see n. 15) p. 8 or D. Bassi, "Il primo libro della "Vita civile" di Matteo Palmieri e l' "institutio oratoria" di Quintiliano", *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana* 23 (1894), pp. 184; 189 take Quintilian's great influence during this period for granted.

<sup>48</sup> See n. 44; R. Sabbadini (ed.), *Epistolario di Guarino* (see n. 49) I pp. 157-158 (ep. 83); also *id. Storia* (see n. 19) pp. 288-293.

<sup>49</sup> (1374-1460). Cf. R. Sabbadini, *La scuola* (see n. 20); G. Bertoni, *Guarino da Verona fra letterati e cortigiani a Ferrara (1429-1460)* (Genève 1921); R. Schweyen, *Guarino Veronese. Philosophie und humanistische Pädagogik* (München 1973); H.-B.

and Quintilian,<sup>50</sup> and as he was about to give a course in Verona in 1420, he asked Girolamo Gualdo to send him the books of Quintilian's *institutio ut eorum ductu atque auspiciis hoc possim enatare pelagus cum caelum undique et undique pontus*.<sup>51</sup> But again, his introductory lectures show that it was Cicero whom he regarded as the main authority. To write a rhetorical handbook himself he felt no need or desire in view of the existing ancient one, and by this he meant the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, which he accepted as a work by Cicero; nor did he lay down his educational principles, which may well have been influenced by Quintilian,<sup>52</sup> in writing as Vergerio did. The manuals which he did produce are rather elementary, but his *De compositione* reveals that for certain aspects Guarino made use of Quintilian.<sup>53</sup>

The third great teacher of this period beside Vergerio and Guarino, Vittorino (Rambaldoni) da Feltre, another pupil of Giovanni Conversini and also of Vergerio, left virtually no writings except for some orations and letters.<sup>54</sup> Thus it is more difficult to give a well founded account of

Gerl, in: *Lexikon des Mittelalters* IV (1989), col. 1761. R. Sabbadini (ed.), *Epistolario di Guarino Veronese* I-III (Venezia 1915-1919); see also K. Müllner, "Acht Inauguralreden des Veronesers Guarino und seines Sohnes Battista", *Wiener Studien* 18 (1896), pp. 283-306; 19 (1897), pp. 126-143; *id.* (ed.), *Reden und Briefe italienischer Humanisten* (Wien 1899), pp. 220-238.

<sup>50</sup> Cf. K. Müllner, "Inauguralreden" (see n. 49), *Wiener Studien* 18 (1896), pp. 286-289; 296-297; 303-306; R. Sabbadini, *La scuola* (see n. 20) pp. 36-37; 61-65, *ibid.* pp. 93-97 also on notes for a commentary on the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*; see also J. O. Ward, "Renaissance Commentators" (see n. 12) pp. 131-143. On Guarino's duties see R. Sabbadini (ed.), *Epistolario di Guarino* (see n. 49) III pp. 115-116 (on *ep.* 179).

<sup>51</sup> R. Sabbadini (ed.), *Epistolario di Guarino* (see n. 49) I p. 284 (*ep.* 179), s. also pp. 286-288 (*ep.* 181). On Girolamo Gualdo see *ibid.* III pp. 114; 184; 206-207.

<sup>52</sup> Cf. W.H. Woodward, *Studies* (see n. 15) p. 42; Guarino's educational principles are reflected in his son's *De ordine docendi et studendi* (Verona 1459), printed first about 1475 and later e.g. Jena 1704 (the edition I have used); on this see A. Messer *loc. cit.* (see n. 1) pp. 332-335. The edition of *De ordine docendi* by L. Piacente (Bari 1975) is not accessible to me.

<sup>53</sup> On his poem *compositio*, which was never printed, see R. Sabbadini, *La scuola* (see n. 20) p. 73, for other works cf. e.g. *Guarini Veronensis Viri peritissimi grammaticales regulae (incipiunt)* (Venezia 1485); *Erotemata Guarini cum multis additamentis et cum commentariis Latinis* (Ferrara 1509); see also a collection: *In Presenti libro continentur . ars diphthongandi Guarini Veronensis* (fol. 1<sup>r</sup>-2<sup>v</sup>), *compendiosus dialogus de arte punctandi* (fol. 2<sup>v</sup>), *tractatus utilis de accentu* (fol. 2<sup>v</sup>-5<sup>v</sup>) (Basel 1481); his edition of Cicero's speeches was published in Bologna 1475: see *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke* 6 (Leipzig 1934), p. 545 (no. 6764), see also R. Sabbadini, *Storia* (see n. 19) pp. 41-44; for his commentary on *pro Roscio Amerino* see *In omnes M. Tulli Ciceronis orationes* (see n. 31) I col. 99-123 (with several references to Quintilian).

<sup>54</sup> (1373 [8 ?]-1446). Cf. W.H. Woodward, *Vittorino da Feltre* (see n. 15) pp. 1-92; G. Müller, *Mensch und Bildung* (see n. 15) esp. pp. 312-320; see also A. Casacci (ed.), "Un

his principles than to speculate on general grounds or with the help of his pupils' views several of whom clearly showed a very special interest in Quintilian. I mention three here, Gregorio Correr (Corrarius), to whom I shall return presently, George of Trebizond and Ognibene di Enrico de' Bonisoli, both of whom will concern us briefly later.<sup>55</sup>

A highly gifted poet from Venezia who early enjoyed the patronage of Pope Eugenius IV and later of his successors, Correr gave a general survey in 293 hexameters of how to bring up boys.<sup>56</sup> As the author was less than twenty at the time of writing this poem, it is not surprising that he preferred to follow a recognized authority, and it is most interesting to see that he chose not the actual practice of Vittorino, but the first two books of Quintilian's *institutio*, turning at the end, after satirizing the Venetians, briefly to Cicero and Horace. It is here that many of Quintilian's general ideas and views were incorporated for the first time in a humanistic treatise on education; yet this poem remained virtually unknown, because it was written by its young author as a wedding gift for his brother and not printed till the beginning of the nineteenth century.<sup>57</sup> In the widely read *De studiis et literis liber*, on the other hand, which Leonardo Bruni Aretino, another pupil of Giovanni Malpaghini in Florence, influenced also by Salutati and like him later Chancellor in Florence,<sup>58</sup> wrote with a more limited scope a few years earlier for Battista Malatesta (Baptista de Malatestis), wife of Galeazzo Malatesta, there seems to be no certain trace of Quintilian's influence,<sup>59</sup> even

trattatello di Vittorino da Feltre sull' ortografia latina", *Atti dell' Istituto Veneto di Scienze* 86 (1927), pp. 911-945.

<sup>55</sup> On George of Trebizond (1395-1475[?]) see J. Monfasani (see n. 40) and below n. 68, on Ognibene di Enrico de' Bonisoli (1412-1474) see below n. 79.

<sup>56</sup> *Quomodo educari debeant pueri*, written 1430; on Correr (1411-1464) see P. Preto, in: *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* 29 (1983), pp. 497-500.

<sup>57</sup> Cf. C. de' Rosmini, *Idea dell' ottimo precettore nella vita e disciplina di Vittorino da Feltre e de suoi discepoli libri IV* (Bassano 1801), pp. 477-487, see also W. Krampe *op. cit.* (see n. 15), pp. 226-238; for the debt to Quintilian's ideas in the poem see A. Messer *loc. cit.* (see n. 1) pp. 323-324; G. Müller, *Mensch und Bildung* (see n. 15), pp. 315-317.

<sup>58</sup> (1370-1444) cf. *Leonardi aretini poete De studiis et litteris ad illustrem dominam baptistam de malatesta (Tractatus)* (Padova 1483), also Leipzig 1496 (reprinted by A. Israel, *Sammlung selten gewordener pädagogischer Schriften* .. (Zschopau 1880)) and Paris 1642; H. Baron (ed.), *Leonardo Bruni Aretino. Humanistisch-philosophische Schriften* (Berlin 1928); on Bruni see C. Vasoli, in: *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* 14 (1972), pp. 618-633; G. Busetto, in: *Lexikon des Mittelalters* II (1983), col. 760-761; important H. Baron, *Crisis* (see note 22), pp. 191-269; 409-439 *et saep.*

<sup>59</sup> See A. Messer *loc. cit.* (see n. 1), pp. 283-285; pp. 291-292.

though the author clearly knew the *institutio oratoria*, and that in its complete form.<sup>60</sup> Addressing himself to a lady, Bruni encourages her further to develop her gifts and recommends a solid grounding in grammar, extensive reading of Christian and pagan authors, written and spoken exercises and a wide ranging knowledge of the sciences, philosophy, history etc., an *eruditio .. legitima .. et ingenua, quae litterarum peritiam cum rerum scientia coniungit*. Where he relies on ancient authors, it is Cicero and also Lactantius, whom he mentions several times with St. Jerome and St. Augustine, not Quintilian.<sup>61</sup>

The following years saw a considerable number of treatises partially or entirely devoted to the education of the young, especially Maffeo Vegio's *De educatione liberorum et eorum claris moribus libri sex*<sup>62</sup> and Enea Silvio Piccolomini's letter to king Ladislaus of Hungary *De liberorum educatione*,<sup>63</sup> and also — earlier — Matteo Palmieri's *Libro della vita civile*<sup>64</sup> and Leon Battista Alberti's *Della famiglia*,<sup>65</sup> the last two

<sup>60</sup> See his letter referred to above n. 44 and P. Thiermann *loc. cit.* (see n. 43) pp. 61-69.

<sup>61</sup> Cf. *De studiis* pp. 6; 8; 14 (ed. H. Baron, see n. 58).

<sup>62</sup> (1407-1458) cf. M.W. Fanning (ed.), *Maphei Vegii Laudensis De Educatione Liberorum Et Eorum Claris Moribus Libri Sex. A Critical Text of Books I-III*, Diss. phil. Washington (Washington 1933); A. St. Sullivan, *Maphei Vegii Laudensis De Educatione Liberorum et Eorum Claris Moribus Libri Sex. A Critical Text of Books IV-VI*, Diss. phil. Washington (Washington 1936); and V.J. Horkan, *Educational Theories and Principles of Maffeo Vegio*, Diss. phil. Washington (Washington 1953); on his life *ibid.* pp. 1-9, also A. Sottili, "Zur Biographie Giuseppe Brivios und Maffeo Vegios", *Mittelateinisches Jahrbuch* 4 (1967), pp. 230-242; on one of his sources see L. Rainaldi *loc. cit.* (see n. 64).

<sup>63</sup> (1405-1464), cf. R. Wolkan (ed.), *Der Briefwechsel des Eneas Silvius Piccolomini I-IV, Fontes Rerum Austriacarum*, 2. Abt. 61; 62; 67; 68 (Wien 1909-1918), III pp. 103-158; J. St. Nelson, *Aeneas Silvii De liberorum educatione*, Diss. phil. Washington (Washington 1940); on his life: G. Voigt, *Enea Silvio dei Piccolomini als Papst Pius II. und sein Zeitalter*, I-III (Berlin 1856-1863); most recently F.J. Worstbrock, *Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini*, in: K. Ruh et al. (edd.), *Die Deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters. Verfasserlexikon* 7 (1989), pp. 634-669, esp. pp. 642-643.

<sup>64</sup> (1406-1475), cf. *Il libro della vita civile* (Firenze 1529); see also F. Battaglia (ed.), *Della Vita civile di Matteo Palmieri. De optimo cive di Bartolomeo Sacchi, detto il Platina* (Bologna 1944); on Palmieri see A. Messeri, "Matteo Palmieri. Cittadino di Firenze del secolo XV", *Archivio storico italiano*, 5. ser. 13 (1894), pp. 257-340; D. Bassi *loc. cit.* (see n. 47); L. Rainaldi, "Di una fonte commune della vita civile di Matteo Palmieri e del *De educatione puerorum* di Maffeo Vegio", *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana* 130 (1953), pp. 495-507; A. Buck, "Matteo Palmieri (1406-1475) als Repräsentant des Florentiner Bürgerhumanismus", *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 47 (1965), pp. 77-95 (= A.B., *Die humanistische Tradition in der Romania* (Berlin 1968), pp. 253-270); for an edition of *La città di vita* see M. Rooke (ed.), *Libro del Poema Chiamato Città di Vita Composto da Matteo Palmieri Fiorentino* I-II (Northampton Mass. 1927-1928).

<sup>65</sup> (1404-1472), cf. C. Grayson (ed.), *Leon Battista Alberti. Opere volgari* I-III (Bari 1960-1973), I pp. 3-340 with pp. 367-449; see also F. Schalk, *Leon Battista Alberti. Über*

dealing at least in part with educational questions. While in Alberti's book Quintilian seems largely ignored, the *institutio* was frequently referred to by Palmieri, especially in the first book.<sup>66</sup> Vegio based his work on the *institutio*, but in organizing the material and elaborating the various ideas and concepts he developed a fair degree of originality, while Enea Silvio Piccolomini followed Quintilian more closely.<sup>67</sup> This need not be shown here because it has been done by others. What matters is that two or three decades after the discovery of the complete text of the *institutio oratoria*, it gained more influence, as more authors wrote on educational problems (and not all who could have been dealt with in this context have been mentioned here, let alone discussed at length). One might say that in this period between 1430 and 1450 (and also thereafter) it was not so much that Quintilian attracted the humanists as that the humanists with their concern for education turned to Quintilian as one of the most obvious authorities.

At the same time the picture is quite different in the area of rhetoric in its more restricted sense, i.e. as a discipline that teaches the art of speaking and writing. There were no new manuals; for the old ones were regarded as sufficient, as Guarino asserted and Patrizi's condensed version of the *institutio* proved. It was only an outsider like the Greek George of Trebizond who ventured to write a modern work in 1433, *Rhetoricorum libri V*, because he had something new to offer, the Greek tradition, especially Hermogenes; but George, too, was heavily indebted to Quintilian.<sup>68</sup> As he regarded logic as something different from, though

*das Hauswesen* (Zürich 1962) (German translation)); on Alberti see C. Grayson G.C. Arcan, in: *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* 1 (1960), pp. 702-713; F. Schalk, in: *Lexikon des Mittelalters* 1 (1980), col. 292-293; G. Mancini, *Vita di Leon Battista Alberti* (Firenze 1911); P. H. Michel, *Un idéal humain au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle. La pensée de L.B. Alberti* (1404-1472) (Paris 1930); F. Borsi, *Leon Battista Alberti* (Milano 1975). V.M. Geerts *op. cit.* (see n. 15) p. 70 assumes influence of Quintilian without giving evidence, similarly E. Garin *op. cit.* (see n. 15) p. 153; for traces of Alberti's indebtedness to Quintilian see N. Maraschio, "Aspetti del bilinguismo albertiano nel 'De Pictura'", *Rinascimento*, sec. ser. 12 (1972), pp. 183-235, esp. pp. 188-199.

<sup>66</sup> See D. Bassi *loc. cit.* (n. 47), also L. Rainaldi *loc. cit.* (see n. 64).

<sup>67</sup> See V. J. Horkan *op. cit.* (see n. 62) and J. St. Nelson *op. cit.* (see n. 63).

<sup>68</sup> Cf. *Georgii Trapezuntii Rhetoricorum Libri Quinque* (Lyon 1547), first printed Venezia 1472, see for details J. Monfasani (ed.), *Collectanea Trapezuntiana* (Binghamton 1984), pp. 459-462, also pp. 463-464 on the editions of his commentary on *pro Ligario* (first printed 1477, see *Q. Asconii Pediani ...* (see n. 28) fol. eI<sup>v</sup>-gIV<sup>r</sup>) and the commentary on the *Philippics* of which he cannot be the author; see my paper "The Rhetorical Works of George of Trebizond and Their Debt to Cicero", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 56 (1993), pp. 74-84. For Quintilian as source of George of Trebizond



an essential supplement of rhetoric, he also wrote a brief *Isagoge dialectica*, in this making little use of the *institutio* (his compatriot John Argypoulos<sup>69</sup> made even less), while his younger contemporary, Lorenzo Valla, treated "logic as if it were rhetoric".<sup>70</sup>

Lorenzo Valla, born in Rome and taught there by Giovanni Aurispa, Ranuccio da Castiglione and Leonardo Bruni, after some years of wandering served first king Alfonso of Naples and finally the papal curia in Rome.<sup>71</sup> In a work of his early youth he compared Cicero and Quintilian and shocked his contemporaries by giving preference to the latter.<sup>72</sup> Later, in his *Sex elegantiarum libri* written during his stay in Naples, he made it plain why he valued the *institutio oratoria* so highly; for unlike those who merely took general views or particular recommendations on the education of boys from Quintilian's work, he exploited it to the full in his attempt to improve upon the Latin language, which he regarded as the foundation of all culture, and thereby the various disciplines like grammar, law, theology etc. in particular.<sup>73</sup> In striving for *Latinitas* and *elegantia* rather than mere

see C. Vasoli, *La dialettica e la retorica dell'Umanesimo. "Invenzione" e "Metodo" nella cultura del XV e XVI secolo* (Milano 1965), p. 96.

<sup>69</sup> On him see E. Bigi, in: *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* 4 (1962), pp. 129-131: 1415-1487; Ch. Böhme, in: *Lexikon des Mittelalters* I (1980), col. 925; cf. also C. Vasoli *op. cit.* (see n. 68) pp. 100-115. In his *Compendium de formis ratiocinandi* he refers but rarely to Cicero, Quintilian or the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, cf. C. Vasoli *op. cit.* 115.

<sup>70</sup> Cf. J. Monfasani *op. cit.* (see n. 40) p. 304.

<sup>71</sup> (1407-1457), see G. Mancini, *Vita di Lorenzo Valla* (Firenze 1891); W. Schwahn, *Lorenzo Valla. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Humanismus*, Diss. phil. Rostock (Berlin 1896); S. Camporeale, *Lorenzo Valla. Umanesimo e teologia* (Firenze 1972); H.-B. Gerl, *Rhetorik als Philosophie. Lorenzo Valla*, Diss. phil. München 1970 (München 1974); O. Besomi et al. (edd.), *Lorenzo Valla e l'umanesimo italiano. Atti del convegno internazionale di studi umanistici* (Padova 1986). For his works see: *Laurentii Vallae Opera* (Basel 1540) (reprinted Torino 1962 with a second volume with appendices by E. Garin); see also G. Zippel (ed.), *Laurentii Valle Repastinatio dialectice et philosophie*, I-II (Padova 1982); O. Besomi M. Regoliosi (edd.), *Laurentii Valle Epistole* (Padova 1986).

<sup>72</sup> This work is lost, see S. Camporeale *op. cit.* (see n. 71) pp. 89-93, also pp. 93-98 with notes 124-132 (for Quintilian as basis for Valla's teaching *ibid.* pp. 98-100 with pp. 132-138); H.-B. Gerl *op. cit.* (see n. 71) pp. 80-97.

<sup>73</sup> See especially the prefaces to the six books, which may be found in E. Garin (ed.), *Prosatori Latini del Quattrocento* (Milano 1952), pp. 594-630, cf. H.-B. Gerl *op. cit.* (see n. 71) pp. 231-250, and now M. A. Regoliosi, *Nel cantiere del Valla. Elaborazione e montaggio delle "Elegantiae"* (Roma 1993); on Valla's concept of language K.O. Apel, "Die Idee der Sprache in der Tradition des Humanismus von Dante bis Vico", *Archiv für Begriffsgeschichte* 8 (1963), pp. 183-185; see also p. 146; H.-B. Gerl, "Zwischen faktischer und numinoser Gültigkeit: Lorenzo Vallas Theorie vom Vorrang der lateinischen Sprache" in: R.J. Schoeck (ed.), *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Bononiensis* (Binghamton 1985), pp. 327-336 (with criticism by E. Keßler p. 326).

grammatical correctness (*norma grammaticae*), Valla gave preference to the principle of anomaly rather than analogy, in this following Quintilian, and also adopted his method of inductive observation.<sup>74</sup>

Already in his earlier *Dialecticae disputationes* Valla relied heavily on the *institutio oratoria*, taking basic distinctions from it and quoting whole chapters, e.g. *de probatione artificiali*, *de signis*, *de argumentis*, *de exemplis*, *quibus constet epichirima* (the last in part).<sup>75</sup> The nature and the extent of Valla's debt has been carefully investigated and illustrated by Professor Camporeale, so that there is no need to discuss this aspect at length here; what matters is that through Valla Quintilian's influence gained new dimensions, inasmuch as Valla did not merely borrow some useful ideas from the *institutio*; but stressing that his profession was the *ars oratoria*, he based his approach as a whole and numerous aspects of it on Quintilian, who — as he thought — had succeeded in restoring to rhetoric its due and regained what for too long philosophy had appropriated.<sup>76</sup> Valla's emphasis on the fundamental function of the language, of the word, was also important in that it led him to pay attention to what hitherto had been neglected or ignored, the care for the texts of the ancients: emendation, edition, interpretation. The *codex Parisinus Latinus 7723*<sup>77</sup> preserves in Valla's own hand corrections of the text of

<sup>74</sup> *Elegantiae* I 13 (*Opera* 1540 p. 19); see D. Marsh, "Grammar, Method, and Polemic in Lorenzo Valla's „*Elegantiae*“", *Rinascimento*, sec. ser. 19 (1979), pp. 91-116, on "inductive observation" p. 107; S. Camporeale *op. cit.* (see n. 71) pp. 101-104 with pp. 138-142, also pp. 180-192 with pp. 206-208 (the text of the *Apologus*: 479-534); on the controversy between Poggio and Valla about Quintilian's distinction between *grammaticae* and *Latine loqui* see M. Tavoni, *Latino, Grammatica, Volgare. Storia di una questione umanistica* (Padova 1984), pp. 112; 126-138, but see now A. Mazzocco, *Linguistic Theories in Dante and the Humanists* (Leiden 1993), pp. 189-208 (a reference which I owe to J. IJsewijn).

<sup>75</sup> *Opera* (1540) pp. 645-761: see S. Camporeale *op. cit.* (see n. 71) pp. 33-87 with notes 109-124, also pp. 149-171, notes: 193-202; H.-B. Gerl *op. cit.* (see n. 71) pp. 191-231; C. Vasoli *op. cit.* (see n. 68) pp. 28-77.

<sup>76</sup> The views of J.E. Seigel, *Rhetoric and Philosophy in Renaissance Humanism. The Union of Eloquence and Wisdom, Petrarch to Valla* (Princeton 1968), pp. 137-169 have been criticized by B. Vickers, "Rhetorik und Philosophie in der Renaissance", in: H. Schanze et al. (edd.), *Rhetorik und Philosophie* (München 1989), p. 138 n. 62.

<sup>77</sup> See L. Cesarini Martinelli, "Le postille di Lorenzo Valla all' „*Institutio oratoria*“ di Quintiliano", in: O. Besomi et al. (edd.), *Lorenzo Valla* (see n. 71) pp. 21-50. They are printed in the edition of 1494, see below n. 81. The emphasis on textual criticism and problems of language in Valla's commentaries is underlined by J. IJsewijn, "Lorenzo Vallas „*Sprachliche Kommentare*“", in: A. Buck et al. (edd.), *der Kommentar in der Renaissance* (Boppard 1975), pp. 89-97, see also S. Camporeale *op. cit.* (see n. 71) pp. 277-403 with pp. 405-468; R. Stupperich, "Die Schriftauslegung und Textkritik bei Laurentius Valla", in: M. Brecht, *Text - Wort - Glaube. Studien zur Überlieferung, Interpretation und*

the *institutio* in *rasura* or between the lines, further *notabilia*, brief summaries of sections and comments such as parallels or personal observations. Clearly, in writing these notes Valla was mainly concerned to establish a sound and correct text and to explain it, but not to develop his own ideas on the basis of it; thus passages which were essential in the argumentation of his larger works are not commented upon here. Furthermore, his preference for some books (I, V, X and XII) is no less obvious than his special interest in such problems as the nature of rhetoric, grammar, argumentation, literary history etc., or his criticism of the jurists who still showed loyalty to the medieval tradition, of the philosophers or of other, especially Greek manuals of rhetoric.

Thus Valla paved the way for the first editions of the *institutio oratoria*, published in 1470 in Rome by his pupil Giovanni Antonio Campano<sup>78</sup> and in 1471 also in Rome by Ognibene di Enrico de' Bonisoli,<sup>79</sup> a pupil of Vittorino da Feltre, and for the first annotated editions, published in 1493 in Venice with a commentary by Raffaele Regio and (for the last pages) by Bartolomeo Merula<sup>80</sup> and in 1494 also in Venice with his own comments together with those of his pupil Pomponio Leto and of Giovanni Sulpicio da Veroli.<sup>81</sup>

The numerous printed copies made it possible for the *institutio oratoria* to become a widely used handbook which also attracted and received

*Autorisierung biblischer Texte* (Berlin 1980), pp. 220-233; J.H. Bentley, *Humanists and Holy Writ. New Testament Scholarship in the Renaissance* (Princeton 1983), pp. 32-69.

<sup>78</sup> (1429-1477). On G.A. Campano see F.R. Hausmann, in: *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* 17 (1974), pp. 424-429; F. Di Bernardo, *Un Vescovo umanista alle Corti Pontificie Giannantonio Campano (1429-1477)* (Roma 1975), on his edition of Quintilian pp. 237-242; see also on the first editions of Quintilian: A. Perosa, „L'edizione Veneta di Quintiliano coi commenti del Valla, di Pomponio Leto e di Sulpicio da Veroli“, in: *Miscellanea Augusto Campana*, I-II (Padova 1981), II pp. 575-610.

<sup>79</sup> See G. Ballistreri, in: *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* 12 (1970), pp. 234-236.

<sup>80</sup> On B. Merula see A. Perosa *loc. cit.* (see n. 78) p. 575 n. 1, also on R. Regio (1450-1520); see further D.M. Robathan F.E. Cranz, „A. Persius Flaccus“, in: F.E. Cranz P.O. Kristeller (edd.), *Catalogus Translationum et Commentariorum* III (Washington 1976), p. 270; *Raphaelis Regii ducenta problemata in totidem institutionis oratoriae Quintiliani depravationes*, Venezia 1492, are incorporated even in the section with Merula's commentary (as from *inst.* XII 7, 8); Regio uses Valla's notes or *Adnotationes* available under his name.

<sup>81</sup> For details see A. Perosa *loc. cit.* (see n. 78) and L. Cesarini Martinelli *loc. cit.* (see n. 77); Valla's notes are marked LAU(REN) as Leto's POMPO and printed till *inst.* II 14; after that there is no indication as regards the authorship of the notes. On Giulio Pomponio Leto (1428-1498) see E. L. Bassett et al., „Silius Italicus ..“, in: F. E. Cranz P.O. Kristeller (edd.), *Catalogus* (see n. 80) III pp. 379-383, on Sulpicio da Veroli see A. Perosa *loc. cit.* pp. 577-580.

a fair amount of critical attention and explanatory activity, and this, in turn, added to its value and increased its popularity which is attested by the ever growing number of editions.

In summing up we can distinguish various stages and levels of interest in and influence of Quintilian's work in the initial period of Italian humanism. Petrarch and other early representatives of the new movement read the *institutio oratoria*, even in its incomplete form, with great enthusiasm and welcomed his approach and views in general; but one cannot easily determine specific points or areas of influence, not even where they concerned themselves with educational problems. Even after Poggio's discovery it took some years, before the *institutio oratoria* was fully accepted and integrated into the educational theory of the time.

As regards rhetorical theory, the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* (with medieval commentaries) and Cicero's rhetorical works, mainly *De inventione*, but also the others after the discovery of their complete text, dominated the field; but Quintilian also had his place, and no need was felt to replace any of them by modern manuals. When an outsider, the Cretan George of Trebizond, did so, drawing mainly on Cicero and the Greek tradition and to some extent on the *institutio oratoria*, he also attacked Quintilian, probably because he considered his work the only rival as a full-scale handbook on the subject.

In teaching rhetoric the professors seem to have based their lectures on the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, on Cicero and, certainly after Poggio's discovery, on Quintilian. However, even before 1416 the *institutio oratoria* was most successfully applied to the explanation of eleven of Cicero's speeches by Antonio Loschi, and it was through his *Inquisitio* that from a very early stage Quintilian's work exercised considerable influence.

Lorenzo Valla, finally, made the *institutio oratoria* the basis and starting point for his efforts to improve the Latin language and, thereby, cultural life in general in all its manifestations. He also began to emend and explain the text. Thus, in the middle of the fifteenth century, a hundred years after Petrarch had been given a copy of the *institutio oratoria*, it not only served as guide in matters of education and rhetoric, but itself became the object of philological attention, at the same time object and subject of *studia humanitatis*.<sup>82</sup>

<sup>82</sup> I owe warm thanks to Michael Reeve, Michael Winterbottom and Josef IJsewijn for reading this article, for pointing out errors and making valuable comments and additions.

Miloš KOUŘIL

## AUS DER BIBLIOTHEK DES HUMANISTEN JOHANN ROTH

Der Lebenslauf von Johann Roth (1426-1506)<sup>1</sup> war bemerkenswert. Er kam aus der Wiege des Schusters zu Wemding (bei Nördlingen) her, um zum Schluß auf dem bischöflichen Thron zu sitzen, zuerst zu Lavant in Kärnten (1468-1482), zuletzt in Breslau, nicht nur dem Zentrum einer ausgedehnten Diözese<sup>2</sup>, sondern auch einem Ort von besonderer politischer und nationaler Bedeutung.

Diesem Höhepunkt seiner Karriere gingen zwei wichtige Lebensabschnitte voraus, sein Studium in Italien und das Wirken in königlichen Kanzleien. Der junge Roth war sich dessen bewußt, daß, wollte er einen gesellschaftlichen Aufstieg erlangen, ob nun in kirchlicher oder weltlicher Laufbahn, das Studium an einer berühmten Universität die unumgängliche Voraussetzung war. Er widmete sich deshalb den humanistischen und juristischen Studien in Italien. In Rom hörte er z. B. in 1452-53 Vorlesungen Lorenzo Vallas, in Padua wurde er Doctor Decretorum. Dank dieser Studien wurde er mit führenden Humanisten bekannt, wie z. B. mit seinem Lehrer Franciscus Philelphus, mit Aeneas Silvius Piccolomineus, Guarinus von Verona, Franciscus Poggius u. a.

Nach seinem Studium wirkte er zuerst an der Pfarre zu St. Georg im Attergau (Oberösterreich), danach als Kanonikus und Dechant des Passauer Domkapitels. Aufgrund der Fürsprache von Aeneas Silvius wurde Roth zum Sekretär beim ungarischen und böhmischen König Ladislaus (1453-1457) ernannt. Nach dessen Tod trat er in den Dienst Kaiser Friedrichs III. (1452-1493) als Protonotar und später als Kanzler für

<sup>1</sup> Über Roth s. Markgraf und Krones in *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*, Bd. XV, S. 186-188; 230-231; K. Engelbert in *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche* (Freiburg 1964), Sp. 67; A. Sottili, "L'Università italiana e la diffusione dell'umanesimo nei paesi tedeschi", *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 20 (1971), 5-21.

<sup>2</sup> J. Szymanski, *Kosciol w Polsce*, 1 (Kraków 1968), S. 180 schätzt ihre Ausdehnung auf 36.400 km<sup>2</sup>

deutsche Angelegenheiten. In kaiserlichen Diensten unternahm er eine Reihe diplomatischer Missionen. So kam er Ende 1468 im kaiserlichen Gefolge als Rat und Unterhändler nach Rom.

Die Fürstenkanzleien waren für gebildete und gewandte Persönlichkeiten ein günstiges Sprungbrett, hohe kirchliche Würden zu erreichen. So war es auch im Falle Roths. Januar 1468 wurde der bischöfliche Stuhl in Lavant vakant durch den Übergang des Ordinarius Rudolf von Rüdesheim nach Breslau. Dem Kaiser gelang es Papst Paul II. dazu zu bewegen, Johann Roth als Nachfolger einzusetzen. Dies geschah am 16. Dezember 1468. Der Papst konnte Roth schon aus früherer Zeit gekannt haben. Im Jahre 1459 ist Roth als „rector iuristarum“ in Padua bestätigt worden und im folgenden Jahr wurde ihm dort die Doktorwürde verliehen.<sup>3</sup> In denselben Jahren 1459-60 administrierte Kardinal Pietro Barbo, der vier Jahre später als Paul II. (1464-1471) zum Papst gewählt wurde, das Paduaner Bistum und war gleichzeitig Großkanzler der Universität.

Später richtete Roth seine Aufmerksamkeit auf das bedeutendere Breslau, das der böhmischen Krone angehörte. Im Jahre 1466 wurde er dort Dechant des Kapitels, nahm aber niemals Residenz. Im Laufe der ungarischen Kriege schloß sich Roth im Jahre 1479 Mathias Corvinus an, der ihm zuerst zum Koadjutorat und dann zum bischöflichen Stuhle zu Breslau verhalf. Corvinus benötigte einen ergebenen Mann im vorgeschobenen Schlesien, und so versetzte Papst Sixtus IV. am 4. März 1482 Roth von Lavant nach Breslau. Dort wirkte er vierundzwanzig Jahre bis zu seinem Tode am 21. Februar 1506.

Johann Roth zeigte wissenschaftliche Interessen und war ein großer Bücherfreund. Allerdings scheinen die ihm zugeschriebenen *Annotata de rebus sui temporis primariis* zu dem Reich der Fabel zu gehören.<sup>4</sup>

Der Chronist des Breslauer Domkapitels, Domherr Stanislaus Sauer († 1535) verfaßte den Nachruf auf Johann Roth und beschrieb seine Bemühungen im kirchlichen, wirtschaftlichen und im Baubereiche. Folgende Stelle ist besonders interessant: „... Er hat sein ganzes Leben mit Lektüre und Studium weise verbracht. Denn obwohl er schon alt und krank war, so las er ständig, schrieb auch und diktierte in elegantestem

<sup>3</sup> G. Bauch, *Analekten zur Biographie des Bischofs Johann IV. Roth. Studien zur schlesischen Kirchengeschichte* (Breslau 1907), S. 20.

<sup>4</sup> Markgraf, o. c. , S. 187; Ch. G. Jöcher, *Allgemeines Gelehrten-Lexikon*, T. III (Leipzig 1751), Sp. 2249 führt den Titel „primarias sui temporis res“ an.

Stil. Er bewies, daß er aus der 'Schola Laurenciana' [ d. h. des Laurentius Vallas] hervorgegangen war."<sup>5</sup>

Mit der Wendung "...und diktierte in elegantestem Stil" weist Sauer u. a. auf die Korrespondenz hin. Roths Korrespondenz ist leider nur spärlich überliefert; die erhaltenen Fragmente sind trotzdem ein wertvolles Zeitdokument. Einen Briefwechsel unterhielt Roth z. B. mit Gregor Heimbürg<sup>6</sup> und dem nach Polen geflohenen Dichter Philippus Callimachus Experiens (1437-1496), Mitglied der römischen Akademie des Pomponius Laetus.<sup>7</sup> Mit dem ersten von zwei erhaltenen Briefen an Roth<sup>8</sup> sendet Callimachus ihm seine Schrift *Contra Turchos*<sup>9</sup>; mit dem zweiten, wie Roth es gebeten hatte, die Handschrift eines unbekannten historischen Werkes (*Hystoriola*)<sup>10</sup>.

Außer dem Buchbesitz Roths, den wir lediglich aus diesen brieflichen Nachrichten kennen, sind uns zwei Handschriften bekannt, die ohne Zweifel im Besitz des gelehrten Bischofs waren. Ich entdeckte sie in der Handschriftenabteilung der Bibliothek des Domkapitels in Olmütz.<sup>11</sup>

Der eine Kodex (Sign.: C.O.281) enthält vier Werke des Kirchenschriftstellers und Apologeten Lactantius, den Roth schon in einem Brief an Gregor Heimbürg, geschrieben in Rom am 20. Dezember 1453, als "delicie mee Lactantius" zitiert hat.<sup>12</sup> An erster Stelle steht sein Haupt-

<sup>5</sup> H. Hoffmann - K. Engelbert, "Aufzeichnungen des Breslauer Domherrn Stanislaus Sauer († 1535) über die Bischöfe Rudolf von Rüdesheim und Johann Roth", *Archiv für schlesische Kirchengeschichte* 13 (1955), S. 136.

<sup>6</sup> S. Sottili, o. c. (Note 1)

<sup>7</sup> G. Papparelli, *Callimaco Esperiente (Filippo Buonaccorsi)*, (Salerno 1971); G. C. Garfagnini (ed.), *Callimaco Esperiente, poeta e politico del '400. Convegno internazionale di studi...1985*, (Florenz, 1987).

<sup>8</sup> Bauch, o. c., Nr. XXXVII (Tarnow, 25. März 1492) und XXXVIII (Thorn, 13. April 1495); I. Lichonska, G. Pianko, Th. Kowalewski(eds.), *Philippi Callimachi Epistulae Selectae* (Warschau 1967), S. 140 (Ep. 25) und 148 (Ep. 29).

<sup>9</sup> Neuauflage von I. Lichonska, *Philippi Callimachi Ad Innocentium VIII de bello Turcis inferendo oratio* (Warschau, 1964).

<sup>10</sup> Bauch, o. c. (S. 94) vermutet, daß es sich um Callimachus' Schrift *Attila* handelt (Neue Ausgabe von Th. Kowalewski [Warschau 1962]). Das ist absolut unwahrscheinlich, da Callimachus die *Historiola* beschreibt als "Est autem barbara compositione et scriptura etiam Longobardica ineptiore minusque intelligibili." Vermutlich handelte es sich um einem mittelalterlichen Text, den Roth einsehen wollte.

<sup>11</sup> Diese Bibliothek befindet sich in Verwaltung des Landesarchivs, Zweigstelle Olomouc. Ein einfaches Verzeichnis (kein Katalog) der Handschriften dieser Bibliothek findet man in J. Bistřický, F. Drkal, M. Kouřil, *Státní archiv v Opavě. Průvodce po archivních fondech*, sv. 3. *Pobočka v Olomouci* (Praha 1961), S. 103-177.

<sup>12</sup> Sottili, "L'Università italiana (Note 1), S. 18, Z. 33.

werk *Institutionum Divinarum libri septem*; es folgen dann kürzere Schriften, nämlich die *Epitome* der Institutionen, weiterhin die populäre Anthropologie *De Opificio Dei* und, schließlich *De Ira Dei*. Den Abschluß des Kodexes bildet die Abhandlung *De Pascha* des späteren Bischofes von Poitiers, Venantius Fortunatus († 600).

Die zweite Handschrift (Sign.: C. O. 344) enthält acht Werke des vielseitigen Leonardo Bruni (1369-1444), nämlich: (1) *Translatio libri Economicorum Aristotelis cum praefatione et commentario*; (2) *Isagogicon moralis disciplinae*; (3) *Vita Aristotelis cum praefatione*; (4) *De militia*; (5) *De studiis et litteris*; (6) *Oratio in hypocritas*; (7) *Oratio pro se ipso* und (8) *De origine urbis Mantuanae*.

Beide Kodizes wurden in Italien geschrieben<sup>13</sup> und gehörten ohne Zweifel Johann Roth (wie sein Wappen auf den Titelseiten beweist), auch wenn er nicht ihr erster Besitzer war. Auf der Titelseite der Handschrift C.O. 344 ist das Wappen rechts in margine untergebracht; in C. O. 281 ist es in die untere Drolerie einkomponiert. Dieses Wappen erteilte ihm Kaiser Friedrich III. am 22. Dezember 1464<sup>14</sup>; er verbesserte es zwei Monate später am 24. Februar 1465.<sup>15</sup> Daß der Kodex C. O. 344 einen Vorbesitzer hatte, bestätigt das noch erhaltene Wappen in der Drolerie im unteren Teil des Titelblattes.<sup>16</sup> Beim Kodex C. O. 281 ist das ursprüngliche Wappen mit Roths Wappen übermalt. Den Vorbesitzer konnte man bisher noch nicht feststellen; das Wappen zeigt heraldische Züge, die nach Italien weisen.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Die Handschrift C. O. 281 hat auf der hinteren Vorsatzseite eine italienische Bemerkung von der Entstehung im Jahre 1467; die Handschrift C. O. 344 hat an derselben Stelle die Angabe: d 1/4 foglio bolognese.

<sup>14</sup> Bauch, Nr. II. Das Wappen war in diesem Privilegium für Johann Roth und seinen Vater folgenderweise beschrieben: "...einen swarzen schilde, darinne uberzwich zwen weiss gepogen striche obeenander, darob zwen goldfarb sterne nebeneinander."

<sup>15</sup> Bauch, Nr. III: "...aquilam bicipitem linguis vibrantibus utrimque protensis nigram sui naturalis coloris ambabus alis expansis volanti similem pectore tenus partitam in superiori parte scuti in aureo sive croceo campo...". Eine Abbildung des Wappens und des Grabdenkmals Johann Roths findet man bei K. Kastner, *Breslauer Bischöfe* (Breslau 1929), S. 26-27.

<sup>16</sup> Im goldenen Schild zwei schräge schwarze Balken, oben und unten besetzt von je einem schwarzen Ringe.

<sup>17</sup> Das goldene Schild des Wappens zeigte unter der Infrarotlampe eine schwache Andeutung schwarzer Streifen. Die Untersuchung unter dem Vergrößerungsglas zeigte Goldfarbe in den Ritzen schwarzer Farbe in der unteren Seite des Schildes.

Für die Bestimmung des Wappens Johann Roths, für die Beschreibung des bisher unbekannten zweiten Wappens und für die Laboruntersuchung danke ich herzlich dem Heraldiker Herrn Dr. Ph. Karl Müller, Direktor des Landesarchives in Troppau.



Wir kommen nun zur Frage, wie die beide Handschriften nach Olmütz gekommen sein können. Es lassen sich einige Möglichkeiten bedenken.

Roth mag sie als erster Humanist des Breslauer Bistums der humanistischen Gesellschaft geschenkt haben<sup>18</sup>, die unter dem Namen *Sodalitas Marcomannica* am Anfang des 16. Jahrhunderts in Olmütz gewirkt hat und einen regen Umgang mit den Humanisten der Nachbarschaft pflegte.<sup>19</sup>

Die zweite Möglichkeit wäre, daß Roths Nachfolger in Breslau, Johann Thurzo, beide Kodizes Olmütz geschenkt haben könnte. Thurzo war vom 11. März 1502 an Roths Koadjutor und in den Jahren 1506-1520 Bischof von Breslau. Er gehörte zu den überzeugten Anhängern des Humanismus, gleich seinem Bruder Stanislaus, der in den Jahren 1497-1540 in Olmütz Bischof war. Dazu kommt daß Johann Thurzo bis etwa 1502 in Mähren als Pfarrer gewirkt hat.<sup>20</sup>

Es gibt auch eine dritte Möglichkeit, daß nämlich beide Handschriften von dem berühmtesten Vertreter des mährischen Humanismus um 1500, d. h. von Augustinus Olomucensis [oder: Moravus] (1467-1513) erworben worden waren.<sup>21</sup> Dieser Olmützer Landsmann hatte zuerst im Jahre 1484 an der Universität in Krakau studiert, wo er Magister der Philosophie wurde. Danach war er nach Padua gegangen, wo er in 1494 das Doktorat des kirchlichen Rechtes erwarb. Die beiden Zentren des Humanismus trugen maßgeblich dazu bei, daß Augustinus ein begeisterter Anhänger der neuen Denkrichtung wurde. Sein Engagement wurde durch sein Wirken in der böhmischen Kanzlei des Königs Ladislaus II. in Ofen gefordert, an dessen Hof die Nachklänge der glanzvollen Epo-

<sup>18</sup> F. X. Seppelt, *Geschichte des Bistums Breslau* (Breslau 1929), S. 49.

<sup>19</sup> Neuestes zum Thema: I. Hlobil - E. Petrů, *Humanismus a raná renaissance na Moravě* (Praha 1992).

<sup>20</sup> I. Hlobil - E. Petrů, o. c., S. 137. Über Johann und Stanislaus Thurzo, s. L. Domonkos in P. G. Bietenholz - Th. B. Deutscher (Hrsg.), *Contemporaries of Erasmus*, Bd. 3 (Toronto 1987), S. 324-325.

<sup>21</sup> Über Augustinus [Käsenbrod] siehe *Enchiridion renatae poeseos Latinae in Bohemia et Moravia cultae - Rukověť humanistického básnictví v Čechách a na Moravě*. Opus ab A. Truhlár et C. Hrdina inchoatum, J. Hejnic et J. Martínek continuaverunt, Bd. II (Praha 1966), S. 111-116; J. Martínek et D. Martínková, *Bohuslav Hassensteinii a Lobkowitz Epistulae*. Tom. II, *Epistulae ad Familiares* (Leipzig, 1980), S. 214-215; R. L. Lencek, "Humanism in the Slavic Cultural Tradition With Special Reference to the Czech Lands", in A. Rabil, Jr. (ed.), *Renaissance Humanism. Foundations, Forms and Legacy*. Bd. 2 (Philadelphia 1991<sup>2</sup>), S. 334-375 (360-361); Jana Nechutová - Magda Rösslerová, "Augustinus Olomucensis, Tractatus de secta Valdensium", *Studia minora Facultatis Philosophicae Universitatis Brunensis - Sborník Prací Filoz. Fak. Brněnské Univ.* 30 (1985), 113-147.

che des ungarischen Humanismus der Zeit Mathias Corvinus spürbar waren. Außerdem wirkten dort einige hervorragende humanistische Persönlichkeiten aus den böhmischen Ländern.

Die Beziehungen des Augustinus Olomucensis zu Johann Roth hatten offensichtlich schon ältere Wurzeln. H. B. Harder führt an, daß die Studien des Augustinus in Krakau vermutlich auf seine Beziehungen zu Johann Roth zurückgehen.<sup>22</sup> Augustinus bewunderte nicht nur den Humanismus, er war auch ein äußerst aktiver Schriftsteller, eigentlich der fruchtbarste in der Olmützer *Sodalitas*. Und es ist sicher nicht ohne Bedeutung, daß gleich sein zweites Werk, der *Dialogus in defensionem poetices* (Venedig 1493)<sup>23</sup> eine äußerst freundschaftliche Dedikation an den Breslauer Bischof enthält. Hier erwähnt er auch seine Freundschaft zu Heinrich, dem Neffen des Bischofs, der damals mit ihm an der Paduaner Universität studierte.

Bei diesem Neffen handelt es sich um Heinrich Oswein, dem Augustinus zwei Jahre später seine Schrift *De modo epistolandi* (Venedig 1495) widmete. Das Thema war Oswein nicht fremd, denn er selber hat ein Buch darüber verfaßt.<sup>24</sup> In Augustinus' Dedikation wird Oswein als Dechant in Groß-Glogau und Kanonikus zu St. Johann in Breslau angeführt. Dabei war Oswein nicht der einzige Bekannte von Augustinus im Breslauer Kapitel. In dem *Modus epistolandi* druckte er auch seinen Brief an Nikolaus von Brieg ab, den Kustos und Kanonikus in Breslau. Er stand ferner in brieflichem Kontakt mit Dr. Georg Schmidt aus Neiße, dem einstigen Rektor der Schule zu St. Johann (1489) und späteren Breslauer Kanonikus (1501), einem der ersten Liebhaber des Griechischen in Schlesien.<sup>25</sup> Die Beziehungen des Augustinus zu Breslau wurden durch seine Aufnahme in das dortige Kathedrankapitel (wahrscheinlich 1497) und in das Kapitel zum hl. Kreuz verstärkt.

Im Hinblick auf die verhältnismäßig intensiven Beziehungen des Augustinus Olomucensis zu Breslau vermute ich, daß beide Handschriften aus Roths Bibliothek entweder als Leihgabe oder als Geschenk in die des Augustinus gekommen sind. Augustinus vermachte seine reiche

<sup>22</sup> H. B. Harder, "Zentren des Humanismus in Böhmen und Mähren", in H. B. Harder und H. Rothe (Hrsg.), *Studien zum Humanismus in den böhmischen Ländern* (Köln - Wien, 1988), S. 28.

<sup>23</sup> Moderne kritische Ausgabe von K. Svoboda, *Augustini Olomucensis Dialogus in defensionem poetices* (Praha, 1948)

<sup>24</sup> K. Maleczynski, *Dzieje Wrocławia*, I (Katowice - Wrocław, 1948), S. 241.

<sup>25</sup> Bauch, o. c. , S. 98, Anmerkung 1.

Büchersammlung dem Olmützer Domkapitel und möglicherweise kamen auf diesem Wege Roths Kodizes in die Bibliothek des erwähnten Domkapitels. Sie sind also nicht nur Zeugen der literarischen Interessen des ersten humanistischen Bischofs in Breslau, sondern auch ein Dokument der Beziehungen schlesischer Humanisten zu den Olmützer.

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ERZAUGUR DES HEILIGEN RÖMISCHEN REICHES  
DEUTSCHER NATION:  
SEBASTIAN BRANT DEUTET SIAMESISCHE TIERGEBURTEN

Das von der Regel Abweichende, Außergewöhnliche, auch das Chaotische beschäftigen noch oder gerade heute wieder die Naturwissenschaften, die Medizin, die Mathematik, ja die Sozial- und Wirtschaftswissenschaften sowie die Psychologie. Und nur diese? Das Ringen mit dem Abweichenden ist sogar die entscheidende Voraussetzung für die Entdeckung bisher unbekannter Zusammenhänge, Gesetze und Regeln, schafft maßgeblich den sogenannten Wissenschaftsfortschritt. Seit der Antike<sup>1</sup>, das Mittelalter hindurch bis weit in die Frühe Neuzeit, waren Wunderdeutung und Himmelskunde die zwischen Magie, Mathematik und Theologie angesiedelten Bereiche der Erfassung des Außergewöhnlichen. In ihnen befanden sich magischer Verknüpfungszwang und berechnende Vernunft immer im Wettstreit miteinander. Da die von Italien ausgehende, durch Antike-Rezeption unbeschreiblichen Ausmaßes befruchtete Renaissance auf eine Erneuerung aller Gebiete der Kultur Europas abzielte, brachte sie auch eine gegenüber Antike und Mittelalter vertiefte Beschäftigung mit Wunderdeutung und Himmelskunde hervor. Das heißt, es werden verstärkt Vorkommnisse der Gegenwart registriert, ihre Verursachungen werden erörtert, mögliche Folgen für das persönliche und politische Leben prognostiziert. Diese Beobachtungsfelder ausschließlich der sogenannten Nachtseite der Renaissance zuzuschlagen, wäre äußerst problematisch, weil es, wie wir seit Aby M. Warburg wissen,<sup>2</sup> weder dem historischen Befund gerecht wird, noch unsere eigene

<sup>1</sup> Zum antiken Hintergrund vgl. Fritz Wehrli, "Antike Gedanken über die Voraussage der Zukunft," in: F.W., *Theoria und Humanitas. Gesammelte Schriften zur antiken Gedankenwelt*. Hrsg. von Heinz Haffter und Thomas Szlezák (Zürich-München 1972), S. 32-39; Georg Luck, *Magie und andere Geheimlehren in der Antike* (Stuttgart 1990).

<sup>2</sup> Dieter Wuttke, *Aby M. Warburgs Methode als Anregung und Aufgabe*. (Wiesbaden 1990<sup>4</sup>) (Lit.); Aby M. Warburg, *Bildersammlung zur Geschichte von Sternglaube und*

unaufhebbare irrationale Gebundenheit in Rechnung stellt. So würde falsche Selbsterkenntnis zu einem falschen Geschichtsbild und umgekehrt führen.

Wie kein zweiter deutscher Renaissance-Humanist hat Sebastian Brant sich lebenslang mit aktuellen außergewöhnlichen Naturphänomenen befaßt. Zu zwanzig Ereignissen hat er sich beschreibend und deutend zweiunddreißigmal geäußert, so daß wir aus seiner Feder die längste Beobachtungsreihe besitzen, die ein deutscher Autor der Zeit um 1500 hinterlassen hat. So wie Conradus Celtis nicht selbst sich "Erzhumanist" genannt hat, stammt die Bezeichnung "Erzaugur" für Brant nicht von ihm. Er hat diese Rolle faktisch aber ausgefüllt, seit er im November 1492 den berühmten Donnerstein von Ensisheim beschrieben und gedeutet hatte, den ältesten beglaubigten Meteoriten der neueren Geschichte. Seitdem wurden ihm die *monstra* buchstäblich ins Haus getragen oder man sandte ihm Zeichnungen davon, jedenfalls benachrichtigte man ihn und manchmal besichtigte er sie an Ort und Stelle. Im Falle von Sonnenfinsternissen oder Planetenkonjunktionen brauchte er offenbar keinen Anstoß von außen, er meldete sich zu Wort, wenn er es für notwendig hielt. Die Bezeichnung Erzaugur würde mißverstanden, wollte man in ihr nur den Aspekt der Wiederbelebung der Antike sehen. Wie überall bei der damals erstrebten umfassenden kulturellen Erneuerung ging es auch hier um eine Überbietung der Antike, die sich in diesem Falle aus der Zusammenführung von Augurenwesen, mythischem Sehertum, biblisch gelenkter Prophetie und Naturbeobachtung ergeben sollte.<sup>3</sup> Es ist bekannt genug, daß noch 250 Jahre später Brant in Carl von Linné einen verblüffend gleichgesinnten Nachfahren gehabt hat.<sup>4</sup>

Bei anderen Gelegenheiten habe ich mich teils mit einem Überblick über Brants naturwissenschaftlich begründete Prophetie, teils mit Studien

*Sternkunde im Hamburger Planetarium.* Hrsg. von Uwe Fleckner, Robert Galitz, Claudia Naber und Herwart Nöldeke (Hamburg 1993).

<sup>3</sup> Zur Renaissance als Überbietung der Antike vgl. Dieter Wuttke, "Renaissance-Humanismus und Naturwissenschaft in Deutschland," *Gymnasium* 97 (1990), 232-254, und ders., "Humanismus in den deutschsprachigen Ländern und Entdeckungsgeschichte 1493-1532," *Pirckheimer-Jahrbuch* 7 (1992), 9-52.

<sup>4</sup> Carl von Linné, *Nemesis Divina*. Nach der schwedischen Ausgabe von Elis Malmeström und Telemak Fredbärj hrsg. von Wolf Lepenies und Lars Gustafsson. Aus dem Lateinischen und Schwedischen übersetzt von Ruprecht Volz (München-Wien 1981). Vgl. hier z.B. S. 90ff., 111ff. und aus dem Nachwort von Lepenies S. 357: "Die lange Geschichte erst der Umformulierung, dann der Verdrängung moralischer Probleme in den Natur- wie in den Sozialwissenschaften läßt heute den Preis deutlicher sichtbar werden, der dafür gezahlt werden mußte."

zu seiner Beschäftigung mit dem Donnerstein von Ensisheim, mit den sogenannten Wormser Zwillingen, mit der Sintflutvorhersage, mit der Blut- und Wurmkrankheit einer Straßburger Bürgerin und mit der Syphilis-Epidemie beschäftigt.<sup>5</sup> Diesmal soll nun die Aufmerksamkeit auf Brants Auseinandersetzung mit siamesischen Tiergeburten gelenkt werden.

## 1. Die Geburt der Zwillingssau in Landser am 1. März 1496

Am 1. März 1496 kam in Landser, einem kleinen elsässischen Orte zweiundzwanzig Kilometer nordwestlich von Basel, eine Schweinemißgeburt zur Welt. Das Tier, eine Sau, hatte nur einen Kopf und ein Herz, jedoch zwei Schnauzen, zwei Zungen, eine doppelte Zahnreihe in einer Schnauze, vier Ohren und acht Pfoten, vom Nabel an zwei Leiber. Unmittelbar nach der Geburt wurde das Monstrum auf Befehl des Obervogts von Landser, des Freiherrn Christoph von Hattstatt, nach Basel zu Sebastian Brant geschafft, um ihm die Gelegenheit zum Studium des Tieres, das noch bis zum Abend lebte, und zur Festlegung seiner Vorbedeutung zu geben. In der Tat blieb das Ereignis nicht ohne Wirkung auf den Humanisten; er verfertigte eine lateinische und eine deutsche Beschreibung und Deutung der Zwillingssau. Jede Fassung wurde für sich als Flugblatt in der Offizin des Johann Bergmann in Basel gedruckt (Abb. 1 und 2 [S. 124-125]).

Die lateinische Fassung entstand noch am Abend des 1. März. Dies geht aus den Versen 25/26 und 77/78 hervor, in denen der Dichter betont, daß das wahrscheinlich erst heute geborene und ihm heute übersandte Tier nur annähernd einen Tag gelebt habe:

Succulus [...] hodie mihi missus: eodem

Forte die genitus [...].

[...] Non nisi vixit ad vnum

Porca diem presens [...].

Die Datierung dieser Zeitangabe ergibt sich aus der Überschrift: *Ad sacrosancti Romani imperii inuictissimum regem Maximilianum: de*

<sup>5</sup> Vgl. Joachim Knappe - Dieter Wuttke, *Sebastian-Brant-Bibliographie. Forschungsliteratur von 1800-1985* (Tübingen 1990); Dieter Wuttke, "Sebastian Brants Syphilisflugblatt des Jahres 1496," in: *Girolamo Fracastoro: Lehrgedicht über die Syphilis*. Hrsg. und übersetzt von Georg Wöhrle (Wiesbaden 1993<sup>2</sup>), S. 127-142; ders., *Renaissance-Humanismus und Naturwissenschaft* (wie Anm. 3).

*portentifico Sue. in Suntgaudia: Kalendis Marcijs Anno etc. xcvi. edito: coniecturalis explanatio Sebastiani Brant.* In der deutschen Fassung fehlt der Hinweis auf das Heute. Daraus dürfte eine geringfügig spätere Entstehung zu erschließen sein.<sup>6</sup>

Das lateinische Flugblatt hat in einem Bruchstück, das lediglich das Abbild der Sau bietet (Abb. 3) und in einem einzigen vollständigen Exemplar die Zeiten überdauert (Abb. 1). Von dem deutschen waren vor dem Zweiten Weltkrieg ein Bruchstück und ein vollständiges Exemplar bekannt. Diese beiden Stücke sind inzwischen verschollen. Daraus mag man sehen, wie wichtig die Initiative von Paul Heitz war, als er zu Anfang dieses Jahrhunderts eine Faksimile-Ausgabe der ihm bekanntgewordenen Brant-Flugblätter veranstaltete und damit Bild und Text der deutschen Fassung rettete (s. Abb. 2), die wir allerdings inzwischen auch in einem vollständigen Exemplar studieren können, das die National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C., besitzt.

<sup>6</sup> Also ist die Reihenfolge der Verzeichnung im Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke umzukehren! Sebastian Brant, *Ad Sacrosancti Romani imperij inuictissimum regem Maximilianum: de portentifico Sue. in Suntgaudia: kalendis Marcijs Anno etc. xcvi. edito: coniecturalis explanatio. S. Brant.* [Basel] J[ohann] B[ergmann], nach 1. März 1496]. [Einziges erhaltenes vollständiges Exemplar SB München aus der Bibliothek Hartmann Schedels, vgl. zuletzt: *Die Graphiksammlung des Humanisten Hartmann Schedel.* Katalog von Béatrice Hernad (München 1990), Nr. 98 mit Faksimile auf S. 283; Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke 5035]. Abschrift von der Hand des Hieronymus Streitl in Cod. hist. 31e, fol. 213<sup>v</sup>-214<sup>v</sup>, SUB Hamburg, mit Beigabe eines Ausschnittes der Sau vom Flugblatt (s. Abb. 3) und mit Abschrift der Devise Johann Bergmanns "Nihil sine causa" am Schluß (s. Abb. 4). Zur Hs. vgl. Brigitte Lohse, *Die historischen Hss. der SUB Hamburg. Cod. hist. 1-100* (Hamburg 1968), S. 43. Faksimile bei Paul Heitz, *Flugblätter des Sebastian Brant.* Mit einem Nachwort von F. Schultz (Strassburg 1915), Taf. 11, und Albert Schramm, *Der Bilderschmuck der Frühdrucke.* Bd. 22 (Leipzig 1940), Nr. 1251. Wie der zahlreicher anderer Flugblätter steht auch dieser Text in den *Varia carmina Brants* (Basel 1498, Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke 5068), fol. fvi<sup>v</sup>-fviii<sup>v</sup>. Zur weiteren Überlieferung s. Anm. 14. — Sebastian Brant, *An den grosmechtigsten aller durchlichtigsten herren Maximilianum Römischen künig. Von der wu<n>derbaren Su zu Landser jm Suntgaw des jars .M.CCCC.XCVJ. Vff den ersten tag des mertzen geboren Ein vers&helich v&legung Sebastiani Brant.* [Basel: Johann Bergmann, nach 1. März 1496]. [Exemplar National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.; ehemals vorhanden waren Exemplare in der SB Berlin (Fragment) und im Schottenstift Wien; Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke 5034]. Faksimile bei Heitz, *Flugblätter des Sebastian Brant*, Taf. 10; Warburg (wie Anm. 23), S. 526, Taf. LXXXV; Schramm, *Bilderschmuck.* Bd. 22, Nr. 1552. Zum Exemplar in Washington, D.C., vgl. *Dürer in America. His Graphic Work.* Hrsg. von Charles W. Talbot (Washington 1971), Nr. 7. Modernisierter Textabdruck bei René Biéry, "Landser im Spiegel Sebastian Brants und Albrecht Dürers", *Annuaire de la Société d'histoire sund-govienne* 1955, S. 28-44, hier S. 38-41. — Der oben in der Anm. erwähnte Bildausschnitt, den H. Streitl in die Hamburger Hs. einklebte, zeigt eine von Max Lehrs, "Die dekorative Verwendung von Holzschnitten im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert." *Jahrbuch der preußischen Kunstsammlungen* 29 (1908), 183-194, nicht beobachtete Verwendungsart.

Nach den Auslegungen des Donnersteins von Ensisheim und der Wormser Zwillinge beginnt Brant nun zum dritten Mal in seiner Laufbahn als Erzauger ein Wunderdeutungsflugblatt mit einem längeren Bericht über vergangene Wundererscheinungen. Im Gegensatz zu den beiden früheren Fällen konzentriert er sich jetzt aber ganz auf die Vielzahl der Erscheinungen der eigenen Zeit. Er gibt die Wunderrevue zweifellos, um das eigene Zeitalter von anderen abzuheben und indirekt zu sagen: Eine solche Konzentration von Wunderzeichen gab es noch nie; wir leben in einer besonderen Zeit; deshalb wird von uns größte Wachsamkeit verlangt. Unter dem Eindruck der Aufzählung kommt Brant zu dem Schluß: "Alle diese augenfälligen und häufigen Zeichen drohen etwas an, doch ich weiß nicht was, und bedeuten ein noch verborgenes Unglück." Zumindest für diesen Moment also nimmt er die positiven Deutungen, die er dem Donnerstein und den Wormser Zwillingen gegeben hatte, zurück. Er will Angst und dadurch Wachsamkeit erzeugen um jeden Preis. Aber er bekennt auch den großen Schrecken, den dies neue Wunder, die Saumißgeburt, ihm selbst eingejagt hat; er rechnet sich demnach bedingungslos zu den Betroffenen.

Nach der Beschreibung des Wunders und der Umstände der Zusendung kommt Brant zu seinem wichtigsten Anliegen, der Ausdeutung und damit der Eingrenzung des zuvor ausgesprochenen "ich weiß nicht was". Wie bei den früheren Gelegenheiten ist er auch jetzt bemüht, bedeutsame parallele Fälle aus der Geschichte und der eigenen Zeit heranzuziehen, um vergleichend zu einem Ergebnis zu gelangen. So erinnert er zunächst an die Rolle der Sau im Prodigienwesen der Römer:<sup>7</sup> Verträge wurden durch Abschlachten einer Sau besiegelt, die Göttin Ceres bekam jeweils vor der Ernte eine Sau geopfert und vor allem: Eine Sau mit dreißig Ferkeln bezeichnete Aeneas die Stelle, an der er eine Burg bauen sollte, war für ihn also das Signum, daß er sein Ziel, die neue Heimat, erreicht hatte.<sup>8</sup> Aus diesem Rückgriff auf die Geschichte folgert Brant, daß überirdische Mächte dieses Lebewesen ausgezeichnet haben, Träger von Vorzeichen zu sein, und daß füglich das jetzt geborene Tier ein Vorzeichen abgeben müsse. Im Gegensatz zu den Beispielen aus der Geschichte der Römer sieht er in ihm jedoch ein negatives Vorzeichen, das dem Heiligen Römischen Reich deutscher Nation poli-

<sup>7</sup> Vgl. die Artikel *Ceres* und *Opfer* in: *Lexikon der Alten Welt* (Zürich und Stuttgart 1965), Sp. 567-568. und 2134-2136.

<sup>8</sup> Vergil, *Aeneis* VIII, 38-48, 81-85.



tisches Unglück ankündigt. Grund: Es ist eine Mißgeburt. Nach dem Blick in die römische Geschichte lenkt er die Aufmerksamkeit auf ein paralleles Ereignis aus der eigenen Zeit. Er erinnert an die Menschenmißgeburt der Wormser Zwillinge, bei der ebenfalls zwei Leiber in einem Kopf vereinigt waren. Diesem Vorzeichen hatte er einen positiven Sinn gegeben. Man erfährt jetzt den tieferen Grund: Weil es eine menschliche Zwillingsgeburt gewesen war, deren Leiber sich in einem menschlichen Kopf vereinigten. Die Vereinigung der zwei Tierleiber in einem Schweinekopf jedoch nötigt ihn zu einer negativen Deutung. Die Nötigung wird gesteuert von den landläufigen, auf das Alte Testament zurückgehenden<sup>9</sup> Vorstellungen des Schweines als eines unreinen Tieres: "Mir wäre ein doppelgliedriges Kind, wie es kürzlich geboren wurde, lieber, selbst wenn es Mädchengestalt hätte. Man könnte sich ganz damit abfinden, daß einem Kopf zwei Körper verbunden werden, wenn es nur nicht der Kopf eines Schweines und einer Sau wäre. Man könnte sich ganz damit abfinden, daß in einem Kopf mehrere Zungen vereint sind, aber nur, wenn es weniger ein Schweinekopf wäre. [...] Es ist wahrlich ein garstiges Tier, ein gefräßiges, schmutzliebendes, die Sau, deren Erholung und höchste Wonne stinkende Plätze sind. Das Erdreich gräbt sie auf und sucht darin Nahrung. Güter und Äcker durchwühlt und verwüstet sie." Die Schilderung der Schmutzliebe des Schweines führt von der allgemeinen Unheilsverkündung zu einer konkreteren Verknüpfung. Es gibt ja ein Volk, das nach Schweineart lebt: die Heiden, die Türken;<sup>10</sup> also ist diese Mißgeburt auf die Türken zu beziehen: "Wer könnte daher leugnen, daß mit dieser Sau das von säuischen Begierden erfüllte Volk Mahomets gemeint ist, das nur nach Irdischem strebt und dies liebt und in Üppigkeit und im Unflat der Sklaverei lebt?" Doch es gibt an der Mißgeburt auch ein Hoffnung schenkendes Zeichen. Aus der Tatsache, daß das Tier nur einen Tag lebte, folgert Brant, daß es der Christenheit gelingen werde, sich den Türken schnell zu entziehen oder, falls diese doch noch weiter vordringen könnten, daß deren Herrschaft schnell zusammenbrechen werde. Für die Unsicherheit des Autors, sein Tasten und Suchen nach einer Deutung, ist die anschließende Wendung sehr bezeichnend. Er meint zwar, daß jeder

<sup>9</sup> Lv 11 = 3. Mose 11.

<sup>10</sup> Zum Türkenproblem vgl. Hermann Wiesflecker, *Kaiser Maximilian I.*, 5 Bde (München 1971-1986). Mit speziellem Bezug zu Brant vgl. meine Abhandlungen zum Donnerstein von Ensisheim und zu den Wormser Zwillingen wie die in Anm. 5 genannte Bibliographie sie verzeichnet.

Kundige und jeder, der es mit dem Staate gut meine, die Deutung in dem beschriebenen Sinne vernehmen müsse, räumt aber ein, daß man daran zweifeln könne, und verkündet dann eine Art Minimaldeutung, der sich niemand entziehen dürfe. Die Mißgeburt bedeute wenigstens das Unglück, das der Tod des Grafen Eberhard von Württemberg über das Reich bringe. Brant streift dessen Verdienste und schließt dann mit einem Aufruf an Maximilian, sein Reich nicht von Säuen zerwühlen zu lassen, sondern Gegenkräfte zu sammeln und Orient wie Okzident unter seiner Krone zu vereinen. Dem Wunsch, die Götter möchten dem König eine glückliche Zukunft schenken, gibt er im letzten Vers, indem er die Erinnerung an die glückbringende Kraft der von dem Troer Aeneas am Tibergestade gefundenen Sau heraufruft, bildhaft-manieristischen Ausdruck:

Dii tibi dent mi rex leta et felicia secla:  
Porca dapes inter troica vt assa cubet.

Alles in allem will Brant also eine mögliche gute Vorbedeutung der Mißgeburt nicht ausschließen. In der deutschen Fassung formuliert er es einfacher und daher sympathischer so:

Gott geb dir was der dichter gert  
Vnd vns fryd sellig zyt vff erd  
Do mit eyn troysch Su dar vß wert.

In der deutschen Fassung bereichert Brant das Thema um zwei wichtige Nuancen: A) Er stellt die Sau, die er "der Türcken bruter" nennt, an die Seite des "endkrist", dessen Bild als eines Zerstörers des Christenglaubens er im *Narrenschiff* gezeichnet hatte.<sup>11</sup> Er betont aber, daß allein Gott es wisse, ob seine Ankunft bevorstehe. Gott möge alles zum besten lenken, "Do mit das schyfflin vff recht blib". Damit ist das Staatsschiff gemeint, im weiteren Sinne aber die ganze Christenheit und die Kirche.<sup>12</sup> Der Vers ist wohl nicht von ungefähr eine Reminiszenz an einen entsprechenden Vers im 99. Kapitel des *Narrenschiffs*,<sup>13</sup> das "vom abgang des glouben" handelt und auch auf die Frage der Bedrängnis der Christenheit durch die Heiden zu sprechen kommt. B) Die zweite

<sup>11</sup> Sebastian Brant, *Das Narrenschiff*. Hrsg. von Manfred Lemmer (Tübingen 1986<sup>3</sup>), Kap. 103.

<sup>12</sup> Vgl. *Narrenschiff*, Kap. 99 und 103 und Peter M. Skrine, "The Destination of the Ship of Fools: Religious Allegory in Brant's *Narrenschiff*", *Modern Languages Review* 64 (1969), 576-596.

<sup>13</sup> *Narrenschiff*, Kap. 99, V. 154: "So mag das schiff noch vff recht gan."

Nuance besteht darin, daß Brant — sicher in Korrespondenz mit dem *Narrenschiff* — deutlicher als in der lateinischen Flugblatt-Fassung die Sau zum Sinnbild innerdeutscher Abtrünnigkeit vom König macht. Das 99. *Narrenschiff*-Kapitel enthält nämlich einen flammenden Aufruf an die Fürsten zur Einigkeit in der Sache des Königs, der die erwähnte Schifffahrt-Methaphorik verwendet. Die entsprechenden Flugblatt-Verse lauten so:

Wenn aber vnuernüfftig gemeynen  
 Durch böß fürmämen sich vereynen  
 Vnd irem houbt dunt widerstand  
 So ist die wunder Süim land /  
 Das ist das eygen richtig vreh  
 Das dauid vorcht / das nit weis wie  
 Es sich halt oder stellen müst  
 Das würd eynhellikeyt verwüst! (V. 115-122)

Brant dient mit diesem Flugblatt wie mit den vorausgegangenen und dem *Narrenschiff* den zwei Hauptanliegen der maximilianeischen Politik: Herstellung der inneren Einheit des Reichs, Kampf gegen die Türken. Aber im Gegensatz zu andern Gedichten dieser Art bietet es keinen Reflex auf ein aktuelles politisches Tagesereignis, wenn man von der Trauer um den Grafen Eberhard absieht. Weder hinsichtlich der Türkenfrage noch der inneren Einheit standen Anfang März 1496 besondere Entscheidungen vor der Tür. So ist dies Blatt gleichsam eine Mahnung an alle Verantwortlichen, inmitten eines verwirrend-vielfältigen Tagesgeschehens die großen Ziele nicht aus den Augen zu verlieren.

Eine unmittelbare Reaktion König Maximilians I. auf Brants Gedicht läßt sich nicht nachweisen. Im Umkreis des Königs fand es allerdings Interesse, wie die Abschrift in der für Johannes Fuchsmagen gefertigten Handschrift zeigt.<sup>14</sup> Der Verfasser des Hasenmißgeburtblattes vom Jahre 1505 hat es ebenfalls gekannt,<sup>15</sup> ebenso noch 1557 Lycosthenes, dessen Abbildung (Abb. 5) eindeutig vom Brant-Flugblatt abhängig ist.<sup>16</sup> Die neun letzten Distichen der lateinischen Fassung mit ihrer Wendung an Maximilian hat Brant 1520 in seine Sammlung *In laudem divi Maximi-*

<sup>14</sup> UB Innsbruck. Hs. 664, fol. 106<sup>r</sup>-108<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>15</sup> Josef Benzing, *Jakob Köbel zu Oppenheim 1494-1533. Bibliographie seiner Drucke und Schriften* (Wiesbaden 1962), Nr. 8. Entgegen Benzing ist das Exemplar der SB München dort vorhanden.

<sup>16</sup> Conradus Lycosthenes, *Prodigiorum ac ostentorum chronicon* (Basel 1557), S. 506. Durch Lycosthenes gelangt die Kenntnis ins 17. Jahrhundert zu Ulysse Aldrovandi, *Monstrorum Historia* (Bologna 1642), S. 617.

*liani* aufgenommen, dabei aber die manierierte Anspielung an die "Porca troica" getilgt.<sup>17</sup>

Daß das Ereignis auch außerhalb des Brant-Umkreises Aufsehen erregte, zeigen verschiedene chronikalische Einträge. Man findet einen Hinweis in der Thanner Chronik des Franziskaners Malachias Tschamser,<sup>18</sup> eine autographe Notiz des Humanisten Conrad Peutinger in einem Exemplar der *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* aus seinem Besitz<sup>19</sup> und — besonders interessant — einen Eintrag Heinrich Deichslers in seiner Nürnberger Chronik. Dieser Eintrag zum Jahre 1496 lautet:<sup>20</sup> "Item darnach kom her zu osteren zwu seu, die warn aninander gewachsen uben und heten all paid neur einen kopf und heten unten ir iede vier fuß vnd iede zwen fuß uber sich gesetzt, das eine sechs fuß het." Man hat diese Nachricht auf die Sau von Landser bezogen, mit Recht wie ich denke. Die Angabe der sechs Füße pro Tier dürfte auf einen Übermittlungsfehler Deichslers beruhen. Bedauerlich ist, daß man von Deichsler nicht erfährt, ob es sich um ein Präparat der Mißgeburt oder um eine womöglich vergrößerte Nachbildung handelte. Kennern zufolge soll die Präparierkunst jedoch damals nicht so weit fortgeschritten gewesen sein.<sup>21</sup> Also wird man an eine Nachbildung denken müssen, zumal man aus der unmittelbar vorausgehenden Nachricht Deichslers, die ein anderes Wunder betrifft, das nach Nürnberg gelangte, eindeutig auf eine Nachbildung schließen muß. Deichsler berichtet da von einer dreiköpfi-

<sup>17</sup> Sebastian Brant, *In laudem divi Maximiliani* (Straßburg o.J. [Anfang 1520]), fol. b<sup>v</sup>. Nennungen der Sau von Landser begegnen bei Brant außerdem im Gedicht über die Blut- und Wurmkrankheit (s. Wuttke, *Renaissance-Humanismus*, wie Anm. 3) und in der lateinischen Fassung des Flugblattes zur Gansmißgeburt (s. unten Teil 2). Die Schweinemißgeburt auf dem Holzschnitt der lateinischen und deutschen Fassung des Blattes zur Gansmißgeburt ist eindeutig nach den hier behandelten Flugblättern gestaltet (vgl. Abb. 1 mit Abb. 7, 8). Eine indirekte Nennung erfolgt in Sebastian Brant, *Traum In tütsch* (Pforzheim 1502), V. 479.

<sup>18</sup> Zit. bei Biéry, *Landser* (wie Anm. 6), S. 31.

<sup>19</sup> Vgl. Campbell Dodgson, *Albrecht Dürer* (London 1926), S. 10 (= The Masters of Engraving and Etching).

<sup>20</sup> *Die Chroniken der deutschen Städte*. Bd. 11 (Leipzig 1874), S. 586. (= *Die Chroniken der fränkischen Städte*, Nürnberg. Bd. 5).

<sup>21</sup> Erich Biskamp, "Dürers *Sau von Landser*. Ein Beitrag zur vergleichenden Lehre über den Cephalothoracopagus." Diss. med. Göttingen 1933, abgedruckt in: *Virchows Archiv für pathologische Anatomie und Physiologie und für klinische Medizin* 287 (1932), hier S. 310-312. Nach Biskamp sind mit Ausnahme der Doppelzunge alle Eigenheiten des von Brant mitgeteilten Befundes durch Mißgeburten des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts belegt. Zum Medizinischen vgl. auch Eugen Holländer, *Wunder, Wundergeburt und Wundergestalt in Einblattgedrucken des 15. bis 18. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart 1921), S. 84-89.

gen Hydra, die nach Nürnberg gekommen und um einen Pfennig auf dem Heumarkt zu besichtigen gewesen sei.

Ich halte es für sehr wahrscheinlich, daß Albrecht Dürer die in Nürnberg gezeigte Nachbildung gezeichnet und danach seinen Kupferstich *Die Wundersau von Landser* gestaltet hat (Abb. 6). Der Stich dürfte als Erinnerungsblatt noch während der Schaustellung oder unmittelbar danach vertrieben worden sein.<sup>22</sup> Diese Annahme erklärt auch am ehesten, warum Dürer nicht die frischgeborene Mißgeburt darstellt, sondern eine ausgewachsene Doppelsau. Den Umstand, daß dem Dürerblatt ein deutender Text fehlt, versteht Aby M. Warburg so, als sei bei Dürer der bei Brant sichtbare "Zwang zu mythologischer Verursachung" gewichen und habe dem "naturwissenschaftlichen Interesse an der Erscheinung" Platz gemacht.<sup>23</sup> Es bleibt jedoch die Frage, inwieweit der Vorzeichencharakter des Tieres für Dürer nicht so selbstverständlich gewesen sein kann, daß ihm ein textlicher Hinweis überflüssig erschien, zumal die Deutung Brants vorlag und möglicherweise gleichzeitig zum Verkauf kam. Daß Dürers Blatt durch seine Naturtreue einem naturwissenschaftlichen Interesse stärker entgegenkommt, soll deshalb nicht bestritten werden.

## 2. Die Geburt der Zwillingsgans und der zwei sechsbeinigen Ferkel in Gugenheim am 3. April 1496

Über die Mißgeburt einer Zwillingsgans und zweier sechsbeiniger Ferkel in dem Dorfe Gugenheim bei Straßburg am 3. April 1496 ließ Brant wieder ein illustriertes Flugblatt in lateinischer und deutscher Fassung (Abb. 7 und 8) ausgeben. Drucker und Verleger war erneut Johann

<sup>22</sup> Dazu Erich Ebstein, "Ein mißgebildetes Tier in Babylonien - und eine Zeichnung von Albrecht Dürer," *Mitteilungen zur Geschichte der Medizin und Naturwissenschaften* 10 (1911), S. 128; 11 (1912), S. 540-541; Emil Major, "Dürers Kupferstich *Die wunderbare Sau von Landser*...", *Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft* 6 (1913), 327-330; Dodgson (wie Anm. 19); Eduard Flehsig, *Albrecht Dürer*. 2 Bde (Berlin 1928-1931), hier Bd. 1, S. 204f.; Biéry (wie Anm. 6); Friedrich Winkler, *Albrecht Dürer. Leben und Werk* (Berlin 1957), S. 55 u. 59; Erwin Panofsky, *The Life and Art of Albrecht Dürer* (Princeton 1955<sup>4</sup>), S. 69; F. Saxl, *Lectures*. Bd. 1 (London 1957), S. 259; Alexander Perrig, *Albrecht Dürer oder Die Heimlichkeit der deutschen Ketzerei* (Weinheim 1987), S. 36-38.

<sup>23</sup> Aby M. Warburg, "Heidnisch-antike Weissagung in Wort und Bild zu Luthers Zeiten (1920)", in: A.M.W., *Gesammelte Schriften*. Bd. 2 (Leipzig-Berlin 1932), S. 523f. u. Abb. 147. Vgl. auch Norman Robert Smith, *Loathly Births of Nature: A Study of the Lore of the Portentous Monster in the Sixteenth Century* (Urbana/Ill. 1978), S. 123.

Bergmann in Basel.<sup>24</sup> Von beiden Fassungen ist nur je ein Exemplar erhalten. Das der deutschen ist Fragment; ein Drittel des Bildes und Textes ist verloren.

Entsprechend der Angabe des Geburtsdatums der Mißgeburten in beiden Fassungen datiert der Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke das Erscheinen der Flugblätter auf den Zeitraum "nach 3. April 1496". Bei dieser Festsetzung haben die Bearbeiter jedoch eine Bemerkung übersehen, die Brant in der lateinischen Fassung macht. Im Verlaufe des Gedichts weist er auf das relativ häufige Auftreten von Doppelbildungen in seiner Zeit hin und kommt dabei auch auf eine Doppelsonne zu sprechen, die, wie man ihm berichtete, am 5. Mai 1496 gesehen worden sei:

Sunt qui se geminum solem obseruasse fatentur:  
 Amborum et radios vix tolerasse pares.  
 Idque ferunt visum Maii cum tertia nonas  
 De medio phebi duxerat axe diem. (V. 83-86)

Daß man diese Datierung auf 1496 zu beziehen hat, beweist auch ein handschriftlicher Leserzusatz der Zeit im Kölner Exemplar der *Varia carmina*<sup>25</sup> Brants. Demnach kommt als terminus post quem des Druckdatums nur der 5. Mai 1496 in Frage.

<sup>24</sup> Sebastian Brant, *Ad Reuerendissimum in christo patrem Illustrissimumque principem et dominum Albertum dei gratia Episcopum Argentinensem Palatinum Rheni: Ducemque Bauarię: Atque Alsacię Lantgrauium: dominum sibi plurimum obseruandum: De monstroso Anserē: atque Porcellis: Illustri suę dignationi in villa Gügenheim: Anno M.CCCC.XCVI. tertia Nonas Aprilis: a natura productis. Explanatio Sebastiani Brant*, [Basel] J[ohann] B[ergmann], nach 5. Mai 1496]. [Einziges erhaltenes und leicht fragmentarisches Exemplar Deutsche Bücherei, Leipzig; Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke 5037 mit falscher Datierung "nach 3. April"]. Faksimiles bei Heitz, *Flugblätter des Sebastian Brant* (wie Anm. 6), Taf. 13, und Schramm, *Bilderschmuck* (wie Anm. 6), Bd. 22, Nr. 1254. Abdruck in *Varia carmina* (wie Anm. 6), fol. fviii<sup>v</sup>-gii<sup>v</sup>. Abschrift danach von Hieronymus Streitl in clm 14053, fol. 112<sup>v</sup>-113<sup>v</sup>, vgl. Anm. 6. — Sebastian Brant, *An den hochwürdigen durchluchtigsten fursten vnd hernn hern Albrechten von gottes gnaden B[...]* Ryn Hertzogen jn Beyern / vnd Landtgrauen zů Elsaß / Von der zwifaltigen Ganß / Ouch V[...] Gügenheim vff mitwoch ostren jm XCVJ Jor befunden Eyn vßlegung Sebastiani Br[...], [Basel: Johann Bergmann, nach 5. Mai 1496]. [Einziges erhaltenes fragmentarisches Exemplar SB Berlin; Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke 5036 mit falscher Datierung "nach 3. April"]. Faksimiles bei W. L. Schreiber, *Formschnitte und Einblattdrucke in der Kgl. Bibliothek zu Berlin* (Straßburg 1913), Tf. 19 (= Einblattdrucke des 15. Jahrhunderts, Bd. 36); Heitz, *Flugblätter des Sebastian Brant* (wie Anm. 6), Taf. 12 (mit Ergänzung der Holzschnittleiste nach Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke 5037); Schramm (wie Anm. 6) Nr. 1253.

<sup>25</sup> fol. gii<sup>r</sup>.

Gewidmet sind beide Fassungen des Flugblattes Herzog Albrecht von Bayern, der seit 1478 Bischof von Straßburg war.<sup>26</sup> Brant kannte die Mißgeburten nach eigener Angabe durch eine Zeichnung, die der Bischof hatte anfertigen und ihm von Zabern aus übersenden lassen.<sup>27</sup> Der Humanist verstand dies als eine Aufforderung, den Vorfall zu beschreiben und zu deuten.

Was war geschehen? In dem Dorfe Gugenheim nahe Straßburg waren an dem besagten Tage eine Gans und zwei Ferkel — die Zahl erschließe ich aus der Abbildung des Flugblattes — mit Doppelbildungen geboren worden. Die Gans hatte einen Leib und einen Hals, jedoch zwei Köpfe, zwei Schnäbel, zwei Zungen, vier Augen, vier Beine, zwei After. Die Flügel befanden sich an der Stelle, an der normalerweise die Beine sitzen, und die Beine an der Stelle der Flügel. Die zwei weiteren Beine saßen am Bürzel. Die Ferkel besaßen jeweils ein Paar aufgespaltene Vorderläufe, so daß jedes sechs Beine hatte. Sämtliche Pfoten waren nicht zweifach, wie es normal wäre, sondern mehrfach gespalten.<sup>28</sup> Lycosthenes, der Brants Flugblatt gekannt hat, wie man aus der Abbildung der Gans bei ihm (s. Abb. 5) schließen darf, berichtet nur von einem Ferkel und läßt die Gans im Ei gefunden sein.<sup>29</sup> Ob in diesen Punkten eher seinen als Brants Angaben zu trauen ist, bleibe dahingestellt.

Deutlicher als in allen anderen Fälle spricht Brant auf diesem Blatt aus, daß er sich zwar als ein "vates", aber nur bedingt als ein Nachfolger antiker Weissager fühle. Dies geht aus dem Wunsch hervor, den er im Verlaufe des Gedichts ausspricht: "Wäre ich doch ein Seher, der vollkommen Unrecht behält!" und aus dem Unsagbarkeitstopos, mit dem er einsetzt: "Wenn ich ein Magier, ein Wahrsager, ein Seher, ein etrusischer Opferbeschauer, ein Traumdeuter und ein Weissager wäre, könnte ich trotzdem nicht hinlänglich deuten, was die vielen Ungeheuer ankündigen, die sich in unsern Tagen zeigen." Er wünscht sich deshalb "die Denkkraft des Oedipus oder den heiligen Geist des Joseph". Dann erneuert er seine schon aus früheren Äußerungen (vgl. Anm. 5) bekannte Definition des Wunders: Die Natur bringt die *monstra* hervor; es sind

<sup>26</sup> Schultz bei Heitz, *Flugblätter des Sebastian Brant* (wie Anm. 6), S. IX.

<sup>27</sup> Vgl. den Wormser Maler Nikolaus Nievergalt, der als Zeichner einer Mißgeburt belegt ist. Auch von Albrecht Dürer oder beispielsweise Hans Baldung Grien gibt es entsprechende Zeichnungen.

<sup>28</sup> Holländers Angaben (*Wunder*, wie Anm. 21, S. 87, 343f.) sind unergiebig.

<sup>29</sup> Lycosthenes, *Prodigiorum ac ostentorum chronicon* (wie Anm. 16), S. 506.

aber widernatürliche Wesen. Durch sie mahnt die Natur den Menschen und läßt ihn erkennen, was war und was bald als ein unentrinnbares Geschick eintreten wird. Brant ist bestürzt, daß in seiner Zeit sich so viele Doppelbildungen ereignen, und er erinnert besonders an die Wormser Zwillinge und an eine eben erst wahrgenommene Doppelsonne.<sup>30</sup> Diese beiden Ereignisse sind der eine Ausgangspunkt für seine Deutung, der andere ist der Rückgriff auf die historische Tat der capitolinischen Gänse. Er schlägt also dasselbe Verfahren ein wie bei der Ausdeutung der Sau von Landser, bei der die Wormser Zwillinge und die lateinische Sau gleichsam die Richtpunkte waren, an denen er sich orientierte. Brant kommt jetzt zu dem Schluß, daß die Gansmißgeburt die positive Wirkung der Wormser Zwillinge aufheben wird. Dazu veranlaßt ihn hauptsächlich die Beobachtung der politischen Realität, in der er starke Kräfte von der 1495 auf dem Reichstag zu Worms mühsam errungenen Einheit wegstreben sieht. Bestätigung für diese Meinung findet er gleichzeitig in der Erscheinung der Doppelsonne; denn "früher folgte ein Schisma, wenn man eine Doppelsonne gesehen hatte". Die Beobachtung der politischen Realität ist es auch, die ihn zögern läßt, die Gans als eine capitolinische, rechtzeitig warnende und damit heilbringende zu feiern. Er meint nämlich die Gefahr zu erkennen, daß die Mißgeburt, die mit ihren zwei Schnäbeln und Zungen die besten Voraussetzungen zu einer Warngans hätte, sich unaufmerksam und planlos verhalten und schließlich ihren Feinden zum Opfer fallen könnte. Die Feinde sieht er in den Ferkeln verkörpert, die so ihren Platz in seiner Deutung erhalten. Die Gans wird in dem Gedicht also zu einem Sinnbild des Reiches und der in ihm wirksamen partikularen Kräfte gemacht und die Ferkel figurieren als Sinnbilder der inneren und äußeren Feinde, die diese Situation ausnutzen wollen. Brant bleibt ganz im Bereich solcher Tierallegorese, wenn er das Gedicht mit der Wendung an die Fürsten und Bürger des Reiches mahnend abschließt: "Das ist voller Vorbedeutung für euch, Hirsche, stoßfreudige Damhirsche, wilde Gemen und Maultierherden: Laßt das heilige Reich und das Vaterland nicht durch den gemeinen Angriff von Säuen besudeln! Lebt in Frieden, in heiliger Eintracht, blickt auf den gütigen König oder die Notwendigkeiten des Reiches!" Und wie um das Preziöse dieses Bildgebrauchs auf die Spitze zu treiben, schickt er — seine eigene Warnerrolle nun in das Sinnbild der Gans

<sup>30</sup> Ein von ihm in der lateinischen Fassung angekündigtes Gedicht über die Doppelsonne (*Varia carmina*, wie Anm. 6, fol. gii<sup>r</sup>) konnte bisher nicht gefunden werden.



kleidend — die tröstende Verheißung nach: “Dann werdet ihr ohne Mühe die Angriffe von Schweinemaul und -pfote besiegen, dann wird meine Gans zum Schwan.” Das soll besagen: Dann werde ich meinem Publikum Freudengesänge bieten statt Warnungen.

Zu der Zeit, als Brant seine Verse schmiedete, war König Maximilian nachdrücklich bemüht, die Voraussetzungen für die Durchführung eines geplanten Italienzuges zu schaffen. Auf die Hilfe der Fürsten und Stände mußte er dabei weitgehend verzichten. Vom Blickwinkel des Königs und des Reiches schildert Brant die Lage also nicht zu schwarz. Daß er Herzog Albrecht von Bayern als Adressaten wählte, scheint nicht ohne tieferen Anlaß geschehen zu sein: Von diesem Fürsten erhoffte der König sich damals, er werde in der Unterstützung der königlichen Pläne anspornend vorangehen. Doch die Lage Maximilians blieb prekär. Als er im August 1496 über die Alpen zog, begleitete ihn nicht einer der deutschen Fürsten.<sup>31</sup>

Die deutsche Fassung des Flugblattes weicht in einigen Punkten von der lateinischen ab. Es fehlen der Hinweis auf Oedipus und auf die Doppelsonnen. Die Wunderdefinition ist unterdrückt und der Hinweis auf die schicksalszwingende Wirkung der Wunder. Andererseits gibt Brant hier eine vollständigere Beschreibung der Gans-Mißgeburt. Nur hier nennt er Zabern<sup>32</sup> als Ort, aus dem der Bischof Albrecht ihm die Abbildung übersandte. Besonders auffällig ist auch, daß er in dieser Fassung keine so unscharfe und gewollte und daher für das Verständnis unbefriedigende Allegorisierung der Gans vornimmt. Er präsentiert sie hier im Sinne der capitolinischen Gänse als Warnvogel. Leider lassen sich für ein Drittel des Textes wegen des Verlustes die Unterschiede nicht eruieren, die die Schnelligkeit der Produktion, bestimmte Publikumsrücksichten und die jeweilige Sprachwahl verursacht haben dürften.

In den Versen 19/20 der lateinischen und 37/42 der deutschen Fassung läßt Brant eine naturkundliche Erklärung der Zwillingsgeburten einfließen. Er sieht ihre Verursachung im Sternbild der Zwillinge, ohne freilich zu erörtern, inwieweit man in jenen Jahren mit dem Einfluß dieses Sternbildes überhaupt zu rechnen hatte:

<sup>31</sup> Über die Zurückhaltung der Fürsten vgl. Hermann Wiesflecker, “Der Italienzug König Maximilian I. im Jahre 1496,” *Carinthia I* 146 (1956), 581-619; Ders., *Kaiser Maximilian I.* (wie Anm. 10).

<sup>32</sup> Gemeint sein muß der elsässische Ort.

Miraque multa alias Geminorum sydere nasci  
Qualia sepe quidem conduplicata vides.

Wenn ich natürlich redt dar von  
Mag es vß louff des gstirnes gon  
Dann Gemini der zwilling stern  
Wann der regierrt / so wachsen gern  
Vil ding zwifaltig von natur  
Zweytt sich die gburtt der creatur. (V. 37-42)

Man sollte dies Zitat als ein Dokument für Brants Vertrautheit mit naturwissenschaftlichen Fragestellungen der Zeit aufnehmen. Zugleich sieht man aus der mehr beiläufigen Erwähnung, wie wenig ihn solche Erklärung befriedigen oder beruhigen konnte. Das verbindet ihn gerade mit den bedeutenderen seiner Zeitgenossen wie beispielsweise mit Luther.<sup>33</sup>

Der Astrologe Joseph Grünpeck sieht die Ursache der Doppelbildungen ebenfalls in siderischem Einfluß begründet. Doch rückt er von dem sehr simplen Analogiebeschluß 'Zwillinge schaffen Zwillinge' ab und erklärt, wenn Saturn im Sternbild der Fische oder Mars im Sternbild des Skorpions mit Sonne oder Mond in Konjunktion treten, gebe es Arm- und Bein-Doppelbildungen: "saturnus etiam in piscibus, mars in scorione cum sole uel luna congressi brachia et aliquando pedes duplicant." Er fährt dann fort: "ea ratione infans mediolanensis quatuor brachiis, alibi sus octo pedibus et anser quatuor <pedibus> in lucem proditi sunt." Mit dem Schwein und der Gans muß das von Brant geschilderte Ereignis gemeint sein.<sup>34</sup>

Wie kommt Grünpeck zu dem achtbeinigen Schwein? Ich meine, die Antwort ist nicht schwer zu finden: Des von ihm verkündeten Naturgesetzes wegen muß das Schwein statt sechs acht Beine haben; denn nur dann ist die Verdoppelung vollständig. Er hat das Tier mit der Gans auf einem Sammelbild auch abbilden lassen (Abb. 9). Darauf ist die *duplicatio* noch weiter gediehen. Man sieht ein Schwein mit zwei Köpfen und acht Beinen. Daß er nur von einem Schwein

<sup>33</sup> Luthers Verhältnis zu Naturwissenschaft, Astrologie und Wunderdeutung scheint mir trotz verschiedener Bemühungen noch nicht befriedigend geklärt zu sein.

<sup>34</sup> Joseph Grünpeck, *Josephi Grünenpeckh Burckhausenensis prodigiorum portentorum ostentorum et monstrorum que in seculum Maximilianeum inciderunt ...* (1502), fol. 7<sup>r</sup> und vor allem 22<sup>v</sup> (Hs. 314 der UB Innsbruck). Vgl. meine Abhandlung zu den Wormser Zwillingen, wie die in Anm. 5 zitierte Bibliographie sie verzeichnet. Vgl. auch Ambroise Paré, *Des monstres et prodiges*. Édition critique et commenté par Jean Céard (Genève 1971), S. 3.

spricht, ist vielleicht ebenfalls eine nachträgliche Korrektur des historischen Befundes, womöglich auch eine Verwechslung mit der Sau von Landser, die er merkwürdiger Weise nicht erwähnt. Für Grünpeck war mit der naturwissenschaftlichen Erklärung der Fall nicht erledigt. Dies zeigt seine *Auslegung* von 1507. Hierin führt er das Ereignis von Gugenheim als eines der beachtenswerten Prodigia der Zeit an.<sup>35</sup>

Außer bei Lycosthenes, der bereits oben angeführt wurde, findet man nur beim anonymen Verfasser des Flugblattes zur Hasendoppelgeburt von 1505 ein direktes Nachwirken des Brant-Blattes.<sup>36</sup> Ohne Bezug auf Brant erwähnen die Mißgeburt der Gans von Gugenheim noch im 17. Jahrhundert Ulisse Aldrovandi, der Lycosthenes folgt, und Caspar Schott, der Verfasser der bis heute vollständigsten Enzyklopädie von *Mirabilia*.<sup>37</sup>

### 3. Brants rationaler Umgang mit der Wunderdeutung

Meine jetzigen Ausführungen zu Sebastian Brants Deutungen siamesischer Tiergeburten möchte ich abschließend mit einem Bericht Brants konfrontieren, den dieser über eine menschliche Mißgeburt mit verschiedenen Doppelbildungen gegeben hat. Sie hatte sich am 23. Juni 1496 in Mühlhausen im Elsaß ereignet. Wir wüßten nichts über die Beziehung Brants zu diesem Ereignis, hätte er nicht in einem Briefe darüber berichtet und wäre dieser Brief nicht durch eine Abschrift des 17. Jahrhunderts erhalten geblieben. Und so wüßten wir nicht, daß es im Hinblick auf Wundergeburten keineswegs einen Deutungszwang für diesen Erzaugur gegeben hat. Damit entspricht seinem Verhalten hier dasjenige, das ich bei anderer Gelegenheit im Zusammenhang mit Brants Ursachenanalyse bei der Blut- und Wurmkrankheit einer Straßburger Bürgerin feststellen konnte.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>35</sup> Joseph Grünpeck, *Ein neue außlegung. Der seltsamen wunderzaichen vnd wunderpürden ...* (Ohne Ort, Drucker und Jahr [1507]), fol. Aij<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>36</sup> Vgl. Anm. 15.

<sup>37</sup> Ulysse Aldrovandi, *Monstrorum Historia* (Bologna 1642), S. 659; Caspar Schott, *Physica Curiosa* (Würzburg 1667?), S. 580. Vgl. Rudolf Schenda, "Die deutschen Prodigiensammlungen des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts," *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens* 4 (1963), Sp. 637-710, hier Sp. 668ff., und Bibliographie Nr. 42.

<sup>38</sup> Vgl. Wuttke, *Renaissance-Humanismus und Naturwissenschaft* (wie Anm. 3).

Am 28. Juni 1496 schreibt Brant aus Basel nach Straßburg an den Offizial des dortigen Bischofsgerichtes Johannes Sigrist unter anderem:<sup>39</sup>

“Nova apud nos sunt plurima e quibus id unum tibi significare libet. Solis ante Johannis natus est in Mülhusen puer quidam per iuenculam duodeviginti annos natam, abortive progenitus. Is uno in corpore et collo bina gestavit capita, singulis membris et lineamentis distincta, dextrum vero caput grandius altiusque prominebat, cuius os cum naribus canina<m> pre se ferebant speciem; caetera sicut et sinistrum caput humanam habebant effigiem; pectus satis grande ac corpus durum, plurimos ostentans villos, quasi hirsutum futurum fuisset. Reliqua membra, manus, digiti et pedes: procera et elegantia. Verum quia premature natus, neque viuis apparuit neque sexus dignosci potuit. Sunt qui me ad scribendum impellant: <facere> nisi tam frequens monstrorum repertio non miraculum, sed communem nature cursum tempestate nostra indicare nobis viderentur.”

Diese Mißgeburt bezeugt auch Maternus Berler in seiner elsässischen Chronik. Abgesehen von einigen zusätzlichen Informationen ist sein Bericht dem Brantschen sehr ähnlich. Wahrscheinlich war derselbe Augenzeuge, der Brant eine genaue Beschreibung des Falles vermittelte, auch der Urheber der Quelle Berlers. Wenn Brant eigens nach Mühlhausen gereist wäre, um die Mißgeburt zu besichtigen, oder wenn das Kind nach Basel geschafft worden wäre, hätte er es wohl in seinem Brief erwähnt. Berler macht folgende Ausführungen:<sup>40</sup>

“Ein kyndt mitt zweyen heuptern geboren zu Mulhussen 1496.- Anno domini MCCCCLXXXVI, am suntag vor Johannis Baptistae umb mitternach, ist geboren worden zu Mulhussen durch ein junge frow, die umb wynnachte obgemelts jars in den eelichen standt vermehelt was worden, ein wunderbarlich kyndt mitt zweyen heuptern, vier augen, vier oren, zwen mund, zwo nassen, auff eynem halsz, welcher stund auff einem liep, mitten uff dem gratt desz rucken. Aber der selbig liep hette nach zwen gratt im rucken über den mittlen von beyden seyten auff stygende bitz an die schultern, und hatt diesses kynd xxvj wuchen getragen, und stunden diese heupter in solcher ordenung: uff der rechten seyten stundt das grosser haupt, nach aller gestalt eynes menschen, on mund und nassz glich formig einem hundert, das ander haupt stund uff der lincken seyten nach dem lincken ore, was cleyner dan das ander, gantz glich formig einem menschen haupt. Der liep

<sup>39</sup> Der Brief ist abschriftlich erhalten in den sog. *Miscellanea Wenckeri* des Jacob Wencker, hier fol. 596<sup>r-v</sup>, Archives de la Ville de Strasbourg, Sign.: AST 323.1.

<sup>40</sup> Maternus Berler, *Chronik*, in: *Code historique et diplomatique de la ville de Strasbourg*, Bd. 2 (Strasbourg 1843), S. 71-130, hier S. 106f.

diesses kynds was gantz zum teyl hart, als wolt es haryg syn worden, mitt andren gelidmassen schon und lang, als mitt fingeren, hend, arm, zehen und fuessen, in rechter naturlicher schoepffung. Und dieweyl es nach on leben was und unzeyttig geboren, mocht nytt erkendt werden ob es ein kneblin oder toechterlin wer. Das grosser haupt ging nytt recht uber sich, sunders uff die rechte seyten hynnauszwertz auff das cleiner haupt in der lincken seyten uber sich gericht bytz uff die seytt gangen. Die prust was zimplich grosz.”

Der Brief Brants an Sigrist ist der einzige in seiner Korrespondenz erhaltene, in dem die Nachricht über eine außergewöhnliche Naturerscheinung ihren unmittelbaren Niederschlag findet. Er zeigt Brants besonderes Interesse für solche Neuigkeiten auch im Bereich des mehr privaten Austausches. Schon aus Bemerkungen der Gedichte über die Saumißgeburt, die Doppelgans und den Blut- und Wurmausfluß durften wir schließen, daß Brant als eine Art Zentrum der Monstrendeutung galt und man es eilig hatte, ihm jeweils das Eklatanteste auf diesem Gebiet in Wort und Bild mitzuteilen oder womöglich vorzuführen. Hier finden wir Brants Bestätigung: “Sunt qui me ad scribendum impellant.” Er ist der Mittelpunkt eines lebhaft über das neue Ereignis der Kindsmißgeburt diskutierenden Kreises und wird bedrängt, erneut eine Auslegung zu schreiben. Aber, welche Überraschung! Könnten wir uns eine ablehnende Antwort, wie er sie gibt, vorstellen, wenn wir lediglich seine publizierten Wunderdeutungen besäßen? Kaum. Und noch weniger hätten wir ihm wohl eine solche abstandnehmende Auffassung zugetraut. Vor wenigen Wochen erst hatte er in der lateinischen Fassung des Blattes zur Gansmißgeburt erklärt, die Natur lasse durch außergewöhnliche Ereignisse die Bahn des unentrinnbaren Geschicks mahnend bezeichnen. Bei der Fülle der auftretenden Fälle ist er nunmehr geneigt, diese neue Mißgeburt für ein Ereignis zu halten, das lediglich den zeittypischen Lauf der Natur kennzeichnet und kein *miraculum* darstellt. Der Brief läßt also das Ringen um Beweglichkeit im Denken, das Ringen um Rationalität in der Wunderdeutung, das Ringen um den “Denkraum der Besonnenheit” (Warburg) erkennen, das alle Forschung bisher übersehen hat. Auch aus dem Ringen in diesem Bereich entsteht die moderne Naturwissenschaft.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> Als Weiterführung vgl. den anregenden Katalog *Darwin und Darwinismus. Eine Ausstellung zur Kultur- und Naturgeschichte*. Hrsg. von Bodo-Michael Baumunk und Jürgen Rieß (Berlin 1994).

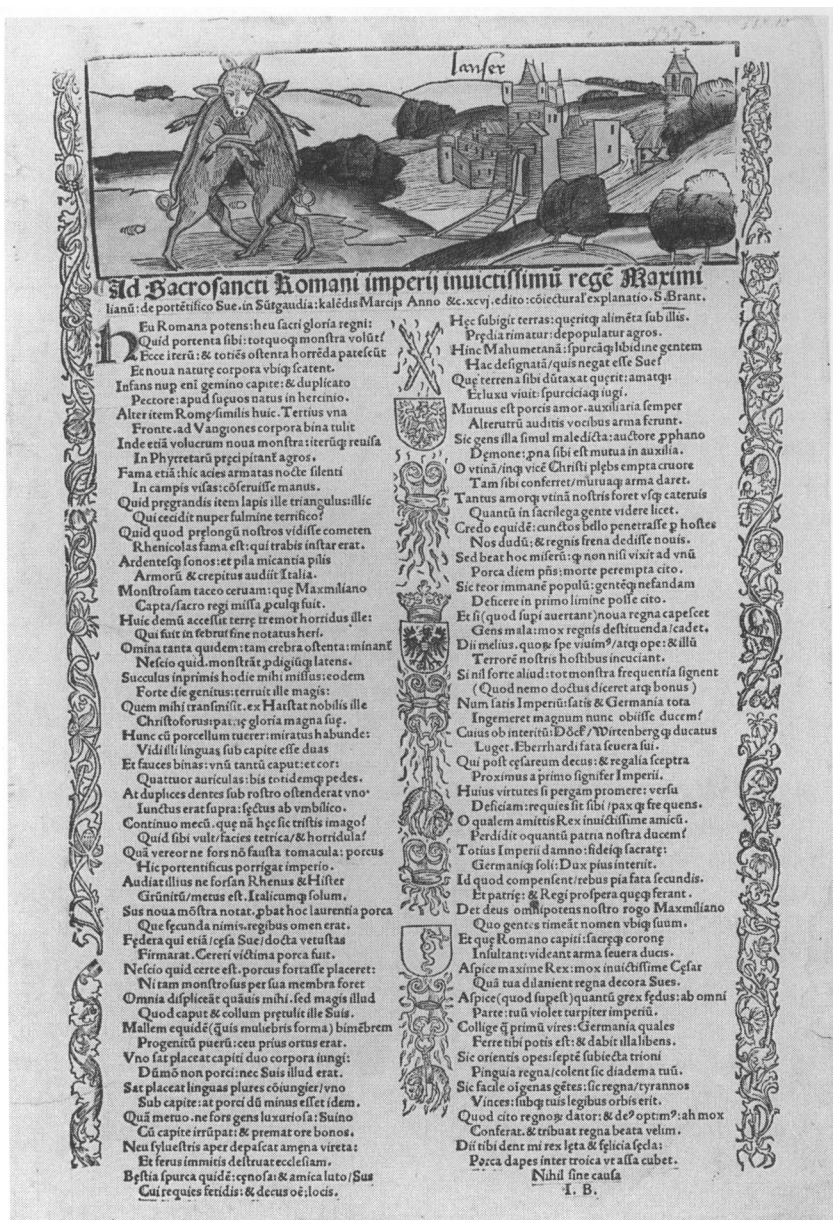
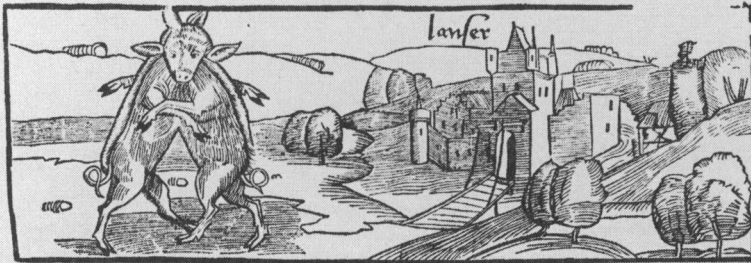


Abb. 1. — Sebastian Brant, *De portentifico Sue*. Basel 1496. Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke 5035. Exemplar SB München.



### An den großmechtigsten aller durchlichtigsten herren

Maximilian Römischen künig Von der wunderbaren Su zu Landser im Sungwar des jars .M.CCCC.  
XCV. Vff den ersten tag des merzigen geboten Ein verschicklich vrslegung Sebastian Brant.

**O** Römische rich du hailge kro:  
Was wil zu leyst doch nachet go  
So man tagesch entpfindet vnd siehe  
So vil wunder so alto geschichte  
So mit vns die natur zeigt an  
By wunder wunderwerk verstan  
Vnd das got etwas wurdem weis  
Das die natur vor yeggen stalt  
Also hant künigliche gesien wie  
Das zwelff hende mit henden vier/  
Zweyn klopffen doch zwon füs allen  
Das zu Notwil im schwaigewalt scheyn  
Zu Roms hat man des selben gluck  
In kurtzen gesien wijsenlich/  
Vil wissen von dem kynd zu sagen  
Das by Wurmsh ist in kurtzen tagen  
Mit eyn houbt liden zweyn geborn  
Man weis noch das inn nächstem joren  
Der wundersteyn by Lennigheym gescheyt  
Der über ginyern louff was groch  
Die wunder facklen naß dar by  
Gesehen meyn ich das es sy  
Ioch viken wißend künigliche gar/  
Des gluck die mader vnd vogel schar  
Sieman nach by der selben stat  
Im Söwental gesien hat  
Von freindten voglen groch vnd kreyen  
Als vns vnsnachte zu nächst ersichern  
Hant manchen in eyn schraden bracht  
Der mit forgen freindt gest geschacht  
Was sol ich von dem tier nün sagen  
So man auch hat in kurtzen tagen  
Gön fribdingen gefangen bracht  
Wie ich das haß in gliche gemacht  
Des gluck auch vil gesien hant  
Den Cometen im oberlandt  
Der wie eyn halber wißbaum scheyn/  
Vil haben ghört in der gemeyn  
Im Sängow machte eyn sturm vnd sint  
Mit dücksen schiesse lange zit  
Als ob eyn heerzug do beschick  
Man hat das in Italien sy  
Des gluck gescheyt in Lombardy/  
Wir hant entpfinden auch dar mit  
Den erwidern zu nachste zit  
Im strag nach Jnucado  
Hant vns dasel die er ersichne  
Ist wortlich on vordümm nit  
Ich wil gewogen anders vil  
Dar vß man nimen möcht do wyle  
Zu yeggen zu forgen angschickert  
So künig yeggen al cristenheyt  
Betrachten solt gang unentlich  
Vnd gegen got erlagen stich

Der vffrür so vff aller erd  
Ist rich forgen das er grüßet werd  
Des gibe diß Su an yeggen mir  
Das wollich ist eyn wunder thier/  
So mir vß Landser gendet hat  
Im her Cristoffel von hantstae  
Im merzen vff den ersten tag  
Dar als ich sunderlich erschreck  
Es was zu sehen grusam gnüg  
Vier oren vnd acht füs sie trüg  
Icyn klopff dar inn zwon nachen stont  
Vß eynem hals zwon jungen gont  
Diß Su vereynt was obnan so  
Als eyn alkeyn doch vndnan zwon  
Dann noch dein herten velt sie sich  
Das hynder teyl zwon Suwen gluck  
Ich gadaht hilff gott von hymel rich  
Wie sint bin geschöpf so wunderlich  
Was wil diß su vns bringen doch  
Gadaht in mir eygentlich das noch  
Das man durch Suw in der geschichte  
Ist küniglicher ding syn berichte  
Als die Su die Lencas fandt  
Mit jungen an des Tybers sandt  
Dar durch der künig hat bedüt  
Die Alkam regierten zu zit  
Durch suw man etwan dümmich macht  
Wann man eyn ginyern seid betracht/  
Man oppfert Ceren eyn Swyn  
Die der korn scheymerin ist gsin/  
Aber was diß Su bedüt  
Weis ich nit ganz es galt mir nit  
Das sie so zwelff jungen hat  
Vff gleyder vil eyn suw klopff stat  
Vich ducht lidenlicher vber eyn  
Das kint by wurmo mit liden zweyn  
Wie wol es wißsch geboren wart  
Hant es doch menschlich gluck vnd art/  
Vil gleyder vnder eyn houbt syn  
Ghesel mir wann diß nit wer eyn scheyn/  
Diß jungen vnder eyn houbt stan  
Lobt ich das mit wer Suw schen gan  
Dar vns vndicht ich diß Su bedüt  
Icyn obersteyt der Suw schen lue  
Als Tuercken die man hat dück  
Das it wesen der Su sy rich  
Icyn Su ist eyn wolt vnrey thier  
Sie in vnstalt sticht all it zier  
Als blü der Tuercken vnrey schar  
In allem vnstalt leben gar/  
Die Su der Tuercken durer ist/  
Wol wurd vergliche sie dem endelst  
Wann uff diß zit syn zu künst wer  
Das doch alkeyn weyßte got der her

Der all ding noch dem besten schick  
So mit das schiff syn vff rich  
Vnd die Su nit eyn klopff gewyn  
Man wird sunst ianeros liden inn/  
Wann aber vnuernung ginyern  
Durch kich summen sich vereyren  
Vnd irem houbt dunt widerland  
So ist die wunder Su im land/  
Das ist das eygen nachen rich  
Das vnd vndicht das nit weis wie  
Es sich halt oder stellen muß  
Das wird eygentlich veruüß/  
So seht seht mich das die wunder scheyn  
Die leng nit ist in liden gsin  
Dann sie nit mit dann vff eyn nachte  
Geseht hat do man mit sie bracht/  
Als hoff ich das es sich gluck wol/  
(So vns vns got geseht sol)  
Icyn Suw schen summe vff er entpring  
Es es das gluck auch bald ab ging/  
Solich wessen wir empseyen got  
Dß der eyen durch vil wunder hant  
Dß anders nün geseht an  
So mögen wir doch liden verstan  
So yeg den herzen Römischen rich  
Vnd tuischer nacon des gluck  
Gesehen ist zu diser stat  
Durch abgang herzog Lencas  
Der witenberc des fursien milt  
Von des richs sturmen in syn schicht  
Mit grossen eren hat gefurt/  
Durch des vernunft rich regiert  
Werren all yand vnd künig rich  
Got ged dem fursien augenrich  
By im freud in des hymel tron  
Wollich ist er der nütigen tron  
Vnd spiegel allit rugen gsin  
Got ged mit wu er ist do syn/  
Ich weis wol vnder künig her  
Das die nit wol möcht liden es mer  
Gesehen syn an dreyen man  
Der hat dück sich allit gefurt  
Vnd ist dück oug vnd herz gsin  
Den gnad hat selich gemacht wol scheyn  
Der him mit eren yeg mit lue  
Aie mit künig yeg vß myn sag  
Got ged der vnder künig her  
So vil gluck seites stalt vnd ere  
Das mit freud werd erget dück gnad  
Als vngeluck liden schmerz vnd schad  
So dimer gnaden widerst  
Got ged dar was der dicker gert  
Vnd was sy selich yeg vff erd  
So mit eyn troyst Su dar vß wart  
Lue e. w. fac

Abb. 2. — Sebastian Brant, Von der wunderbaren Su zu Landser. Basel 1496. Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke 5034. Abb. nach Paul Heitz, Flugblätter des Sebastian Brant (Straßburg 1915), Taf. 10.







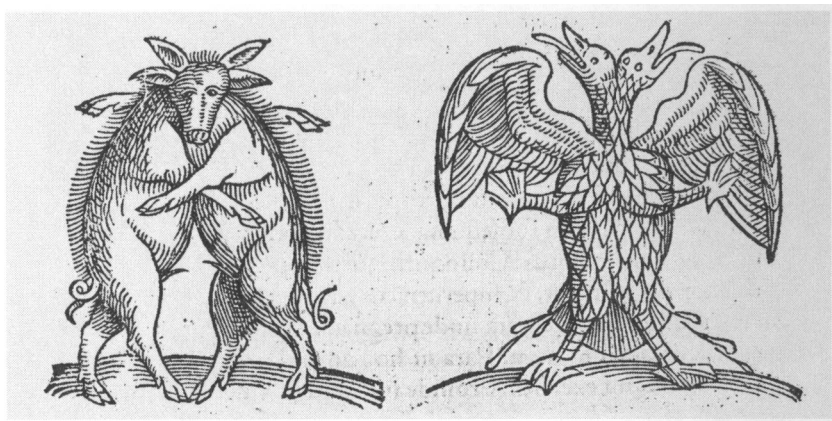


Abb. 5. — Conradus Lycosthenes, *Prodigiorum ac ostentorum chronicon* (Basel 1557), S. 506: Holzschnitt der Sau von Landser und der Doppelgans von Gugenheim.

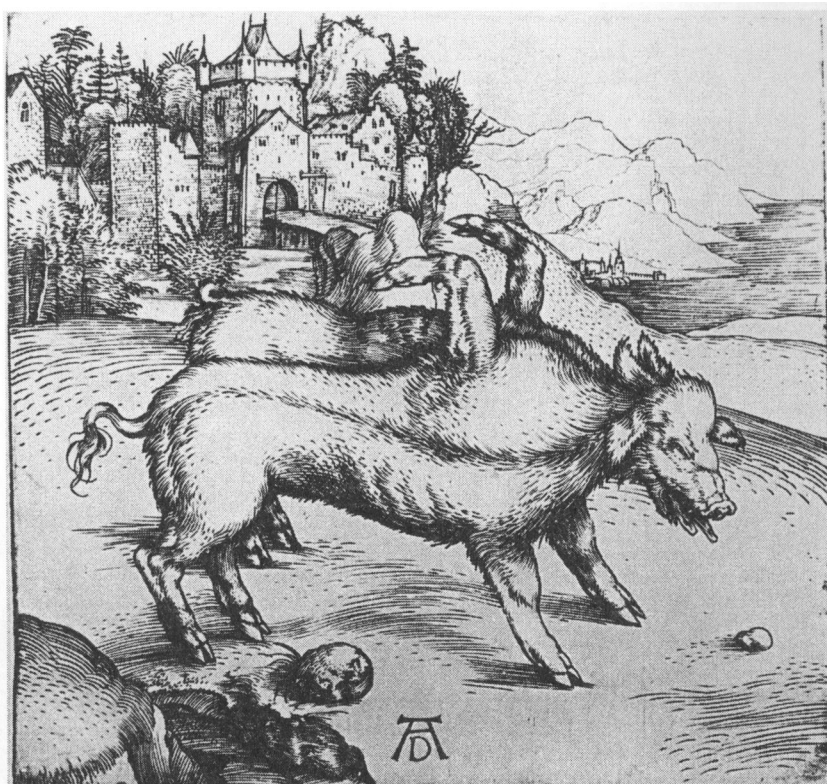


Abb. 6. — Albrecht Dürer, *Die Sau von Landser*. Kupferstich 1496. Abb. nach Adolf Knappe, *Dürer. Das graphische Werk* (Wien-München 1964), Abb. 13.



Abb. 7. — Sebastian Brant, *De monstroso Anseri*. Basel 1496. Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke 5037. Exemplar Deutsche Bücherei Leipzig.







Abb. 9. — Joseph Grünpeck, *Prodigiorum interpretatio*. Linz 1502.  
 Autograph. UB Innsbruck, Hs. 314, fol. 6<sup>r</sup>: *Die Wunderzeichen im Zeitalter  
 Maximilians I.* Federzeichnung auf Pergament von unbekannter Hand (Umkreis  
 des Hausbuchmeisters?).

Emanuel MICHÁLEK

## ZUR FRAGE DER EINWIRKUNG DES HUMANISMUS AUF DIE LATEINISCH-TSCHECHISCHE LEXIKOGRAPHIE

Der lateinisch-tschechische *Vocabularius Lactifer* des Franziskaners Jan Aquensis<sup>1</sup> gedruckt in Pilsen 1511, unterscheidet sich von den älteren lateinisch-tschechischen lexikographischen Werken in mehreren Aspekten. Der Unterschied besteht schon im Umfang, denn *Lactifer* ist im Vergleich mit den ausführlichsten Wörterbüchern der älteren Zeit, zum Beispiel mit dem sachlich geordneten *Glossarius* von Klaret oder dem *Alphabetarius capituli Strigoniensis*, ungefähr zweimal so gross. Wichtiger als im Umfang sind die Unterschiede im Inhalt. Die Wörterbücher des 14.-15. Jahrhunderts beschränkten sich zumeist auf die Aufzeichnung der Übersetzung in heimischer Sprache, um den Sinn des lateinischen Ausdrucks zu erklären. In dem *Vocabularius Lactifer* werden dagegen zur tschechischen Übersetzung noch verschiedene weitere Erklärungen hinzugefügt. So findet man im *Lactifer* neben den sprachlichen Erklärungen, Etymologien usw. auch enzyklopädische Sacherklärungen; nicht selten kommen ganze Wortketten von semantisch nahen Ausdrücken vor. Der Verfasser der lateinisch-tschechischen Version Jan Aquensis übersetzte und verkürzte hie und da den *Vocabularius brevilocus* des italienischen Humanisten und Pädagogen Guarinus Veronensis (1370-1460). Dieses Werk hat er wahrscheinlich durch einen Druck aus Basel (1478, 1481, 1482) oder Strassburg (1488, 1489) gekannt.

Das Wörterbuch von Guarinus ist in drei Teile gegliedert, die lateinische Substantive, Verben und Adverbien enthalten<sup>2</sup>. Jan Aquensis teilte

<sup>1</sup> Jan Aquensis Vodňanský, geboren etwa im Jahre 1460, starb nach dem Jahre 1534. Er stammte aus einer hussitischen Familie in der südböhmischen Stadt Vodňany. An der Universität in Prag wurde er Bakkalaureus, konvertierte zum Katholizismus, trat dem Franziskanerorden bei und schrieb polemische Traktate gegen die Hussiten und später auch gegen die Luteraner. Über Aquensis vgl. J. Truhlář in der *Enzyklopädie Ottův Slavoník naučný* 26 (1907), 862-863.

<sup>2</sup> F. Černý, "Ještě o slovníku Guarinově a Vodňanského", *Věstník České akademie*, 9 (1900), 474-476. Über Guarinus vgl. R. Sabbadini, *La scuola e gli studi di Guarino*

seinen lateinisch-tschechischen *Vocabularius* in 12 Kapitel ein. Seine Abhängigkeit von dem Werke von Guarinus ist in den ersten Kapiteln deutlich zu erkennen.

Bei den abgeleiteten Wörtern wird im Lactifer oft der Charakter der Beziehung zum Grundwort angedeutet, vgl.

“fontanus circa fontem habitans vel ad fontem pertinens studničník” VodňLact I 6b;

“folliculus diminutivum a folio lístek” ebd. I 8a;

“ebriolus...aliquantulum ebrius podpilý” ebd. G 7b.

An mehreren Stellen werden Synonymausdrücke angeführt:

“frondatus...quod frondes habet, ratolestný, frondosus idem” ebd. I 8b;

“suffibulatorium...id est subligatorium” ebd. V 6a;

“suffibulo...id est subligare” ebd. gg la.

Als Illustration des Unterschieds zwischen den eben zitierten Beispielen und der Praxis der älteren lateinisch-tschechischen Wörterbücher können wir folgende Belege vergleichen: VodňLact oo 6b “natrix est quidam serpens, qui veneno inficit aquas...plavač” mit SlovKlem 66a “natrix plavna, genus serpentis” oder VodňLact k la “fugillus est ferum, quo extrahitur ignis de lapide” mit Alphabetarius Strigoniensis 103 “pireus ohnivo, kámen ohnivý”.

Eine solche im Lactifer ausführlicher zitierte Erklärung ermöglicht es manchmal, die Bedeutung der in früheren Wörterbüchern vorkommenden tschechischen Form des Terminus zu bestimmen. Zum Beispiel im Schlagwort **bonosa** ‘species avis’ ermöglicht der Kontext VodňLact nn 1b “masculus currit hianti ore quousque spumat...femina recipit ore spumam et inde concipit”, auf den etymologischen Zusammenhang der alttschech. Übersetzung **slenka** für lat. **bonosa** KlarGlos 286 mit den Ausdrücken slín Mergel, slina Speichel, welche den schleimartigen, klebrigen Stoff bezeichnen<sup>3</sup>, zu schliessen. Die Erklärung im Lactifer ist der von Thomas Cantipratensis ähnlich, vgl. LatMedAeL 4,423.

Oft kommen im Lactifer etymologische Erklärungen im Sinne der Definition vor wie in VodňLact bb 5b “ethimologizare...est unum vocabulum per aliud exponere”. Die etymologischen Erklärungen erinnern nicht selten an die Volksetymologie, vgl. zum Beispiel:

Veronese (Catania 1896); D. Martínková in *Slovník latinských spisovatelů* (Praha 1984), S. 285.

<sup>3</sup> V. Machek, *Etymologický slovník jazyka českého a slovenského* (Praha 1957), sub verbo.

“fenum...dicitur a phos, quod est ignis, quia facile igne accenditur vel quia eo flamma facile nutritur, seno” VodňLact 11 5a;

“ficus...est arbor et dicitur a fecundus eo, quod sit fecundior omnibus aliis arboribus, quia bis vel ter generat fructum in anno et uno maturescente alter oritur, fík” ebd. kk 6b;

“fiber...est quoddam animal, quod cum venatores secuntur, se castrat, et ideo eciam dicitur castor, bobr” ebd. nn 7b;

“gigas dicitur quasi de terra genitus, vobr” ebd. K 4b.

Für eher wahrscheinlich kann man wohl solche Erklärungen halten wie: “assistrix vel pocius astitrix dicitur a stando in servicio, komornice” ebd. C 3a oder “frictum...est genus cibi dictum a sono, quem facit, quando ardet in oleo vel sagimine, nětco usmaženého” ebd. I 8b.

Lactifer weist auch auf den fremdsprachigen Ursprung des Wortes hin. Zum Beispiel:

“eos...grece dicitur sol vel oriens vel primus splendor aeris clarescentis, que aurora dicitur, záře” ebd. H 3b;

“borith secundum Ieronimum est Hebraicum et est quedam herba, quam septuaginta interpretes dicunt herbam fulonum, que in Palestina invenitur” ebd. 11 3a. Borit als Reinigungsmittel wird in der Vulgata Jeremia 2,22 erwähnt.

Einige von den eben zitierten Beispielen deuten schon an, daß im *Lactifer* Spracherklärungen nicht selten in enzyklopädische Sacherklärungen übergehen, besonders wenn es sich um zoologische, medizinische usw. Termini handelt. Zu diesen werden auch Namen phantastischer Lebewesen gereiht:

“griphes...est animal quadrupes et pennatum, in omnibus leoni similis preter alas et caput, quibus aquilis similatur. Equitem armatum faciliter cum equo rapit, noh” ebd. nn 3b;

“febris est calor innaturalis mutatus in ignem...Diversificantur autem febres: prima dicitur effimera...altera febris dicitur putrida...tercia ethica...aliqua dicitur quotidiana, terciana, quartana, continua” ebd. kk 1b.

Ganze Wortketten im Latein und im Tschechischen kommen in den Erklärungen mancher Schlagwörter vor, besonders der Hauptwörter und Zeitwörter. So zum Beispiel “genium...dicitur honor aut dignitas, ordinacio, čest duostojenství, moc, zřiezení” K 3b; grassator...qui crudeliter agit, latro, predator, sevens, homicida záhubce, lúpežník, ukrutník, morděť“ K 6a; hebeo...est stupere, tardare, pigrare, obtundi, obscurari...leněti, nedbati, ztupěti, zatměti” cc 4b.



Alle besprochenen Züge des *Lactifer* kann man auch im Wörterbuch des Humanisten Guarinus finden. *Lactifer* ist nur eine etwas freie und kürzere Übersetzung des *Vocabularius breviloquus*. Den Einfluss des Humanismus im *Lactifer* kann man in neuen Vorgängen suchen, die in älteren lateinisch-tschechischen Wörterbüchern nicht üblich waren. Zu solchen Vorgängen gehören zum Beispiel sprachliche Erklärungen, enzyklopädische Sacherklärungen, Wortketten von semantisch nahen Ausdrücken. Die Anfänge des Humanismus in lateinischer Sprache in böhmischen Ländern setzt die Fachliteratur im kultivierten Latein von Johannes Noviforensis<sup>4</sup> und im Latein Hieronymi aus Prag<sup>5</sup> voraus, also schon im 14. und zu Beginn des 15. Jahrhunderts. Die Tatsache, daß den *Vocabularius Lactifer* eben Jan Aquensis nach dem Wörterbuch des italienischen humanisten bearbeitet hat, kann wohl überraschen, da sonst Aquensis zum Humanismus keine Beziehungen hatte. Den Namen des italienischen Verfassers hat er nirgends erwähnt. In dem Vorwort zum *Lactifer* liest man jedoch einen Passus aus dem Lobe der tschechischen Sprache von dem Initiator des tschechischen nationalen Humanismus Viktorin Cornelius von Všehrd<sup>6</sup>. Sein Name ist in dem Vorwort nicht erwähnt. Die zitierte Stelle ist der Vorrede der tschechischen Übersetzung der Schrift Iohannes Chrysostomi *De reparatione lapsi hominis* entnommen. Der Verfasser der Übersetzung wie auch der Vorrede war Všehrd. In der Vorrede wird das Programm des tschechischen nationalen

<sup>4</sup> Über Iohannes Noviforensis vgl. J. Klapper, *Johann von Neumarkt* (Leipzig 1964); B. Havránek, *Vývoj českého spisovného jazyka* (Praha 1980), S. 40.

<sup>5</sup> B. Havránek, *Vývoj*, S. 47. Zu den bedeutenden Schriften Hieronymi, die erhalten geblieben sind, gehört die lateinische Rede *Recommendacio liberalium arcium*; vgl. die Edition in *Výbor z české literatury doby husitské*, 1, B. Havránek und Mitarbeiter (Praha 1963), 244-250. Hieronymus, Anhänger und Freund von Hus, gehörte zu den Initiatoren der tschechischen Reformation.

<sup>6</sup> Viktorin Cornelius (das Ehrenprädikat von Všehrd gewann er später) stammte aus der ostböhmischen Stadt Chrudim, wo er im Jahre 1460 in utraquistischer Familie geboren wurde. Er studierte an der universität in Prag und erreichte den akademischen Grad Magister artium liberalium. Später arbeitete er in der Behörde der Landtafeln als Jurist. Im Kreise seiner Freunde wurde er für den lateinischen Humanismus gewonnen. Diese Orientierung in Verbindung mit seiner Hochschätzung der einheimischen kulturellen Tradition machte ihn bald zum Begründer des tschechischen nationalen Humanismus.

Zu den Schriften Corneli von Všehrd gehören Übersetzungen der in die lateinische Sprache übersetzten oder lateinisch geschriebenen altchristlichen Literatur (Chrysostomus, Cyprianus). Das berühmteste Werk von Všehrd ist das größte alttschechische Rechtsbuch, welches wichtige Rechtsquellen bearbeitet. Všehrd starb in Prag im Jahre 1520. Aus der Fachliteratur vgl. J.B. Čapek, "Místo Všehrdovo ve vývoji českého a evropského humanismu", *Právněhistorické studie*, 7 (1961), 59-76; M. Kopecký, *Český humanismus* (Praha 1988), S. 49-57.

Humanismus proklamiert. Der tschechische Humanismus kultivierte die Muttersprache und knüpfte an die einheimische kulturelle Tradition an. Sein größter Repräsentant war J. A. Comenius. Die Schöpfung der tschechischen Version des lateinischen *Vocabularius breviloquus* war mit dem Programm des nationalen Humanismus im Einklang.

#### ABKÜRZUNGEN

KlarGlos: *Glossarius Magistri Clareti de Solencia*, aus dem Beginn der 2. Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts.

LatMedAeL: *Latinitatis medii aevi lexicon Bohemorum*. Ad imprimendum probavit L. Varcl, postea J. Martínek (Pragae 1978-91).

SlovKlem: Lat.-tschechisches Klementinisches Wörterbuch aus dem Jahre 1455.

VodňLact: *Vocabularius Lactifer*, des Franziskaners Jan Aquensis (Vodňanský), gedruckt 1511.

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## ON LAPIDARY STYLE IN EPIGRAPHY AND LITERATURE IN THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES\*

Lapidary style, which flourished especially in the seventeenth century, has formerly been almost completely ignored by literary historians. "Lapidary" is here used in a quite technical sense. It means a piece of writing consisting of symmetrically arranged lines of unequal length. For a more detailed definition, see below (p. 139). In recent years, however, this variety of baroque literature has received increasing attention. Unfortunately, the most exhaustive treatise on the style, by P.R. Ridderstad in 1975, was written in Swedish, and has for this reason remained largely unknown to non-Scandinavian scholars. The best-known study of lapidary style is John Sparrow's very readable and amply illustrated *Visible Words*, 1969. Since then, H. Fullenwider<sup>1</sup>, J. IJsewijn<sup>2</sup>, and Raija Sarasti-Wilenius<sup>3</sup> have dealt with particular aspects of the style.

\* The present paper is an enlarged version of a lecture which I gave at the University of Rome in the spring of 1992 at the invitation of Prof. Silvio Panciera. The photographs of the Roman inscriptions were taken by mag. phil. Pekka Tuomisto.

In the notes the following bibliographical abbreviations are used:

Argelatus = Philippus Argelatus, *Bibliotheca scriptorum Mediolanensium* (Milano 1745).  
Buchowiecki = Walther Buchowiecki, *Handbuch der Kirchen Roms 2-3* (Wien 1970, 1974).

CIL = *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*.

Forcella = Vincenzo Forcella, *Iscrizioni delle chiese ed altri edifici di Roma dal secolo XI fino ai giorni nostri 1-14* (Roma 1861-1884).

Lanteri = Fr. Josephus Lanteri, *Eremi sacrae Augustinianae 1* (Roma 1874).

Ridderstad = Per S. Ridderstad, *Konsten att sätta punkt. Anteckningar om stenstilens historia 1400-1765* (Stockholm 1975).

Sparrow = John Sparrow, *Visible Words. A Study of Inscriptions in and as Books and Works of Art* (Cambridge 1969).

Ughelli = Ferdinand Ughelli, *Italia sacra*. Editio secunda cura et studio Nicolai Coleti 1, 2, 5 (Venice 1717 and 1720, photocopy-edition 1984, 1972, 1973).

<sup>1</sup> "Tesauro in Germany", *Arcadia* 21 (1986), pp. 23-40.

<sup>2</sup> "Morcelli epigrafista tra erudizione umanistica ed arte neoclassica". *Atti del colloquio su Stefano Antonio Morcelli, Milano-Chiari 1987* (Brescia 1990), pp. 13-20.

<sup>3</sup> "Latin Lapidary Style in Finland", *Arctos* 21 (1991), pp. 121-31.

There seem to have been two reasons for the scant interest taken in lapidary style. Firstly, the majority of the publications in this style were written in Latin. Hence lapidary compositions shared the same neglect which until recently has been the lot of Neo-Latin literature in general. Secondly, lapidary style was mostly used in occasional writings, which rarely possess noteworthy literary value. In both these respects, things have been changing. Neo-Latin literature is being studied with a vigour equal to that of Medieval latin<sup>4</sup>. Again, occasional writings, such as funeral orations, have been profitably analyzed for their implicit ideas and attitudes, as well as for the survival of classical traditions<sup>5</sup>. Lapidary style has benefited from both these new trends in scholarship.

The very word "lapidary" suggests that the style originated as an imitation of inscriptions. Collections of lapidary writings were often called *Inscriptiones* (cf. Tesauro, notes 60 and 65). Because the epigraphical origin of lapidary style, and especially its use in epigraphy, have been somewhat cursorily dealt with by Ridderstad and Sparrow, the present study may be justified. In epigraphy, however, my discussion is mainly limited to Rome, and that is primarily for practical reasons, as my earlier studies were in post-classical Roman inscriptions and I am therefore more familiar with them<sup>6</sup>. Again, Rome has yielded by far the richest crop of later inscriptions, which constitute my basic material. Moreover, they are all available in Forcella's great collection of Roman inscriptions (see bibl.). Forcella has his defects, for mistakes are not infrequent and gaps are sometimes noticeable<sup>7</sup>, but the work is serviceable for a study of the present type. In discussing literary lapidary style, I cannot of course limit myself to any particular city.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. J. IJsewijn, *Companion to Neo-Latin Studies* 1 (Leuven 1990).

<sup>5</sup> To quote only a few relevant works, H. Schmidt-Grave, *Leichenreden u. Leichenpredigten Tübinger Professoren 1550-1750* (Tübingen 1974); John M. McManamon, S.J., *Funeral Oratory and the Cultural Ideals of Italian Humanism* (Chapel Hill & London 1989); I. Kajanto, *Humanism in a Christian Society* 1-2 (Helsinki 1989-1990) and *Christina heroína. Mythological and Historical Exemplification in the Latin Panegyrics on Christina Queen of Sweden* (Helsinki 1993).

<sup>6</sup> *Classical and Christian. Studies in the Latin Epitaphs of Medieval and Renaissance Rome* (Helsinki 1980).

<sup>7</sup> See my discussion, with further references, in "L'epigrafia latina a Roma nel Quattrocento", *Roma nel rinascimento* (1989), p. 75.

## THE GENESIS OF LAPIDARY STYLE

Like most features of Latin epigraphy in post-medieval times, lapidary style, too, originated from classical inscriptions. These inscriptions had two main types of lay-out. In the more common, the left-hand margin was nearly straight. Little attention was paid to the visual or aesthetic appearance of the inscribed tablet. This is understandable considering the limitations imposed by restricted space. But there was another type in which lines of unequal length were laid out symmetrically. This ultimately provided the model for lapidary compositions, both on stone and on paper.

It is not difficult to find examples which were extant in post-classical times. I shall cite only two of them. The first is found on the arch of Titus in the Forum Romanum and was certainly visible to everyone:

SENATVS  
POPVLVSQVE · ROMANVS  
DIVO · TITO · DIVI · VESPASIANI · F  
VESPASIANO · AVGVSTO<sup>8</sup>

For all its brevity, the lay-out is clearly lapidary. In the following inscription, the lapidary arrangement is still more conspicuous:

VERNASIAE  
CYCLADI  
CONIVGI · OPTIMAE  
VIX·ANN·XXVII  
VITALIS · AVG · L  
SCRIB · CVB  

---

FAP<sup>9</sup>

There can be little doubt concerning the classical origin of lapidary lay-out. It was almost unknown in medieval and early Renaissance epigraphy. Plates 1-2 are examples of this prevalent non-lapidary type. But classical models only provided the point of departure. The further development of lapidary style, and especially its spread to literature, are ascribable to other factors.

To be a true lapidary composition, two things are required. Firstly, the alternation of long and brief lines must be clear and distinct. Epigraphs

<sup>8</sup> *CIL* VI 945.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.* 8769. The abbreviations in ll. 6 and 7 stand for *scrib(a) cub(iculariorum)* and possibly for *f(idelissimae) a(mantissimae) p(iissimae)*.

in which one or two lines are brief and centralized while the left margin is otherwise rectilinear are to be considered only partially lapidary. But there is another equally important requirement. Single lines, or occasionally two lines, must consist of independent clauses. Inscriptions which have a centralized lay-out but in which clauses or even words do not agree with the end of the line, or to borrow a term from poetry, which show enjambement, are imperfectly lapidary, too.

The aim of lapidary lay-out may have been partly practical<sup>10</sup>. By cutting the text into single lines, each of which contained an independent clause or idea, attention was drawn to the content of the inscription. It was easier to read such an inscription than one in which the text ran from one margin to the other and from one line to the next with no attempt to avoid awkward enjambements.

But it is equally essential to keep in mind the aesthetic aspect. To obtain the practical purpose mentioned above, it would have sufficed to divide the text into long and brief lines but otherwise to keep the left margin straight<sup>11</sup>. It is possible that the centralized arrangement corresponded to a deep-seated desire for symmetry. Lapidary lay-out began to emerge precisely during the Renaissance, when the invention of perspective had made geometrical proportions of central interest. But I am no specialist in art history and I dare not proceed further along this path.

With these premisses, we may begin our search for the first manifestations of lapidary style in Roman epigraphy. It is, however, necessary to keep in mind the fact that the erection of a tomb did not always coincide with the date of the death. Artistically elaborate tombs in particular could often be built considerably later. In some cases, the date when the tomb was built was recorded. Thus Cardinal G. Battista Pallavicino died in 1524, but it was 72 years later that his nephews raised a funeral monument to him<sup>12</sup>. These cases were certainly exceptional and the date of completion was often, as it was here, recorded in the epigraph. We may take it that the building of a tomb did not normally postdate the burial to the extent of affecting the conclusions of the present study.

On the other hand, tombs were sometimes reconstructed or completely rebuilt because they had fallen into disrepair or because of the restorations of churches. In most cases, however, these late restorations

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Sparrow, pp. 3-4.

<sup>11</sup> For a possible example, see note 17.

<sup>12</sup> Forcella 1,1422 in S. Maria del Popolo.

were mentioned in the epigraphs. But this is not always so, and doubts accordingly remain whether a particular tomb dates from the time of the burial or whether it was rebuilt and remodelled<sup>13</sup>.

Stonecutters' errors may also prove misleading. In S. Pietro in Montorio an epigraph raised on a pillar records the death of Marquis Ercole Malvezzi. The inscription is cast in the mature lay-out, five lines actually containing only one name or word<sup>14</sup>. The date of the death is given as NON(is) SEPTEMB(ribus) CIOIX XXII, in which IX according to Forcella is a mistake for IO, that is, 1522. Though the tomb, dedicated by wife and son, could have been erected considerably later, it would still be one of the earliest cases of the new lay-out. Documents show, however, that the Marquis died in 1622<sup>15</sup>. The stonecutter probably misread the figures OC in CIOCXII, producing IX. Though the 17th century was usually designated by MDC, there are instances of the complicated system, too<sup>16</sup>.

Again, a considerable number of the inscriptions found in the Roman churches were preserved in copies made centuries ago. As I shall presently show, in manuscript *syloges* true line divisions were usually ignored. The first printed collections of inscriptions are equally unreliable in this respect. Hence I have, with one exception (note 77), considered only the inscriptions which Forcella copied from the autopsy. In the latter half of the nineteenth century, it was already the norm to reproduce the original lay-out of epigraphs<sup>17</sup>.

<sup>13</sup> In the small church of S. Maria portae paradisi, which is now closed, a Papal referendary had an epitaph cast in the new lapidary style, Forcella 12,142. The man had died in 1525, but his tomb was built with the money bequeathed by Johannes Matthias, Bishop of Verona (for him, see Ughelli 5, pp. 958-988). The church was rebuilt in the mid 17th century (Buchowiecki 3, pp. 152-153). It is probable that the tomb was built some time after 1543 and rebuilt in connection with the restoration of the church, whereby it acquired the new lay-out. This supposition is strengthened by the fact that in the same church there is another tomb of an almost identical design and with an epigraph of similar lay-out erected to a man who died in 1644, Forcella 12,144. Both the departed had made donations to the renovation of the church (Buchowiecki, loc. cit.).

<sup>14</sup> Forcella 5,695.

<sup>15</sup> Giuseppe Fornasini, *Storia e genealogia della famiglia Malvezzi: per le nozze Malvezzi-Sacchetti* (Bologna, 1927), p. 51.

<sup>16</sup> E.g. Forcella 1,861: 1618; 1,903: 1636, in s. Maria Aracoeli; 1,1884: 1611; 1,1916: 1641, in S. Maria sopra Minerva.

<sup>17</sup> Forcella has himself occasionally symmetrically arranged a copy which he found in his sources. Thus, if we are to trust him, an inscription dating from 1476 would be a very early example of the new type (11,50: S. Maria Maggiore). It consists of ten symmetrically arranged lines of unequal length. But Forcella had copied the inscription from Galletti, *Inscriptiones venetae infimi aevi Romae extantes* (Roma 1757), p. lxii n. 3, where

In this material, the first cases of lapidary lay-out date from the late fifteenth century. They were still imperfect, however, because only one or two lines were brief and centralized. There are examples from the year 1465 in S. Maria Aracoeli<sup>18</sup>; from the year 1471 from S. Maria sopra Minerva<sup>19</sup>; from the year 1475 in S. Maria Nova<sup>20</sup>; 1483 in S. Maria del Popolo<sup>21</sup>, and 1488, *ibidem*<sup>22</sup>. In the early sixteenth century, the number of relevant cases steadily increases.

From the late fifteenth century there are a few examples of the more advanced lapidary composition, too. A clear case is found in S. Prassede, the sepulchre of Cardinal Alanus, a Frenchman of noble birth<sup>23</sup> [Plate 3]:

SEDATE XYSTO IIII

Alanus eḡs Sabiniensis ec Ro cardinalis  
nobiliss in Britonibus Coettivorū gente natus  
illustri legatione ad Gallos pro fide functus  
cuius vita exemplum virtutis  
actiones autem privatim et publice salutare fuere  
hoc monumento conditus est  
vix an LXVI men VIII dies XV  
M CCCC LXXIIII<sup>24</sup>

Most of the characteristics of mature lapidary style are already found here. Alternating long and brief lines are centralized. Moreover, the four last lines constitute a triangle pointing downward. Arranging the text as a triangle seems to have enjoyed some popularity in the early phase of lapidary style. It is worth noting that in early printed books title-pages were often arranged as triangles (see p. 145), though I cannot say whether the similarity is causal or merely accidental. Moreover, the name of the Pope is cut in larger letters, something that was not altogether exceptional in Renaissance epigraphy<sup>25</sup>. The tomb does not seem to be much later than the death: the words *Sedente Xysto IIII... conditus est* suggest that it must have been raised before 1484, the year of the Pope's death.

the lines, it is true, are of unequal length, but have a straight left margin. Because Galletti reproduced lapidary lay-outs in his copies very accurately, this epigraph, already lost in Forcella's times, cannot have belonged to this type.

<sup>18</sup> Forcella 1,522, photograph in my *Classical and Christian* (note 6), Plate 16.

<sup>19</sup> Forcella 1,1600.

<sup>20</sup> Forcella 2,30.

<sup>21</sup> Forcella 1,1216.

<sup>22</sup> Forcella 1,1222.

<sup>23</sup> For him, see Ughelli 1, p. 180.

<sup>24</sup> Forcella 2,1510.

<sup>25</sup> The epitaph quoted above (note 18) is quite similar: SEDENTE PAULO II--- *hoc monumento conditus est*.



This example is still sporadic. In my opinion, it is probable that aesthetic considerations led the author of the epigraph to lay it out symmetrically. The monument, complete with the recumbent statue of the Cardinal, had been carved with great care and taste.

Another example originates from S. Maria Aracoeli [Plate 4]. The last line, which reads *Alex. Sex. pont. max. II*, that is, in the second year of Alexander VI's papacy, shows that the tomb was erected in 1493. The persons as well as the events described in the epigraph are unknown to me. Its author had probably had some idea of lapidary lay-out. In the middle of the tomb, six lines constitute two triangles, one pointing upward, the other downward. At the end, the words *viator* and *vale* were placed symmetrically in single lines. But the rest of the epigraph was laid out in the traditional way, with enjambement dividing even single words. It is possible that the protuberances of the pillars that surround the inscribed tablet occasioned the lapidary disposition of the text, which was found in this very place. Hence here, too, it was aesthetic considerations that seem to explain the as yet unusual lay-out.

In the fifteenth century, genuine lapidary lay-out was, then, still a rarity. It was rare in the early sixteenth century, too. The following example comes from S. Maria di Pietà in Campo Santo. Although the tomb was, in the medieval fashion, set in the floor, the epitaph clearly imitates classical models:

Catherinae Cron de Hamburg  
coniugi dulciss  
Bartholomeus Mantuanus  
Iulii. pont. max.  
tubicen  
sibique posterisque eorum vivens p  
decess. IIII non Aug. M.D.III.<sup>26</sup>

We may note the absence of Christian references, the epithet *dulciss(imae)* and the formula *sibique* etc., borrowed from classical models, as well as the classical dating by the nones<sup>27</sup>. In fact, the notation of the year is the only non-classical feature in the whole inscription. Lay-out is clearly lapidary. Moreover, ll. 3-5 constitute a triangle, for which see above p. 142. The dating of the epitaph seems to be certain. Although the husband may have erected the tomb some time after his wife's death, as the *tubicen* of Pope Julius II he must have done it before

<sup>26</sup> Forcella 3,808.

<sup>27</sup> See Kajanto, "Dating in the Latin Inscriptions of Medieval and Renaissance Rome", *Arctos* 11 (1977), pp. 56-61 for the revival of classical dating during the Renaissance.

1513, when the Pope died. Because there were as yet no collections of inscriptions which would have given him models for lapidary lay-out (see below p. 145), in all likelihood he had scrupulously studied ancient inscriptions, which Renaissance Rome amply supplied.

There are some other sporadic cases from the early sixteenth century, e.g. in S. Agostino<sup>28</sup> and in S. Maria dell'Anima<sup>29</sup>. In 1521, however, an epigraph was unveiled that was certainly visible to all. It was incised on the basis of the statue of Pope Leo X, which the city of Rome had donated to him. The statue, of inferior quality, is today found in S. Maria Aracoeli [Plate 5]<sup>30</sup>:

OPTIMO. PRINCIPI. LEONI. X.

Med. Ioan. pont. max.  
ob. restitutam. instauratamq.  
urbem. aucta. sacra. bonasq  
artem. adscitos. patres  
sublatum. vectigal. datumq  
congiarium  
S.P.Q.R.P<sup>31</sup>

For my discussion of this conspicuously classicizing epigraph, see note 30. In lay-out, the alternation of long and brief lines and their symmetrical arrangement are clearly lapidary. Moreover, the Pope's name is thrown into relief by larger lettering. But because enjambement is found throughout, the epigraph is still only partially lapidary.

However, lapidary lay-out did not become more generally known before the first printed collections of inscriptions began to appear. In manuscript *syloges*, the only ones which circulated in the fifteenth and the early sixteenth century, little attention was paid to the lay-out of the original. The text was written with a straight left margin and in lines of equal length. But in 1521 there was published in Rome the first comprehensive collection of ancient inscriptions, *Epigrammata antiquae urbis*, compiled by Giacomo Mazzochi. In this work, it is true, most epigraphs

<sup>28</sup> Forcella 5,82: the magnificent funeral monument of a patrician of Genoa was probably built some time after his death in 1503.

<sup>29</sup> Forcella 3,1080: the epigraph consists of 19 centralized lines of unequal length. It is uncertain whether MDXXV at the end signifies the year of the death or of the erection of the tomb. The tomb of Pope Hadrian VI in the same church (Forcella 3,1078), with a partly lapidary epitaph, was erected in 1533; see my discussion in *Papal Epigraphy in Renaissance Rome* (Helsinki, 1982), pp. 103-104.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., pp. 98-101.

<sup>31</sup> Forcella 1,40.

were still printed with straight left margins and arbitrary line divisions. Thus the epigraph on the arch of Titus has the word *senatus* in the middle of the first line, but the other lines are not centralized (folio 5; for the original, see above p. 139). The tradition of manuscript *sylloges* still existed, but there were exceptions. A few inscriptions were arranged symmetrically even if the original corresponded to the old type. *CIL* VI 16467 publishes an epitaph, now lost, from the manuscript of Iucundus Veronensis, which consists of the dedication to *D(is) M(anibus)* and of six non-centralized lines. But because the copy originated from a manuscript *sylloge*, *CIL* adds the usual reservation: *versuum divisio incerta*. Mazzochi, too, probably copied the inscription from Iucundus, but arranged it differently (folio 42):

.D.      .M.  
 Corneliae Thymele filiae  
 dulcissimae  
 Calpurnius Diceus et Secura pa-  
 rentes infelicissimi fecerunt.  
 vixit annis. VII. mens. II. D. XVIII.  
 .H.      VIII.      B.B.

The abbreviation B.B. is solved *bonis bene*.

Mazzochi seems here to have yielded to the increasing taste for symmetrical arrangement, which is also evident in the title pages of printed books. In the early sixteenth century, title-pages were often laid out as a downward-pointing triangle<sup>32</sup>. The title-page of Mazzochi had a lay-out which was quite similar to the inscription quoted above. It is not implausible that it supplied the model for the new lay-out of the inscription.

A still clearer case of lapidary arrangement is an epitaph, still extant, which in *CIL* VI 18517 consists of the dedication to D.M., seven non-centralized lines, and of *fecerunt* placed symmetrically in the last line. In Mazzochi (folio 29) the text is reproduced thus:

.D.      .M.  
 Co. Fr(o)nteio Eutychiano  
 vix. ann. XX. D. XXV.  
 C. Frontei Saturninus et  
 Verria Matrōna filio  
 pientissimo  
 fecerunt

<sup>32</sup> See Ridderstadt, p. 368.

According to *CIL*, Mazzochi had copied this inscription, too, from the manuscript of Iucundus Veronensis. In all likelihood, he had not inspected the epigraph *in situ*. Pleasure in symmetry rather than fidelity to the original had made Mazzochi adopt the new lay-out.

It is probable that only now was keener attention paid to the true *versuum divisio* in ancient inscriptions, which the manuscript *syloges* had so far ignored. This is very obvious in the next collection of ancient inscriptions, which was published in Ingolstadt in 1534, *Inscriptiones sacrosanctae vetustatis*, attributed to P. Apianus, who in fact was an astronomer, mathematician and geographer. The material was collected not only from Rome but from all parts of the ancient Roman Empire. Lay-out was still partly arbitrary, especially in the first section, which includes inscriptions from Spain. But beginning with the next section, which gives material from North Italy, the left margins are mostly irregular, though the lines are not always centralized. As with Mazzochi, Apianus has sometimes given a lapidary lay-out to an inscription he copied from manuscript *syloges*: see Plate 6, the second epigraph, lost. In *CIL* VI 23942 it is reproduced in six non-centralized lines. But in a great many cases, lay-out was true to the original. Plate 7 is the copy of an inscription, still extant, originating from Bergamo in North Italy. In *CIL* V 5145, copied from the original, lay-out is quite similar.

Henceforward, the printed collections of inscriptions observed the original *versuum divisio*. Martin Smetius, 1588<sup>33</sup>, and especially Gruterus, 1603<sup>34</sup>, the latter of pivotal importance for the scientific study of Latin epigraphy, were exemplary in this respect. But there were still some exceptions. Thus the otherwise valuable collection of contemporary inscriptions compiled by L. Schrader and issued in 1592<sup>35</sup> observed line divisions only in metrical inscriptions.

These epigraphical publications no doubt supplied models of lapidary lay-out to writers of inscriptions. Printed books had a much wider circulation than manuscripts, and were more readily at hand than ancient

<sup>33</sup> *Inscriptionum antiquarum quae passim per Europam liber*, edited by Justus Lipsius (Leiden 1588).

<sup>34</sup> *Inscriptiones antiquae totius orbis Romani, in corpus absolutiss(imum) redactae* (Heidelberg 1603).

<sup>35</sup> *Monumentorum Italiae, quae nostro hoc saeculo et a Christianis posita sunt libri quatuor* (Helmstedt 1592).

epigraphs, which had to be studied *in situ* if new ones were to be composed in imitation of them. It is scarcely a coincidence that lapidary lay-out began to become commoner precisely after these first collections were put into circulation.

There are a number of unequivocal cases from the mid-sixteenth century. In the Pantheon, the epitaphs of three famous painters, still extant, had a lapidary lay-out. The epitaph of Raphael, who died in 1520, was composed by Pietro Bembo<sup>36</sup>, but because of enjambement it is only partly lapidary. In the epitaph of Taddeo Zuccaro, who died in 1566, the new lay-out was more conspicuous, though not yet quite perfect<sup>37</sup>. But the funeral tablet of Perino del Vaga or Piero Buonaccorsi, who died in 1547, fulfils both requirements of lapidary lay-out:

D O M  
Perino. Bonaccursio. Vagae. Floren  
qui. ingenio. et arte. clariss  
egregios. permultos. pictores  
plastas. fere. omnes  
superavit  
Catharina. Penna. coniugi  
Lavinia. Bonaccursia. patri  
Iosephus. Cincius. Belga  
socero. cariss. et opt  
posuerunt  
vixit. ann. XLVI. M III. D XXI  
obiit. XIII. Kal. Novemb  
anno. Christi. MDXLVII<sup>38</sup>

Almost simultaneously a chapel in S. Marcello was furnished with three epitaphs, which were all laid out symmetrically. The chapel, which belonged to the baronial family of the Frangipanes, was completed by 1560<sup>39</sup>. Although the first member of the family buried there had died in 1546, it is possible that his tomb was not finished until fourteen years later. Whether that is the case or not, it already represents the mature lapidary style [Plate 8]:

<sup>36</sup> Vasari, *Le vite* a cura di Luciano Bellari e Aldo Rossi (Firenze 1986), p. 641. Forcella 1,1144.

<sup>37</sup> Forcella 1,1130. There are enjambements: *Raphaeli / Urbinati simillimo* (ll. 5-6); *trige-/simum* (ll. 7-8); *moerens / pos.* (ll. 10-11).

<sup>38</sup> Forcella 1,1126.

<sup>39</sup> Buchowiecki 2, p. 345.

D. O. M  
 Antonin. Fregepanio  
 Georgi. filio  
 innocentiae. et  
 integritatis  
 exemplo.  
 vix. an. LXXI. mens. II  
 dieb. XIV  
 Curtius. et. Marius  
 patri. optimo  
 fecere  
 an. post. Christum  
 natum. M DXLVI<sup>40</sup>

The only minor enjambement is found in the phrase *post Christum / natum*. The other two members of the family had died in 1555 and 1562<sup>41</sup>. On the right wall of the chapel were the funerary tablets of later members of the same family.

The frequency of lapidary lay-out, though steadily increasing, remained modest throughout most of the sixteenth century. It was only from the beginning of the seventeenth century that the new style began to supplant the old one. Henceforth it prevailed, at least in epitaphs in Rome. I shall later discuss the probable reasons for this somewhat belated triumph of the new style in epigraphy.

An epigraph of the new style dating from the seventeenth century was often of considerable length. I quote a typical example from S. Maria Aracoeli, the funerary inscription of Franciscus Macedo, a prolific writer and Catholic propagandist, who died in 1681<sup>42</sup>. For the sake of clarity, I have solved the abbreviations [Plate 9]:

1	P. M. S.
2	viro omniscio
3	PATRI F(rancisco) FRANCISCO A S(ancto) AUGUST(ino) MACEDO
4	patria Lusitano Veneto civi
5	min(orum) obs(ervantium) prov(inciae) Portugal(liae) lect(ori) iubilato <sup>43</sup>
6	in Patavina acad(emia) aethicae professori

<sup>40</sup> Forcella 2,945.

<sup>41</sup> Forcella 2,954 and 1610.

<sup>42</sup> Forcella 1,958. In his own times, Macedo enjoyed a considerable reputation, but today his writings, the great majority of which were in Latin, have only historical interest. For his biography, see *Nouvelle biographie générale* (1860), pp. 513-516 and E. Amann in *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique* 9.2 (1926), col. 1461-1464. See also Kajanto 1993 (note 5), pp. 22-23.

<sup>43</sup> Macedo was first a Jesuit but later he left the order to join the Minorites, taking as his name *Franciscus a Sancto Augustino*.

- 7 Galliar(um) reginae Annae concion(atori) et consil(iario)  
 8 regis Lusit(aniae) Io(hannis) IV chronologo Latino  
 9 S(ancti) offic(ii) Rom(ani) qualificatori<sup>44</sup>  
 10 in coll(egio) propag(andae) fidei controvers(iarum) lect(ori)  
 11 in Rom(ana) sap(ient)ia hist(oriae) eccles(iasticae) magistro  
 12 poetae extemporaneo celeberrimo  
 13 pluribus in catholicae et litterariae reipub(licae)  
 14 obsequium laboribus claro<sup>45</sup>  
 15 encyclopaedicis non paucis speciminibus  
 16 ac certaminibus illustri<sup>46</sup>  
 17 adversae fortunae ictibus intrepido<sup>47</sup>  
 18 ingenio acri memoria infallibili  
 19 LXX voluminum patri<sup>48</sup>  
 20 die I. Maii MDCLXXXI. aet(atis) suae ann(o) LXXXVIII  
 21 Paduae ad superos profecto  
 22-27 (dedicated in 1691)

P M S is an abbreviation for *Piis Manibus Sacrum*. As is already usual, the name is cut in larger lettering. Except for ll. 13-14 and 15-16, each line contains a single piece of information.

The length of the epitaphs in the seventeenth century is to a considerable degree attributable to the increasing habit of recording all the details of the departed's career. In Renaissance epigraphy, it is true, similar itemized biographies were not unusual<sup>49</sup>. But in most cases this was true only for some cardinals and other potentates whose career and achievements were detailed on their magnificent funerary monuments, though hardly as circumstantially as in the epitaph of our Macedo, whose official positions are listed even more completely than in the works of ref-

<sup>44</sup> *Qualificator* was a theologian in the service of the Holy Inquisition charged with estimating the character, *qualitas*, of the arguments subjected to examination.

<sup>45</sup> This is an archaic genitive plural for *obsequiorum*, funeral rites. What are meant here are obviously funeral orations.

<sup>46</sup> In Rome and Venice, Macedo reaped great honour by extempore disputing *de omni re scibili*.

<sup>47</sup> In Venice, Macedo is said to have fallen into temporary disfavour.

<sup>48</sup> According to his own estimate in 1675, Macedo had published 53 panegyrics, 60 tracts, 32 funeral orations, 123 elegiac poems, 115 epitaphs, 212 dedicatory epistles, 700 letters, 48 epic poems, 3000 epigrams or other brief pieces in verse, four Latin comedies, two tragedies, one satire in Spanish, and a number of other minor pieces, *Nouvelle biographie*, p. 514.

<sup>49</sup> See Francesca Niutta, "Temi e personaggi nell'epigrafia sistina", in *Un pontificato ed una città. Sisto IV. Atti del convegno Roma, 3-7 Dicembre 1984*, Istituto storico italiano per il medio evo. Studi storici, fasc. 154-162 (Roma 1986), pp. 381-408.

erence. An epitaph of this type resembles ancient honorary inscriptions, which no doubt provided a model for them.

Besides classical epigraphs there were, however, other models, too. In my opinion, we cannot exclude the influence of oratory. Since early humanism, epideictic oratory constituted a significant part of humanist literature. Panegyrics in honour of dignitaries, or invectives if addressed to an enemy, some of them printed, others existing only as manuscripts or lost, were produced in great profusion. These epideictic orations observed the rules established by the great rhetoricians of antiquity. In panegyrics, not only the career of the person honoured but also his or her character, virtues, should be recorded and praised. In orations no less than in epitaphs, it was often the eulogy of character, more often than not realized with an enumeration of all the particular virtues, that constituted their main content<sup>50</sup>. In the epitaphs of men of achievement, however, listing all the details of their curriculum vitae often left little space for an encomium of virtues, which could be omitted altogether. In Macedo's epitaph, the praise of his character is very brief, restricted to two lines. Nevertheless, it does put on record his *constantia*, a Stoic virtue which was in great vogue in the baroque age, especially since Justus Lipsius's *De Constantia* first appeared in 1584, as well as his keen intellect and unfailing memory.

One element of full-blown lapidary style was, however, still lacking, rhetorical *ornatus*. To examine it, we must for a moment leave inscriptions and take up literary lapidary compositions.

#### LAPIDARY STYLE IN LITERATURE

The genesis of literary lapidary style is not overly difficult to trace<sup>51</sup>. Among the humanists, writing epitaphs and epigrams which were not intended to be incised on stone was a favourite pastime. Vasari, for instance, often ends his biographies of famous artists with epitaphs which were no real inscriptions engraved on a tomb. Pontano's *De tumulis* and Giovio's *Elogia* are the best-known collections of these literary inscriptions. The metre in these pieces, as it usually was in metri-

<sup>50</sup> See Kajanto, "L'epigrafia latina a Roma nel Quattrocento", *Roma nel rinascimento* (1989), pp. 80-81 and *Humanism in a Christian Society* 2 (note 5), pp. 74-79.

<sup>51</sup> For the following, see Ridderstad, pp. 71-123.



cal inscriptions, was mostly elegiac distich or to a lesser extent hexameter. But when, largely because of printed collections of inscriptions, lapidary lay-out became better known, some epigrammatists adopted it as a model, which soon spread and gained ascendancy especially in the occasional literature of the baroque age.

Besides inscriptions, there may have been another model which contributed to the spread of lapidary style. I have already referred to the early title-pages of printed books shaped as a triangle (see p. 145). But in the early sixteenth century, centralized lay-out began to come into use, firstly in the books produced by Aldus in Venice<sup>52</sup>. Other printers soon imitated the model, which subsequently became the type which prevails to our day. Because of their often considerable length, many book-titles were similar to lapidary inscriptions.

Because of the great number of epigrams and other occasional writings produced during the sixteenth century, it is difficult to say who first began to cultivate literary lapidary style. In any case, one of the earliest may have been Nikolaus Reusner's *Icones sive imagines virorum literis illustrium*, the first edition in 1587 and the second in 1590<sup>53</sup>. The book contains the pictures of a number of men renowned in learning and religion followed by eulogies written in conventional metres by different persons<sup>54</sup>. But the celebrities were also panegyricized by pieces in prose composed by Reusner himself. These pieces were clearly modelled upon lapidary inscriptions. One example is Reusner's eulogy of Copernicus, which also illustrates the way Copernicus was still viewed in the late sixteenth century<sup>55</sup>:

Mathematicarum studijs disciplinarum  
eruditissimus:  
Aristarchi potissimum Samij Paradoxa  
secutus:  
Quum Terram mobilem, Solem in medio uni-  
versi immobilem, non tam re & veritate,  
quam specie quadam, & salvandae  
doctrinae suae causa, con-  
stitueret:

<sup>52</sup> Ibid., 369-70.

<sup>53</sup> For Reusner, see *Allgem. deutsch. Biogr.* 28 (1889), pp. 299-300. Born in 1545, he studied both the humanities and jurisprudence, ultimately obtaining the chair of jurisprudence at Jena. He was a veritable polymath, producing 83 publications in jurisprudence, poetry, biography, history, rhetoric, philosophy and even in science.

<sup>54</sup> Most of these verses had been borrowed from Giovio, see Ridderstad, p. 66.

<sup>55</sup> Op. cit., p. 116.

Revelationum tabulis in lucem editis, una  
 cum Canone Triangulorum:  
 Caetera vir insigni pietate, virtute, morum  
 humanitate praeditus:  
 Moritur Septuagenarius anno Salutis Chri-  
 stianae M.D. XLIII.

Lapidary style was, however, still imperfect because enjambement, even in single words, was not avoided.

Justus Lipsius, 1547-1606, a leading classicist, was also an early practitioner of lapidary style, albeit he did not produce any collection of these writings. But his epitaph on his beloved dog, who died violently in 1601, was composed in lapidary style, and became famous<sup>56</sup>.

The following better-known collection in which lapidary style was amply represented was Fr. Sweertius, *Selectae Christiani orbis deliciae*, Köln 1608<sup>57</sup>. But here, as with Schrader (see p. 146), it is not easy to say whether an inscription which he published was genuine or merely literary. In any case, his collection shows that towards the end of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the next, lapidary style had already spread throughout Europe. Besides Rome, there are examples from Venice: the epitaph dedicated by Sweertius to his brother, who died in 1594 (pp. 155-56); from Toledo in Spain, in 1570 (p. 318); from Vienna (pp. 334-35); from Basel (p. 376); from Cologne (p. 449); several from Antwerp, Sweertius's native city (pp. 460-74), and several from Leuven (pp. 477-88). Significantly, many of these lapidary epitaphs were dedicated to printers, such as Hieronymus Frobenius, who died in 1563 (p. 376); *architypographus* Plantinus, in 1589 (p. 460); a *corrector* of Plantinus, in 1607 (p. 466). This is perhaps connected with the fact, to which I have referred above, that because of title-pages, lapidary style was well-known especially among this profession.

But until lapidary style could attain its full maturity, one element was yet to be included in its make-up. Besides centralized lay-out, conspicuous use of the figures and tropes of rhetoric was a distinctive feature of lapidary compositions. The most famous representative of this mature

<sup>56</sup> Ridderstad, p. 60.

<sup>57</sup> For Sweertius, see *Nationaal biografisch woordenboek* 14 (Brussels 1992), col. 664-672. Born in 1567 in Antwerp, he earned his living as a merchant but had wide learned interests. His biography lists 15 publications, all in Latin. Besides the work mentioned in the main text, there was another collection of inscriptions, in 1613, and *Epigraphia jocosaria*, in 1623. He died in Antwerp in 1629.

lapidary style is Count Emmanuele Tesauro, 1592-1675<sup>58</sup>. A native of Turin, he was educated by the Jesuits, joined the Society at the age of 19, but left it in 1634, probably for political reasons, living henceforth as a secular priest. He published a great number of books in Latin and Italian, many of them now very rare and forgotten<sup>59</sup>. But for the history of baroque literary ideas, and especially for the history of lapidary style, Tesauro is an important source, and has recently been given increasing attention.

Tesauro began to cultivate lapidary style very early. His best-known achievement in this field is *Duodecim Caesares*, brief descriptions of the Roman emperors from Caesar to Domitian, which he wrote to celebrate the election of Ferdinand II as Holy Roman Emperor in 1619<sup>60</sup>. The main descriptions were in lapidary style, but they were followed by briefer pieces in elegiacs. The following is his description of Nero (pp. 80-81):

- |    |  |
|----|--|
| 1  | Aude calame vel scribere nomen, vel projicere. |
| 2  | Calamis pungatur, quos gladio acuit.           |
| 3  | Hic inter privatos optimus,                    |
| 4  | Inter Principes pessimus:                      |
| 5  | Regno dignus erat, nisi regnasset.             |
| 6  | Depressit illum Fortuna, dum erexit.           |
| 7  | Molles illius mores in duris,                  |
| 8  | Induruere in mollitie.                         |
| 9  | Dum laurum acquisivit Regiam,                  |
| 10 | Palmam amisit popularem.                       |
| 11 | Victoriam sceptro terruit.                     |
| 12 | Regia fascia eo tantum usus,                   |
| 13 | Ut malesanum verticem ligaret.                 |
| 14 | Patriae Dominus, non Princeps fuit.            |

<sup>58</sup> For his curriculum vitae, see E. Dervieux, "Cenni biografici e bibliografici", in *Miscellanea di storia italiana* 22 (1932), pp. 651-673, and for his position in the baroque theories of art and literature, Iginia de Luca, *Diz. critico della lett. italiana* 3 (1973), pp. 488-496.

<sup>59</sup> Dervieux, p. 657 lists 64 of them.

<sup>60</sup> These inscriptions were firstly published in his *Caesares et ejusdem varia carmina*, 1619, and later included in *Inscriptiones quotquot reperiri potuerunt*, edited by Emmanuel Philibertus Panealbus, the first edition of which seems to have been very rare. The second, corrected and enlarged edition appeared in 1666. The final printing was in Rome in 1767. I have used the third edition published in Kölln a.d. Spree in 1671. According to the editor's note (p. 71), Tesauro's purpose had been to throw into relief Ferdinand's virtues and the present age's *felicitas* by relating the vices of the Roman emperors. But not all of them received an adverse assessment, cf. Augustus and especially Vespasian.

15 Domum augustam fecit, angustam Urbem.  
 16 Matris viscera quaesivit ferro;  
 17 Dubius an ferrea essent.  
 18 Cui occisae Romam fecit Rogum.  
 19 Patriam incendit, ut extingueret.  
 20 Romae demum vitam reddidit, cum suam projecit:  
 21 Nero aliis & sibi.  
 22 Sed Injustus aliis, sibi Justus:  
 23 Alienum sanguinem, quem biberat,  
 24 Per sua vulnera egressit.  
 25 Defuit extincto rogos.  
 26 Ignis avara fuit Roma,  
 27 Quae tantum ignem acceperat.  
 28 Disce lector.  
 29 *Dedignatur terra tegere, qui terram*  
 30 *dedignatur tangere.*

Rhetoric is here almost obtrusive<sup>61</sup>. Antithesis is the most often employed figure, e.g. ll. 3-4: *inter privatos optimus, inter Principes pessimus*, which is also marked by parallelism, or ll. 9-10. Paronomasia is also common, e.g. l. 5, which recalls a well-known passage of Tacitus, *hist.* 1,49: *capax imperii nisi imperasset* (scil., Galba). Another example in l. 15. There are other figures, too, such as alliteration, l. 7: *molles---mores*; anaphora, ll. 3-4: *inter--- inter*, and chiasmus, ll. 9-10 and 15. Addressing the *lector* at the end was a common feature of literary lapidary compositions. It kept alive the illusion of a real inscription exposed to public view<sup>62</sup>.

Besides lay-out, excessive use of rhetorical devices was, then, characteristic of the new style. Tesauro dealt with rhetoric in his theoretical work *Il Cannochiale Aristotelico Osia idea dell'arguta et ingenua elocutione*, first published in Turin in 1564 and thereafter reprinted several times<sup>63</sup>. In 1698 it was translated into Latin, which made it known everywhere in learned Europe. The watchword of the new style was *argutiae* i.e. wit or pointed, epigrammatic, concise expression. In Ch. 4, Tesauro discussed *iscrittioni argute*. Lapidary style lies somewhere between poetry and oratory. In regard to vividness, it is superior to ora-

<sup>61</sup> Tesauro later admitted that these his first essays in lapidary style were still puerile, "più vivace che sodo" (i.e., solid), *Cannochiale*, p. 599.

<sup>62</sup> The idea was still clearer in references to *viator*; for an example, see Wallenstein's epitaph (see below p. 156). The topos originated from classical epigraphy and was not rare in Renaissance epitaphs, see my work (note 6), pp. 77-78 and Plate 4.

<sup>63</sup> I have used the fifth edition, which was published in Turin in 1670.

tory but inferior to poetry. Again, it is marked by a certain rhythm, which is less noticeable than poetical rhythm, but still surpasses that of oratory (p. 595). As examples, Tesauro turns a passage from Cicero's praise of *legio Martia* (*Phil.* 13,12) into lapidary style. Besides centralized lay-out, it required some pruning of Cicero's rotund expressions. On the other hand, he could arrange in lapidary lay-out Tacitus's assessment of Galba in *hist.* 1,49 without changing a single syllable<sup>64</sup>.

It was this Tacitean style which Tesauro adopted for his lapidary compositions. Silver Latinity rather than classical forms accordingly supplied his stylistic models. The Latinity of the Early Empire, best represented by Seneca and Tacitus, was considerably unlike Ciceronian Latin. Sentences became briefer, and especially in Seneca, they often included an epigrammatic point. Again, rhetoric and poetry influenced prose diction more than they had done in the Golden Age of Latin.

In this work, Tesauro also discussed eight rhetorical figures or metaphors, as he calls them, which *arguta elocutione* required. Some of them were very characteristic of the new style, such as the third metaphor, *equivoco* or ambiguity (pp. 378-384), which includes e.g. anagram and paronomasia; the sixth, *laconismo* or conciseness, which e.g. produces mottoes and symbols (pp. 434-439), and especially the seventh, *oppositio* or antithesis. Tesauro maintains that it "per se sola basta à dar lumi al continuato discorso, fiocco alle Periodi, acume agli Epigrammi, vivezza alle Iscrittioni", etc. The effect was still greater if antithesis was combined with *harmonica* or parallelism and *tricola*, or sentences constructed from three parallel clauses (pp. 441-449).

Tesauro's contribution to the spread of rhetorical lapidary style was no doubt great, though not as decisive as his early editor asserts<sup>65</sup>. The same idea of *arguta elocutione* was voiced by other baroque scholars, especially by Ottavio Boldoni, *Epigraphica sive elogia inscriptionesque quodvis genus pangendi ratio* (Torino 1660). Like Tesauro, Boldoni stressed the importance of antithesis<sup>66</sup>. Boldoni quoted many examples of literary lapidary epitaphs and epigrams, e.g. *Walensteinii manibus*. It begins and ends by addressing the passer-by (pp. 363-364):

<sup>64</sup> Cf. Sparrow, pp. 112-114 and Ridderstad, p. 116.

<sup>65</sup> *Inscriptiones*, Preface: *Totamque lapidariam, olim planipedem, horridam & emortuam, vegeto quodam spiritu implevit: cujus admiratio innumerabilem Imitatorum numerum suscitavit.*

<sup>66</sup> Op. cit., p. 701: *Nusquam ita emicat lepor ingenii, ut cum contraria iuxta committit-- Breviusculis Epigraphis afflant Contraria formam & spiritum.*

Hanc nec Molem, nec Pyramidem  
 nec Sepulcrum  
 sed exiguum rudernum  
 struem  
 Ne despicias  
 Viator  
 (----)  
 Tu  
 ante quam abeas  
 Lapillum saltem congerere ne graveris  
 Ut in Gigantis olim excrescat tumulum  
 Qui Gigantis nunc operit  
 ausus

Another theoretician who in the mature baroque age dealt with the rules for composing *argutae inscriptiones* was Christianus Weise, *De Poesi hodiernorum Politicorum sive de argutis inscriptionibus* (Weissenfels 1678)<sup>67</sup>. According to Weise, although lapidary writing could be of any length, in single parts it should observe *brevitas*, which is the same as Tesauro's *laconismo*. Again, every single line should contain an epigrammatic point (p. 410). But as we have seen, in practice two lines often constituted a syntactic or epigrammatic unit. Like Tesauro and Boldoni, Weise emphasizes the importance of antithesis, which he calls *repugnantia* (p. 452sq.), making a scrupulous grammatical classification of its different types.

The taste for rhetorical embellishment is no doubt to be attributed to mannerism, an artistic and literary fashion nearly related to the baroque<sup>68</sup>. According to the subtle definition of E.R. Curtius, mannerism meant excessive use of rhetorical *ornatus*<sup>69</sup>.

In the seventeenth century, lapidary style was one of the favourite genres. At official festivities, it was usual to decorate temporary triumphal arches, statues, processions etc. with compositions in lapidary style. After the celebrations, they were mostly destroyed, but occasionally copies of them were preserved. An example is provided by Queen Christina's visit to Turin in 1656. To solemnize the presence of this famous Catholic convert, the local Society of the Jesuits decorated the Cathedral with temporary statues of 20 former emperors, kings,

<sup>67</sup> cf. Sparrow, pp. 106-109 and Ridderstad, pp. 130-136.

<sup>68</sup> See IJsewijn, op. cit. (note 2), p. 21.

<sup>69</sup> *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, transl. by W.R. Trask (Princeton 1972), p. 274.

empresses and queens, who had performed great services to Christianity or Catholicism<sup>70</sup>. A tablet attached to each statue contained a lapidary eulogy of the person, with an extravagant comparison to Christina. Thus the encomium of Helena, Constantine's mother, ends upon an antithesis suggesting Christina's superiority (p. 15):

Nisi quòd illa cum Caesare filio  
Retentum Imperium  
Victrici sustinuit Cruce:  
Haec  
Abiecto Regno  
Triumphalem sustinuit Crucem

But this was not all. In the courtyard of the School, sixteen temporary pyramids carried tablets praising the Virtues of the Queen, each with the name of the city where she had especially manifested her possession of a particular virtue. These epigraphs, too, were in lapidary style. In Stockholm, Christina had been led from human erudition to divine wisdom (p. 29), in Antwerp, she had shown *virilis virtus*, which according to the pious Jesuits was permissible to women who had nothing of a woman about them but their sex<sup>71</sup>. Bologna witnessed her amazing knowledge of languages (p. 35), Rome her pious obedience (p. 36), and finally, Turin all her virtues (p. 39). Moreover, the gates of the courtyard were furnished with epigraphs eulogizing the eight sciences in which Christina had distinguished herself, from *theologia* to *grammatica*. They, too, were composed in the same style, e.g. on Natural Philosophy (p. 41):

Quae sciendi plurimis terminus est,  
Tibi fuit gradus.  
Scrutata enim Naturam  
Ut Divinitatem agnosceres,  
Incertum  
Maioremne lucem tu Philosophiae  
An illa tibi adiecerit

The expressions are antithetical, and packed with religious propaganda. It may be added that Tesauro, too, celebrated Christina's visit to his

<sup>70</sup> These festivities were described in the anonymous *Trionfo Delle Virtù e delle Scienze in Christina Alessandra Regina di Svecia. Apparato Del Collegio di Torino della Compagnia di Giesù nel ricevimento di Sua Maésta* (Torino 1656); cf. my discussion in *Kajanto* 1993 (note 5), pp. 40 and 73.

<sup>71</sup> *Iure faeminam exiit / Quae tam viriliter dudum Reginam exuerat---. Liceat faeminis mutare personam, / Quibus nihil praeter sexum faemineum est* (p. 32).

native city by a lapidary poem in which he compared Christina to a phoenix<sup>72</sup>.

Besides these temporary uses, lapidary style was popular in occasional literature of every type: panegyrics, congratulations, funeral publications, epithalamia, satirical writings, etc. Their number cannot be estimated, but it must have been very great. Even in Finland, which had only a small provincial university and a very restricted number of educated people, the period 1665-1713 has produced more than one hundred extant examples<sup>73</sup>. Besides their importance for the history of style, these occasional writings supply material for instance for the study of the history of ideas. But political, theological and historical works, often of considerable length, were also written in lapidary style<sup>74</sup>.

Lapidary style largely passed away with the ending of the baroque age. During the following century, it was still practiced at least in more peripheral countries like Sweden and Finland, though with rapidly diminishing popularity<sup>75</sup>. In the late eighteenth century, St. Morcelli, the great authority on epigraphy, dismissed Tesauro's and Boldoni's *argutae inscriptiones* as unclassical monstrosities<sup>76</sup>. Classical sobriety had again become fashionable. Lapidary lay-out, however, survived in genuine inscriptions, as every visitor to Roman churches will notice.

#### RHETORICAL STYLE IN EPIGRAPHY

I have already stated that lapidary lay-out began to prevail in epigraphy only in the seventeenth century. Because it was during the same age that lapidary style became popular in non-epigraphical writings, especially in occasional literature, which is nearly related to epigraphs, we are justified in attributing the expansion of the new lay-out in epigraphy to the influence of literature.

The preceding discussion has, however, shown that centralized lay-out is only one aspect of lapidary style. Conspicuous use of rhetorical

<sup>72</sup> *Inscriptiones*, pp. 94-95. Boldoni, op. cit. (above p. 155), pp. 47-48 makes a comment on Tesauro's use of *phoenix* as a feminine. The inscription is quoted, translated and discussed in Kajanto 1993, p. 53.

<sup>73</sup> Raija Sarasti-Wilenius, op. cit. (note 3), p. 126.

<sup>74</sup> See Sparrow, pp. 126-131.

<sup>75</sup> See Sarasti-Wilenius, pp. 126-131.

<sup>76</sup> See IJsewijn, op. cit. (note 2).



devices was equally important. It can by no means have originated from epigraphy, in which classical sobriety survived during the Renaissance.

We may, however, ask a converse question. Is it possible that the rhetorical style of literary compositions would have influenced genuine inscriptions? We should, it is true, keep in mind the differences between inscriptions and literary compositions. In the former, restrictions of space and the necessity of giving accurate information about the life and career of the deceased to some extent checked rhetorical embellishment (cf. the epitaph of Macedo, quoted on p. 148, which is free from rhetorical devices). In the seventeenth century, too, the majority of epigraphs maintained traditional restraint. Nevertheless, it is not difficult to find epitaphs upon which rhetorical style left its imprint.

We have seen above that antithesis was perhaps the favourite figure of rhetorical lapidary style. It was found in epigraphy, too. Thus in 1643 a woman of Palermo, who died at Tivoli after a life of apparently little happiness, was commemorated thus:

- (----)
- |    |  |
|----|--|
| 1  | cui extra patriam quaesitae nuptiae        |
| 2  | relegationem in libertate                  |
| 3  | coelibatum in coniugio                     |
| 4  | servitutem in dominatu                     |
| 5  | paupertatem in divitiis                    |
| 6  | mortem in medio vitae cursu                |
| 7  | infeliciter attulerunt                     |
| 8  | hoc uno felix quod Roma                    |
| 9  | quam vivae videre non licuit               |
| 10 | mortuae tumulum elargita est <sup>77</sup> |

Each of lines 2-6 contains an antithesis. Lines 9-10 are antithetical, too: *vivae*--- *mortuae*. Moreover, in ll. 7-8 *infeliciter* and *felix* are antithetically opposed.

The following is a similar case from the year 1660, commemorating the unmarried daughter of a cardinal's brother<sup>78</sup>:

<sup>77</sup> Forcella 2,812. The epitaph, originally attached to a pillar, had disappeared by Forcella's times. He copied it from P.F. Malvasia, *Compendio storico della ven. basilica di SS. Dodici Apostoli di Roma* (Roma 1665), pp. 122-123. In Malvasia, the lines were not centralized, although *versuum divisio* seems otherwise to have been true to the original. Because in the mid-17th century lapidary lay-out was already common, Forcella was probably right in centralizing the lines; cf., however, a contrary example from the fifteenth century (above note 17).

<sup>78</sup> Forcella 5,1106 S. Lucia dei Ginnasi.

(----)

1	pauperum mater et virgo
2	non sterilis quia faecunda
3	virtutum
4	pecuniae usum non habuit in terris
5	ut fructum haberet in coelo
6	charitate in omnes profusa
7	in lecto in mensa in domo in omnibus
8	sibi quaesivit angustias
9	ut mortua viveret vixit ut mortua
10	usa magnis aedibus pro sepulchro
11	summo mane in hyeme
12	sacris intererat
13	hinc propter aestum divini amoris
14	contraxit e frigore morbum
15	et mortem
16	sed charitas nunquam excidit

This praise of the departed's character is entirely composed of antitheses, which in ll. 1 and 13-14 may be somewhat less conspicuous than in the other cases. It is worth noting that only in ll. 9 and 10 is the antithesis contained in one line while two lines were needed in ll. 2-3 and 4-5 and three in ll. 6-8 and 13-15. In the last line, her immortal charity is contrasted with her temporal death. There is asyndeton in l. 7 and paronomasia in ll. 14-15: *morbum et mortem*. Finally, placing the word *virtutum* in a single line draws attention to this pivotal idea in the departed's eulogy.

Besides antithesis, parallelism was a favourite figure of rhetorical lapidary style. In the epitaph on p. 159 this is evident in ll. 2-5. Parallelism may, however, often seem overly schematic and hence tiring. In some epitaphs, this was avoided by resorting to the figure of *variatio*. A nobleman from Turin, who died in 1608, was eulogized thus<sup>79</sup>:

(----)

summae in egenos pietatis  
 multae erga Deum religionis  
 plurimae cum omnibus probitatis  
 maximaeque in arduis negociis et camerae urbis conservatorio  
 munere dexteritatis

Although the passage consists of parallel clauses, excessive uniformity was avoided by varying the preposition: *in--- erga--- cum--- in*. There is

<sup>79</sup> Forcella 1,1881 S. Maria sopra Minerva.

also *gradatio* in *multae... plurimae... maximae*. The last member of the passage exceeds the others in the number of words, too, which are, moreover, surrounded by a hyperbaton: *maximaeque--- dexteritatis*. The epitaph may have been written by someone versed in the art of rhetoric.

A still clearer case is the following passage from the epitaph of a pontifical vice-legate, who died in 1602<sup>80</sup>:

pietate. *adversus*. Deum. fide. *erga* principes  
officiis. *in*. amicos. virtute. *apud*. hostes  
apprime claro

*Images*, similes and metaphors, also belonged to rhetorical style. They were of course a feature of verse epitaphs, but with the practical disappearance of metrical inscriptions after the early sixteenth century<sup>81</sup> they could be found in prose epitaphs. The following epitaph of a woman who died in 1650 was placed under a holy-water font in S. Maria Aracoeli<sup>82</sup>:

1	D T V
2	Obstupe o lector
3	hac enim sub gelida aqua
4	ardens divini amoris ignis
5	recluditur
6	nec ver alibi requiras
7	nam flos pudicitiae
8	hic iacet
9	si castissimam si doctissimam
10	piam in Deum gratam in pauperes
11	mulierem
12	omniumque virtutum epilugum
13	exoptas

*DTV* is an abbreviation for *Deo Trino Uno*. Besides the metaphors of *ignis* l. 4 and *flos* l. 7 we may notice the vivid antithesis between *gelida aqua* and *ardens divini amoris ignis* in ll. 3-4, anaphora of *si* in l. 9 and *gradatio* in ll. 9-13. Although without a proper metre, an epitaph of this type is certainly halfway between poetry and oratory, thus corresponding to Tesauro's definition of lapidary style (see p. 154).

<sup>80</sup> Forcella 1,1869 S. Maria sopra Minerva.

<sup>81</sup> See my *Classical and Christian* (note 6), p. 20; *Papal Epigraphy* (note 29), p. 69; "Latin Verse Inscriptions in Medieval and Renaissance Rome", *Latomus* 52 (1993), pp. 44-46; Sparrow, pp. 13-15.

<sup>82</sup> Forcella 1,920.

One epitaph, still extant in S. Agostino<sup>83</sup>, in fact plays with the idea of death as a rhetor. The inscription was dedicated to Filippo Visconti, a former general of Augustinian Hermits and Bishop of Catanzaro, who died in 1664<sup>84</sup>:

D O M

1  
2 Reettoricari (*sic!*) mors indocta cum nesciat  
3 nihilominus in Ill. D.D. Philippi Vicecomitis Mediolanen. lethali translatione  
4 luctuosam nimis heu methaphoram fecit  
5 auferens congregationi Illicetanae rectorem  
6 declamatores templis scholis magistrum doctorem cathedris  
7 Augustinianae religioni procuratorem et priorem generalem  
8 Catacensi ecclesiae gregique pastorem  
9 non nisi e medio tollere cum didicerit  
10 omnis illi figura syncope est  
11 at frustra virum sepulcralibus circumdedit tenebris  
12 cuius claritas sub Innocentio Decimo  
13 gravioribus fidei controversiis ad trutinam vocatis effulsit  
14 pastori vitam non eripuit cuius summa laus est  
15 ovibus vixisse non sibi  
16 lapidem hunc optime merito praeceptori gratus erexit  
17 Rev. P. mag. Hieronymus Valvasorius Mediol. generalis Augustinianus  
18 eiusdem nomini daturus  
19 marmoreo splendore lucem duritiae aeternitatem  
20 anno MDCLXVIII. quo aetatis fato cessit  
21 anno MDCLXIV die VI. Ianuarii

The author of the epitaph, Girolamo Valvasorio, had had a distinguished ecclesiastical career: general of Augustinian Hermits, Professor of Holy Scripture in Rome, *qualificator* in the Office of the Inquisition, and eventually Bishop of Pesaro. In Milan, he had been Filippo Visconti's pupil<sup>85</sup>.

The word *translatio* in l. 3 signifies both "transference" and "metaphor". Hence death can be represented as *methaphora*, which refers to its original meaning of "change", in this case from life to death. Again, it can also be represented as *syncope* (l. 10) which carries a man from the middle of life even as it elides letters from the middle of a word. In ll. 5-8, chiasmus is conspicuous. Marking the accusative with

<sup>83</sup> Forcella 5,289.

<sup>84</sup> For his biography, see Argelatus 2 (1745), pp. 1642-1645 and Lanteri, p. 65. Argelatus lists 40 publications by him, almost all theological and existing only as manuscripts. But there was also a collection of orations, No 31. One printed work is found in the Bibliotheca Vaticana.

<sup>85</sup> See Ughelli 2, p. 864; Argelatus 2, pp. 1566-1567; Lanteri, pp. 138-139.

“a” and the ablative with “b”, we have the series b - a, a - b, b - a, a - b, b - a. By this means, the author varied the otherwise arid recording of the offices the departed had held. In ll. 11-12 there is a vivid antithesis between *sepulcrales tenebrae* and *claritas*, his brilliant talent. In ll. 18-19, instead of the conventional assertion of the immortality of the departed's fame, the author made use of the *imago* of the sepulchral stone, which will give his name brilliance by its brightness and eternity by its hardness.

The contents of epitaphs, the ideas and values expressed in them, do not belong to my present study. Hence a few general remarks may suffice. In the Renaissance period, before the triumph of the Counter-Reformation, many epitaphs of cardinals and other members of the social élite resemble ancient epitaphs to the extent that they almost totally exclude genuinely Christian ideas<sup>86</sup>. The departed were praised for classical moral virtues while references and allusions to the hereafter, a main feature in medieval epigraphy, were not found at all. But after the mid-sixteenth century, all this began to change. Christian virtues and eschatological themes became much more pronounced. The epitaph quoted on p. 161 is an example in point. Instead of the classicizing dedication to D O M<sup>87</sup> it is dedicated to the Trinity. Again, besides the female virtue of chastity and the less feminine virtue of erudition, the widow is praised for the Christian virtues of piety and charity. The following is an example of the prevalence of eschatological themes. The date of death is 1641<sup>88</sup>:

D O M  
hic  
Petri Faydit natione Alverniin (*sic!*)  
Galliae corpus universae carnis  
renovationem expectat  
cuius anima luce inaccessibili  
pace interminabili et  
gloria ineffabili  
perfruatur

<sup>86</sup> For the paganizing features in Renaissance epigraphy, see my discussion in *Classical and Christian* (note 6).

<sup>87</sup> This dedication was no doubt modelled upon the common pagan dedication to D M or *Diis Manibus*. Moreover, the epithets in *Deus Optimus Maximus* were borrowed from the nomenclature of Jupiter, see my *Classical and Christian* (note 6), pp. 24-26 and *Papal Epigraphy* (note 29), p. 63.

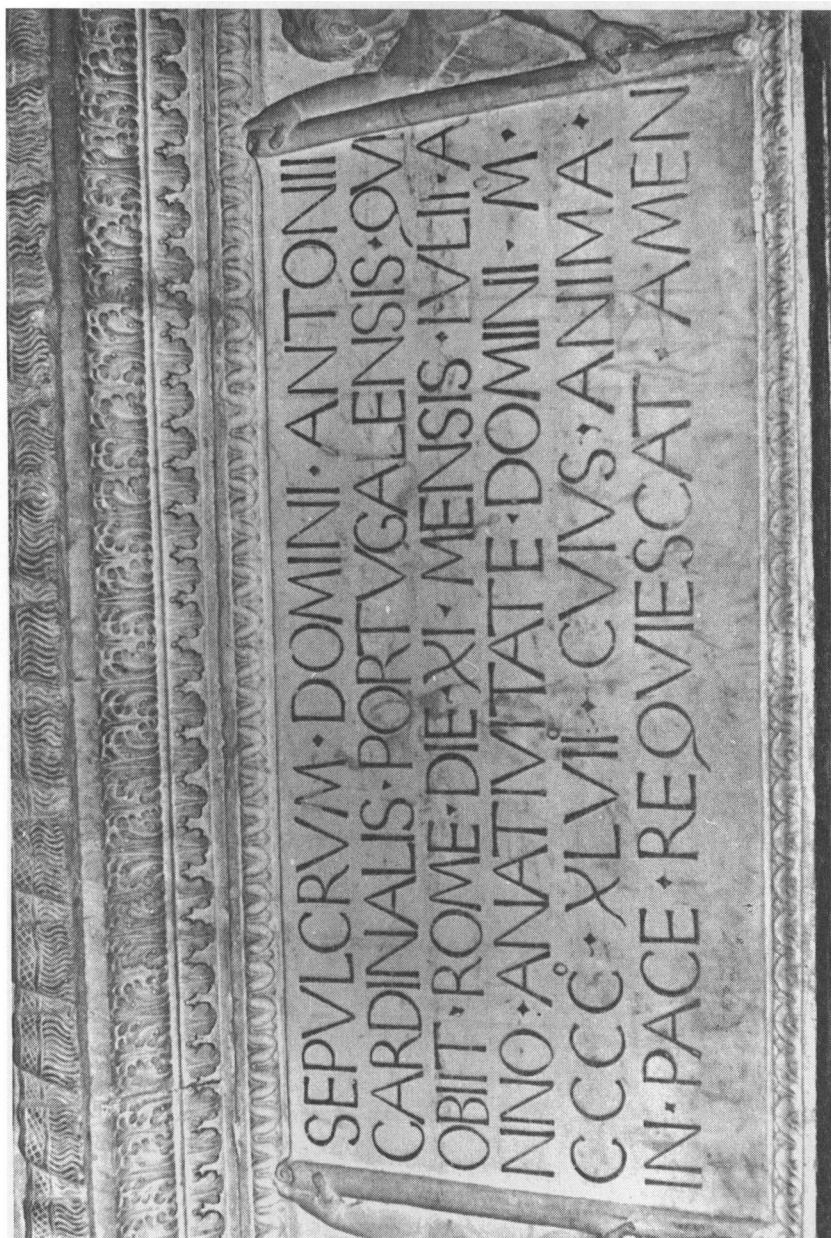
<sup>88</sup> Forcella 3,110 S. Luigi dei Francesi. The epitaph is cut in the paving, but is today almost illegible.

In three parallel clauses, marked by alliteration and homoioteleuton, the three essential qualities of after-life, *lux*, *pax*, *gloria*, make up the central part of the epitaph.

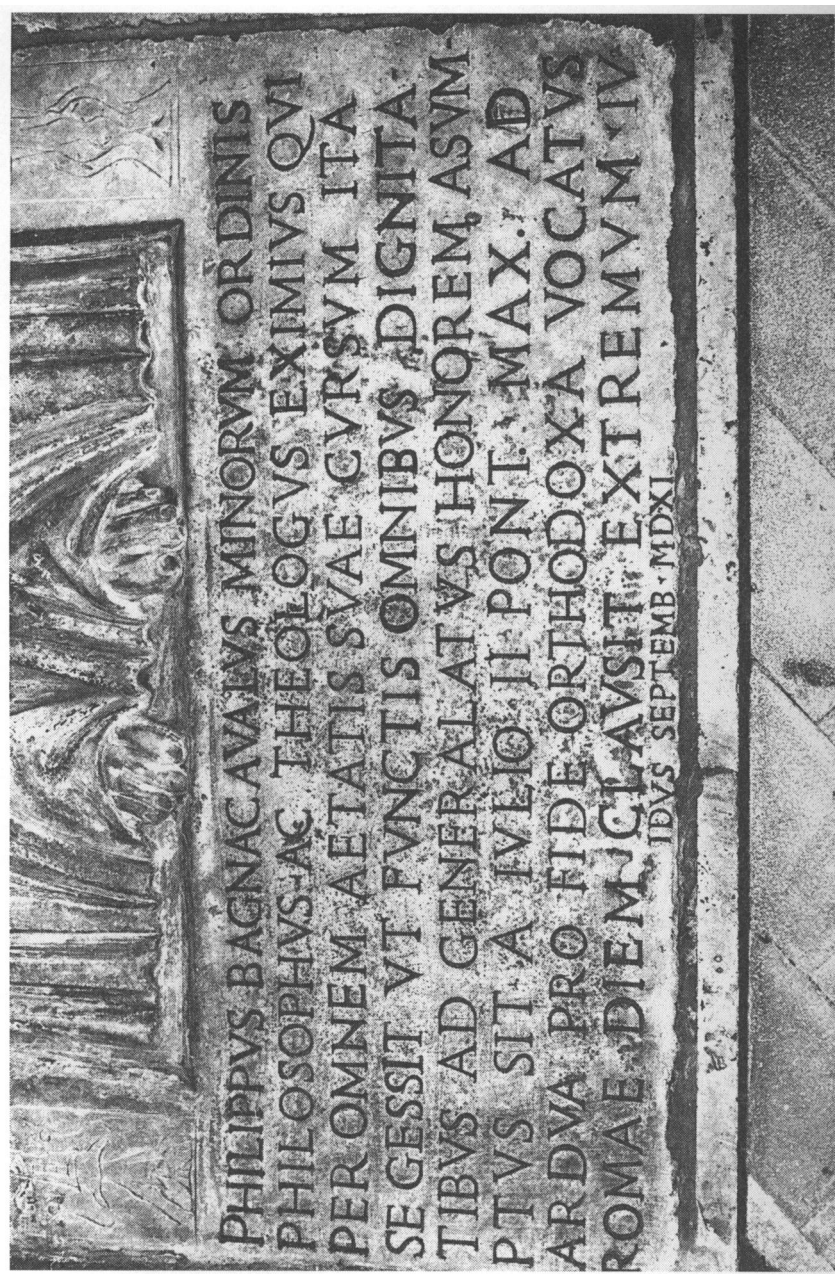
To conclude, in the seventeenth century Latin epigraphy had assumed in many respects a new outlook. Long lapidary compositions with circumstantial *curricula vitae*, rhetorical figures and tropes, praises of Christian virtues and references to the hereafter made it quite unlike the epigraphs of the High Renaissance, which were marked by classical simplicity and restraint, eulogies of pagan rather than Christian virtues, and by the glorification of worldly fame instead of prospectives of the hereafter. They were an expression of the new times, of the age of the baroque and of the Counter-Reformation.

University of Helsinki  
Dept. of Classical Studies

## PLATES

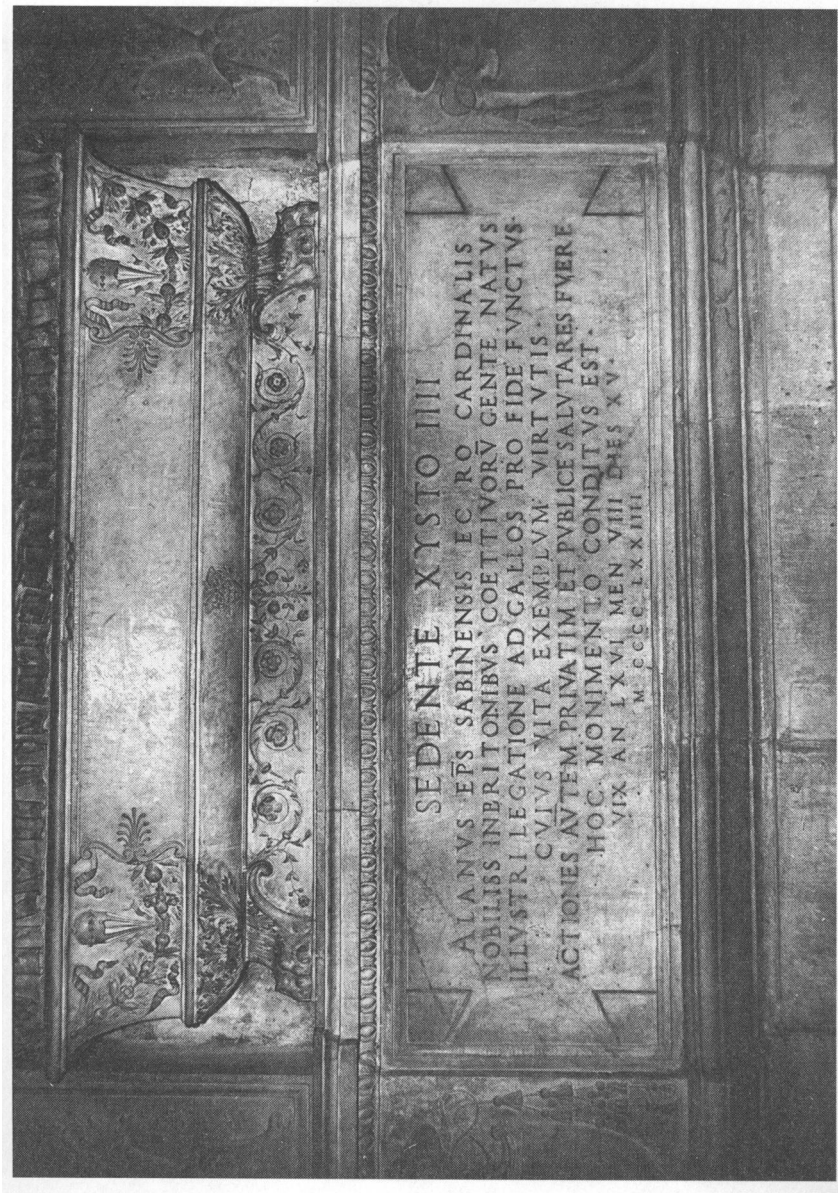


1. LATERANO. Forcella 8, 38.. A. 1447.

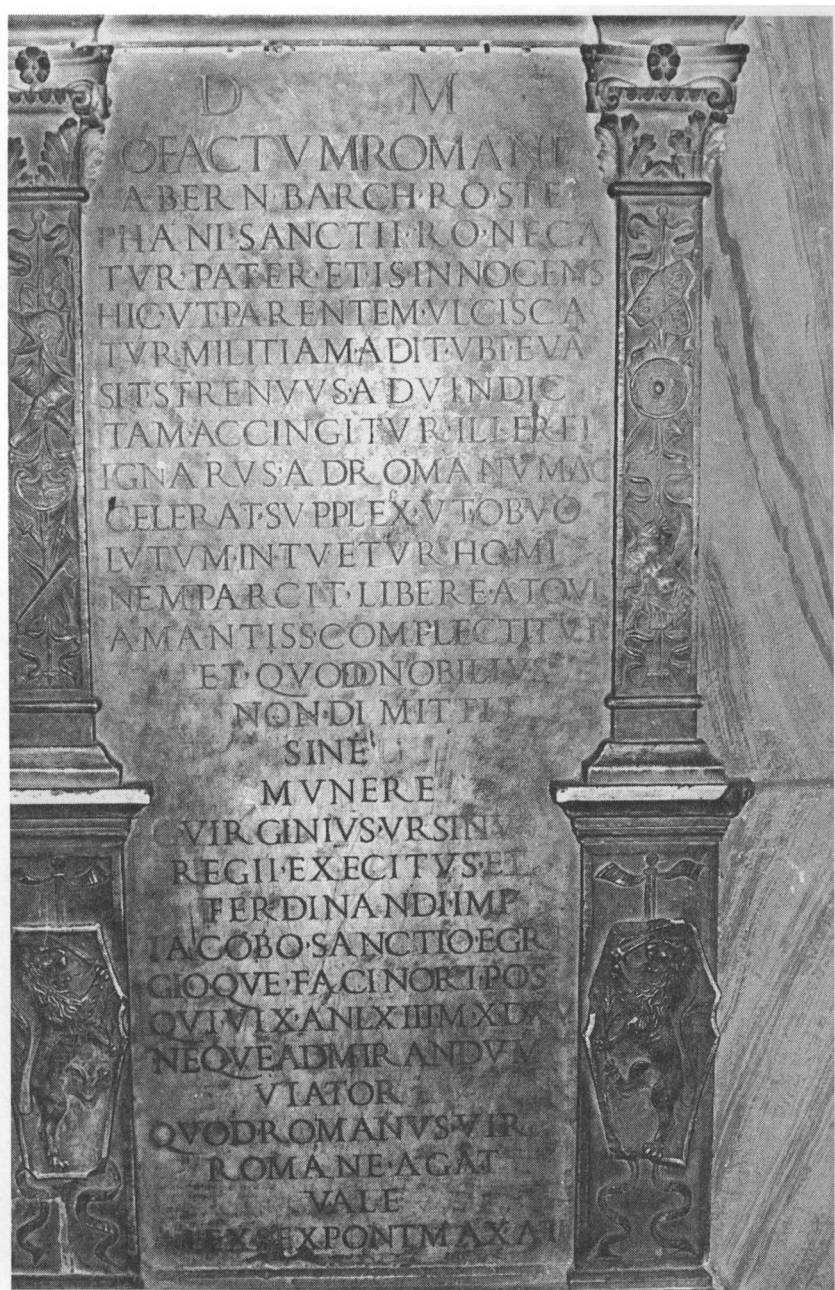


2. Ss. APOSTOLI. Forcella 2,691. A. 1511.

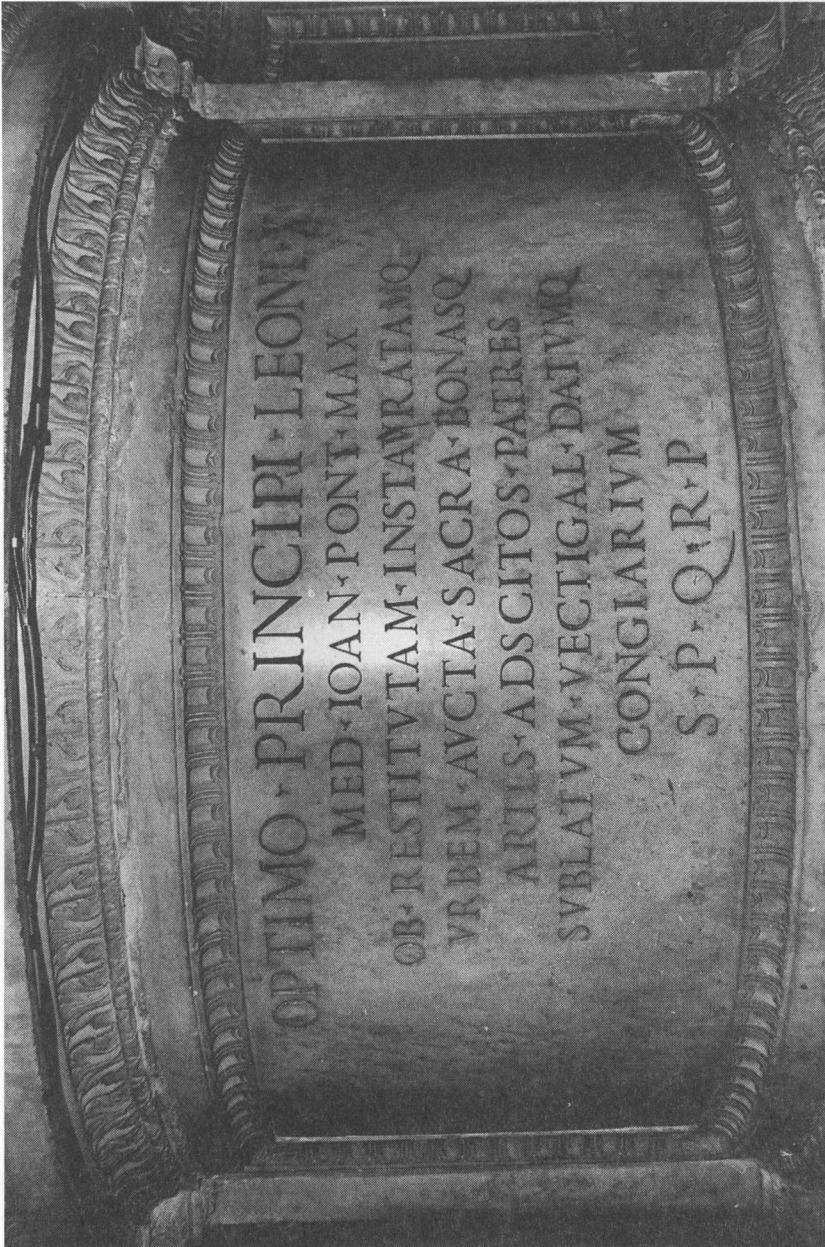




3. S. PRASSEDE. Forcella 2,1510. A. 1474.



4. S. MARIA ARACOELE. Forcella 1,565. A. 1494.



5. S. MARIA ARACOELE. Forcella 1,40. A. 1521.

CCV.

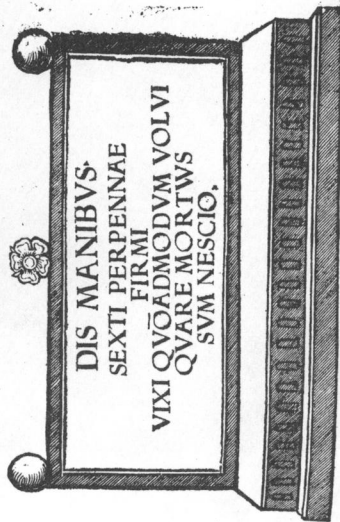
ITALIAE.



¶ Romæ in arcu triumphali in foro Boario.

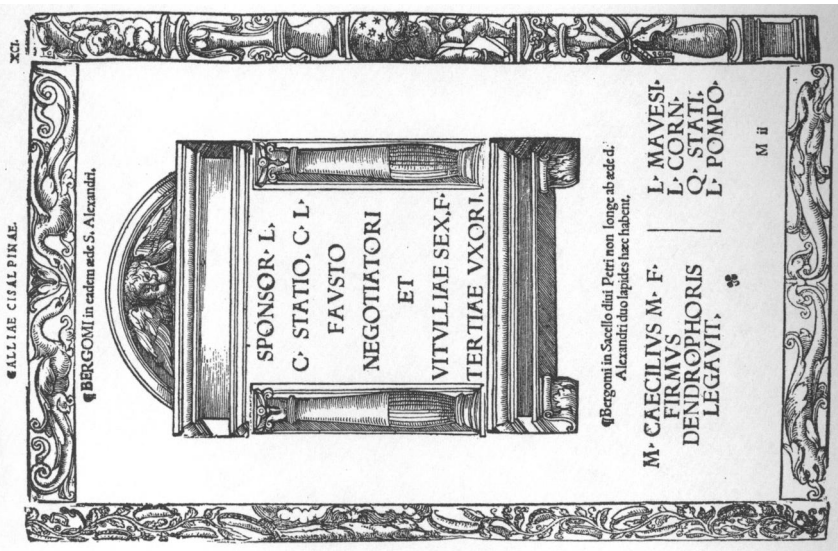
IMP. CAES. L. SEPTIMIUS SEVERO PIO PERTINACI  
ARABIC(AD)IABEN. PAR. TH. MAX. FORTISS. FELICIS,  
PONT. MAX. TRIB. POT. XII. IMP. XI. III.  
COS. PATRI PATRIAE IMP. M. AVREL. ANTONINO  
PIO FELICI AVG. TRIB. POTEST. VII.  
COS. III. P. PROCOS. FORTISSIMO FELICISSIMOQ.  
PRINCIPI. ET IVLIAE AVG. MATRI AVG. N. ET CASTRO-  
RVM ET SENATVS ET PATRIAE ET IMP. CAES. M. AVREL. ANTONINI  
PII. FELIC. AVG. PATRICI MAX. BRITANNICI  
MAX. ARGENTARI ET NEGOTIANTIS BOARII  
HVIVS LOCI QVI IVRARENT DEVO-  
TI NVMINI EORVM.

¶ Romæ in domo Petri Chisauducii neotatii transybetim.



¶ In domo domini de Lallis.

Q. CAECILIUS Q. PAPIA SIBI ET LIBERTIS  
ET LIBERTABVS QVI SVNT COMMV-  
NES CVM CECILIA Q. L. DIONISIA ET POSTERIS  
LIRER TORVM ET LIBERTARVM EORVM.  
c. iii



¶ ALLIAE CISALPINAE.

¶ BERGOMI in eadem aede S. Alexandri.

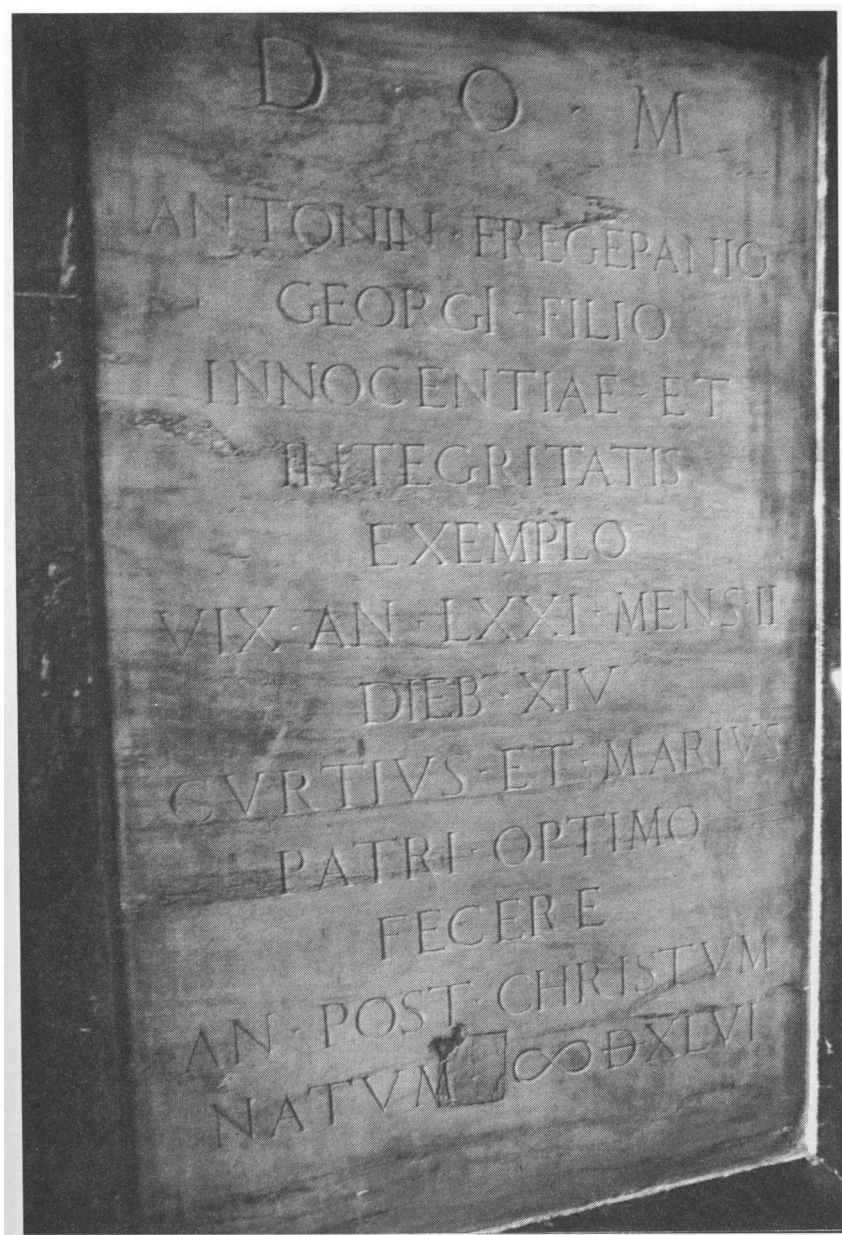
¶ Bergomi in Sacello dñi Petri non longe ab aede d. Alexandri duo lapides haec habent.

M. CAECILIUS M. F. FIRMVS  
DENDROPHORIS LEGAVIT.  
L. MAVES. L. CORN. Q. STATI. L. POMPO.

M. II

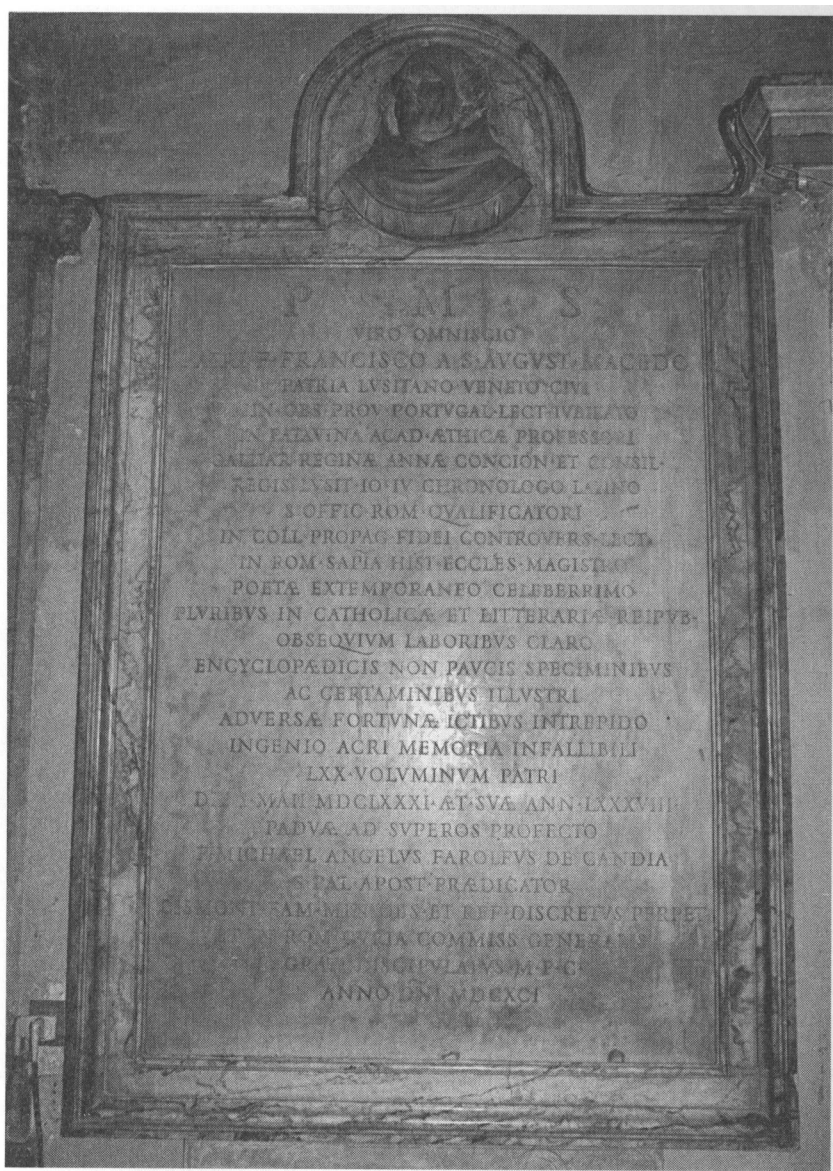
7. APIANUS, Inscriptiones sacrosanctae vetustatis.

6. APIANUS, Inscriptiones sacrosanctae vetustatis.



8. S. MARCELLO. Forcella 2,945. A. 1546.





9. S. MARIA ARACOELI. Forcella 1,958. A. 1681.

Thomas SCHMITZ

## L'ODE LATINE PENDANT LA RENAISSANCE FRANÇAISE: UN CATALOGUE DES ODES PUBLIÉES AU SEIZIÈME SIÈCLE\*

Dans ces quelques pages nous allons essayer de donner un catalogue des odes latines de la Renaissance française. Quand nous avons commencé à travailler sur ce projet, notre but était beaucoup plus ambitieux: nous nous proposions en fait d'écrire une histoire littéraire de l'ode latine pendant la Renaissance française. Mais des raisons extérieures nous empêchant pour l'instant de poursuivre ce projet, nous nous sommes décidés à publier les premiers résultats (provisoire) de nos travaux en espérant qu'ils pourront servir aux autres chercheurs dans le domaine de la littérature néo-latine en France.

Après ces propos préliminaires, entrons dans le vif du sujet qui lui-même ne laisse pas de poser de sérieux problèmes. Quand on parle d' "odes latines de la Renaissance française", il faut définir au moins deux termes: la notion de "français", problématique à l'époque de la Renaissance, et le terme d' "ode" qui mérite quelques éclaircissements.

Nous avons essayé d'inclure dans le catalogue les odes latines écrites par les humanistes français. Mais, étant donné le caractère européen de la littérature latine de la Renaissance, il est difficile de décider quels humanistes il convient de qualifier de "français". Nous avons pensé qu'il fallait éviter des critères trop rigides: vu les différences géographiques entre la France du seizième siècle et celle d'aujourd'hui (pensons à l'Alsace et à l'Artois) et les nombreux voyages ou séjours à l'étranger qu'effectuaient les humanistes, nous avons adopté le critère des "attaches intellectuelles". Ainsi, Adam Blackwood est né en Ecosse, mais ses amitiés, ses élèves, les dédicataires de ses livres et de ses poèmes, tout fait de lui un humaniste français. En revanche, les huma-

\* Cet article a été écrit pendant les six mois que j'ai pu passer au Centre d'études anciennes de l'École normale supérieure à Paris; c'est une bourse du gouvernement français qui a rendu possible ce séjour. Que tous ceux qui m'ont aidé à obtenir cette bourse et à rendre ce séjour fructueux et agréable soient vivement remerciés.

nistes alsaciens se considérèrent eux-mêmes comme Allemands, et n'entretinrent que très peu de liens avec les cercles humanistes de Paris ou de Lyon. Ces attaches restèrent souvent très stables, lors même qu'un humaniste voyageait ou s'exilait. C'est ainsi que nous avons essayé de définir le terme d' "humaniste français".

Pour ce qui est de la définition de l'ode, la question présentait aussi quelques difficultés. D'un côté, les humanistes qualifient parfois d'"ode" des poèmes qui sont composés en distiques élégiaques ou en hexamètres dactyliques (ainsi Olivier Conrard [5]<sup>1</sup> ou Guillaume Le Roux [106], pp. 7, 22, 33) ou en hendécasyllabes (ainsi Jean Du Bellay [22], pp. 132, 141, 150, Martial Monier [45], f. Ni r°, ou même Jean Dorat [65], pp. 182, 183, 191; George Buchanan intitule une partie de ses poèmes "Odarum uel hendecasyllabarum liber unus", [39], p. 118); de l'autre côté, nous trouvons des poèmes lyriques sous le titre d'"épi-grammes" (ainsi chez Martial Monier [45], f. Eiii v°, Jules-César Boulenger [54], f. 14 r° et Guillaume Paradin [58], pp. 6, 27, 38). Pour ce catalogue, nous avons donc utilisé une définition assez vaste du genre de l'ode: nous appelons ode tout poème conçu en mètres lyriques, c'est-à-dire dont la forme métrique n'est pas l'hexamètre, le distique élégiaque, l'hendécasyllabe, les trimètres ou tétramètres iambiques ou trochaïques<sup>2</sup>.

Nous n'incluons dans la liste que les livres que nous avons nous-mêmes consultés. Il est bien évident que pour un premier essai de catalogue, il est impossible de prétendre à l'exhaustivité. Nous pensons avoir remarqué les recueils les plus importants, mais il reste notamment trois lacunes considérables sur lesquelles nous voudrions attirer l'attention des lecteurs: tout d'abord, les odes incluses dans les pièces liminaires de divers livres. Elles sont nombreuses, et pour en donner un recensement complet, on peut dire (sans exagérer) qu'il faudrait regarder la totalité des livres imprimés au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle. En fait, un catalogue de toutes les pièces liminaires serait un instrument merveilleux pour l'histoire littéraire de la Renaissance française, mais cette tâche occuperait toute une équipe de chercheurs pendant de longues années. Deuxièmement, les pièces de circonstance, provoquées par les (plus ou moins) grands événements historiques comme les traités de paix, conquêtes, mariages, naissances d'enfants nobles, entrées des rois dans les villes, etc. Ces pièces, pour la

<sup>1</sup> Les chiffres entre crochets renvoient à la numérotation du catalogue.

<sup>2</sup> Néanmoins, les différentes combinaisons de dactyles, trochées et iambes (que l'on trouve par exemple dans les épodes d'Horace) sont des mètres lyriques et ont été incluses dans le catalogue.



plupart imprimées sous forme de plaquette, se trouvent souvent difficilement et sont en même temps trop nombreuses pour nous laisser l'espoir de les épuiser. On peut se consoler en pensant que leur valeur littéraire n'est souvent que très mince. Enfin les "tombeaux" qui représentent un cas particulier de la deuxième catégorie que nous venons d'évoquer (avec les mêmes problèmes), mais qui forment presque un genre à part pendant la Renaissance. Ici, c'est encore leur nombre et la rareté des exemplaires qui font le désespoir de qui essaie de les cataloguer.

Outre les odes des humanistes français, nous avons cru également utile d'inclure au moins quelques livres imprimés en France contenant des odes latines écrites par des étrangers. Si la liste des auteurs français est déjà loin d'être complète, cette seconde liste l'est encore moins, et ne prétend être qu'un premier pas vers un travail plus sérieux. Le simple fait que tel ouvrage ait été (ré)imprimé en France donne un premier élément pour évaluer l'influence qu'il a pu exercer sur la production littéraire en France<sup>3</sup>, et il est évident qu'une étude littéraire de l'ode latine en France devrait prendre en considération non seulement les modèles antiques<sup>4</sup>, mais aussi les influences contemporaines.

Le premier recueil d'odes latines que nous ayons trouvé paraît en 1507. Vers le milieu des années trente du seizième siècle, le genre commence à connaître un grand succès. Mais c'est surtout après 1570 qu'un grand nombre d'odes latines est imprimé en France (en moyenne, presque deux publications par an). Fixer une date étant toujours chose arbitraire, nous avons inclus la première décennie du dix-septième siècle (avec une importante production: 27 publications). Après cette date, en France, le genre semble passer de mode.

<sup>3</sup> Il est important de signaler que la Renaissance connut aussi un important commerce du livre et que des quantités considérables furent importées de l'Italie. Signalons enfin l'importance des anthologies de poètes néo-latins qui mériteraient une étude approfondie, comme le *Flores epigrammatum* de Léger Du Chesne (cf. P. Sharatt, "The Poetry of Léger Du Chesne", in *Neo-Latin and the Vernacular in Renaissance France*, éd. par G. Castor et T. Cave, Oxford, 1984, pp. 174-198, p. 176, et I. D. McFarlane, "La poésie néo-latine à l'époque de la Renaissance – état présent des recherches", in *Nouvelle Revue du seizième siècle* 1 (1983), pp. 1-18, p. 13), les deux tomes des *Carmina illustrium Italorum* de Giovan Matteo Toscano, imprimés à Paris en 1576-1577, ou les célèbres recueils des *Delitiae* de Jean Gruter (Ranutius Gherus), imprimés entre 1608 et 1614.

<sup>4</sup> En ce qui concerne l'étude de ces modèles, on ne peut que souligner les propos de D. G. Coleman, "Du Bellay, Turnèbe and Montaigne", in *Acta conventus neo-Latini Sanctandreami*, éd. I. D. McFarlane, Binghamton, 1986, 299-308 (299): "[...] this is one of the biggest tasks that French Renaissance scholars have to do, that is to look closely at the Classical texts in editions of the period—otherwise we cannot even start to assess the Classical influences on vernacular literatures."

Chaque numéro du catalogue se compose de quatre éléments:

(1) Une transcription de la page de titre. Elle est complète sauf pour les citations bibliques, vers liminaires, etc., que l'on trouve parfois sur le titre et dont l'omission a été marquée par [...]. La transcription suit l'orthographe originale sauf pour les ligatures, les abréviations et les majuscules.

(2) La cote de l'exemplaire que nous avons consulté. Les abréviations des noms de bibliothèques sont les suivantes: Ars = Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal; BN = Bibliothèque Nationale; Maz = Bibliothèque Mazarine; SG = Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève.

(3) Une bibliographie sommaire du livre. Elle ne comporte que les ouvrages de référence: bibliographies, listes de publications, etc.

(4) Des remarques sur les odes contenues dans le volume et sur leur forme métrique.

#### ABRÉVIATIONS BIBLIOGRAPHIQUES

Arbour	Roméo Arbour, <i>L'Ère baroque en France: répertoire chronologique des éditions de textes littéraires</i> (Histoire des idées et critique littéraire 165, 178, 191, 229), 4 tomes, Genève, 1977-1985.
Baudrier	J. Baudrier, <i>Bibliographie Lyonnaise: recherches sur les imprimeurs, libraires, relieurs et fondeurs de lettres de Lyon au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle</i> , 12 tomes, Lyon, 1895-1921, réimpr. Paris, 1964.
Cartier	Alfred Cartier, <i>Bibliographie des éditions des de Tournes, imprimeurs Lyonnais, mise en ordre avec une introduction et des appendices</i> , 2 tomes, Paris, 1937.
Chaix/Dufour/Moeckli	Paul Chaix, Alain Dufour, Gustave Moeckli, <i>Les Livres imprimés à Genève de 1550 à 1600</i> (Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance 186), Genève, <sup>2</sup> 1966.
Cioranescu	Alexandre Cioranescu, <i>Bibliographie de la littérature française du seizième siècle</i> , Paris, 1959.
Cioranescu XVII <sup>e</sup>	Alexandre Cioranescu, <i>Bibliographie de la littérature française du dix-septième siècle</i> , 3 tomes, Paris, 1965-1966.
<i>Imprimeurs parisiens</i>	<i>Imprimeurs &amp; libraires Parisiens du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle: ouvrage publié d'après les manuscrits de Philippe Renouard par le Service des Travaux historiques de la Ville de Paris avec le concours de la Bibliothèque nationale</i> , Paris, 1964-.

- Inventaire chronologique* *Inventaire chronologique des éditions parisiennes du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle, par Brigitte Moreau d'après les manuscrits de Philippe Renouard, Paris, 1972-.*
- Lachèvre Frédéric Lachèvre, *Bibliographie des recueils collectifs de poésies du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle (du Jardin de plaisance, 1502, aux Recueils de Toussaint du Bray, 1609), Paris, 1922.*
- Longeon Claude Longeon, *Bibliographie des œuvres d'Etienne Dolet, écrivain, éditeur et imprimeur (Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance 174), Genève, 1980.*
- Renouard, Estienne Antoine Augustin Renouard, *Annales de l'imprimerie des Estienne ou histoire de la famille des Estienne et de ses éditions, Paris, <sup>2</sup>1843, réimpr. Genève, 1971.*
- Renouard, Colines Philippe Renouard, *Bibliographie des éditions de Simon de Colines 1520-1546, Paris, 1894.*
- Renouard, Josse Badius Philippe Renouard, *Bibliographie des impressions et des œuvres de Josse Badius Ascensius, imprimeur et humaniste, 1462-1535, 3 tomes, Paris, 1908.*
- Répertoire bibliographique XVI<sup>e</sup>* *Répertoire bibliographique des livres imprimés en France au seizième siècle (Bibliotheca bibliographica Aureliana), 30 tomes, Baden-Baden, 1968-1980.*
- Répertoire bibliographique XVII<sup>e</sup>* *Répertoire bibliographique des livres imprimés en France au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle (Bibliotheca bibliographica Aureliana), Baden-Baden 1978-.*
- Schreiber Fred Schreiber, *The Estiennes: An Annotated Catalogue of 300 Highlights of their Various Presses, New York, 1982.*

## ODES ÉCRITES PAR LES HUMANISTES FRANÇAIS

1507

1. [Nicolas Hory] Nicolai Horii Remensis praefecti auxiliaris Poemata noua. In laudem nostrae sanctae fidei catholicae edita in septem partita libellos. Huius egregii operis libri partiales cum uniuscuiusque carminum genere. Nicolai Horii Remensis praefecti auxiliaris Orationum liber. elegiaco carmine. Secundus passionis saluatoris nostri comprehendit lamentationem heroico carmine. Tertius permultas amicorum continet allocutiones elegiaco carmine. Quartus quam plurima amplectitur epigrammata elegiaco item carmine. Quintus trium dominarum comprehendit carmina heroico carmine. Sextus saluatoris nostri eiusque genitricis continet odas saphico carmine. Septimus atque nouissimus huiusce operis auctoris complectitur cantica saphico item carmine.

SG Z.fol. 61 inv. 60 Rés; BN Rés. g.Yc.582.

Baudrier XII 319; Cioranescu 11565.

37 odes en strophes saphiques, ff. ev v° sqq.

1513

2. [Guillaume de La Mare] Guilielmi de Marra: utriusque iuris doctoris consultissimi Sylvarum libri quattuor. Quorum primus describit superos. secundus illustrium virorum canit laudes. tertius flagitiosorum probra. quartus naenias et epitaphia. Vaenundantur cum aliis eiusdem poematiis in aedibus Ascensianis.

Maz Inc. 447, p. 3.

Cioranescu 12365; *Inventaire chronologique* II 202; Renouard, *Josse Badius* III 76.

Composition des odes: mètre archiloquien 3 (f. VIII r°), strophes asclépiades 5 (f. VIII v°), strophes saphiques (ff. X r°, XXIII v°, XL r°), strophes asclépiades 1 (ff. XV v°, XXIX r°), strophes asclépiades 3 (ff. XX r°, XXV v°), mètre archiloquien 2 (ff. XXIII v°, XXV r°).

## 1516

3. [Hugues d'Ambert] Hugonis Ambertani Colungiani Siluae celebratissimam Francisci magni Valesii in Heluetios victoriam cantatissima Caroli octaui et Lodouici duodecimi prelia (quibus bellacissimus Iacobus Chabannus eques auratus Franciae Marescalus fortiter ac triumphantissime interfuerit) necnon strenuissimi equitis aurati Comensis prefecti et religiosissimi Aniciensis ecclesiae antistitis preconia complexae. Venales habentur apud Egidium Gormantium in Parrhisiorum Lutetia anno verbi incarnati sesquimillesimo decimosexto foeliciter absolutae.

Maz 44606.

Cioranescio 2414; *Inventaire chronologique* II 347.

Strophes saphiques (f. Nviii r<sup>o</sup>), une ode dont les strophes se composent de trois glyconiques et d'une tripodie iambique catalectique (f. Pijj r<sup>o</sup>).

## 1528

4. [Jean Salmon Macrin] Salmonii Macrini Iuliodunensis carminum libellus. Parisiis apud Simonem Colinaeum 1528.

Maz 23901, p. 7.

Cioranescio 20323; *Inventaire chronologique* III 438; Renouard, *Colines* 126.

Strophes alcaïques (une ode), strophes saphiques (cinq odes), strophes asclépiades 2 (une ode), strophes asclépiades 4 (une ode), strophes asclépiades 3 (une ode) et un poème figuré composé de divers mètres, intitulé "alae".

## 1530

5. [Olivier Conrard] Odae aliquot de praefiguratione, conceptione, natiuitate, assumptione uirginis matris Mariae unà filii Iesu, domini nostri uitam complectentes, per F. Oliuerium Conradum minoritam Magdunum. Miraculum eiusdem uirginis in defendendo ab hostibus oppidulo, quod nunc pars est Aureliae urbis per eundem. Historia diui Sebastiani duobus libris absoluta per eundem, cum aliis nonnullis. Prostant Aureliae apud Franciscum Gueiardum Aureliensem, en la rue de lescriuenerie. [Colophon, f. Gvii v<sup>o</sup>] Excudebat Parisiis Christianus Wechel,

expensis Francisci Gueiardi ciuis Aureliensis anno M. D. XXX. 24. die Augusti.

SG A 8° 744 Inv. 889 bis, p. 2.

Cioranescio 6801; *Répertoire bibliographique XVI<sup>e</sup> X 13 et XXIX 72.*

Contient des odes composées en strophes asclépiades 1 et des odes composées en strophes saphiques.

6. [Jean Salmon Macrin] Salmonii Macrini Iuliodunensis carminum libri quatuor ad Hilermum Bellaium cognomento Langium. Parisiis apud Simonem Colinaeum. 1530.

Maz 21265, p. 1.

Cioranescio 20324; *Inventaire chronologique* III 596; Renouard, *Colines* 162.

Strophes alcaïques (31 odes), strophes saphiques (34 odes), strophes asclépiades 2 (cinq odes), strophes asclépiades 3 (cinq odes), strophes asclépiades 4 (quatre odes).

## 1531

7. [Jean Salmon Macrin] Salmonii Macrini Iuliodunensis Lyricorum libri duo. Ad Franciscum Valesium huius nominis primum Galliarum regem. Epithalamiorum liber unus. Ad honoratum Sabaudianum Regulum. Parisiis ex officina Gerardi Morrhii Campensis. M. D. XXXI. Cum priuilegio ad biennium.

Maz 21265, p. 2.

Cioranescio 20325.

Strophes alcaïques (10 odes), strophes saphiques (17 odes), distiques composés d'un hexamètre dactylique et d'un dimètre iambique (deux odes), strophes asclépiades 2 (deux odes), strophes asclépiades 3 (deux odes), strophes asclépiades 4 (quatre odes), strophes composées de trois glyconiques et d'un phécratéen (une ode).

## 1533

8. [Nicolas Bourbon, l'ancien] Nicolai Borbonii Vandoperani Nugae. [...] Parisiis apud Michaellem Vascosanum, uia ad diuum Iacobum sub fontis signo. M. D. XXXIII.

Ars 8° BL 5484.

Cioranescio 4606.

Il existe également une édition de la même année, publiée à Bâle, dont le texte ne diffère pas de l'édition parisienne. Strophes saphiques (ff. avi v°, cvi r°, dv v°, dviii r°, hij v°, ivi v°, lviii r°, oiiijv°, ovii r°), distiques composés d'un hexamètre dactylique et d'un dimètre iambique (f. hviii v°), strophes asclépiades 1 (f. kvii v°), adoniques (f. mviii v°), strophes asclépiades 2 (f. nij r°).

9. [Étienne Dolet] Stephani Doleti Orationes duae in Tholosam. Eiusdem epistolarum libri II. Eiusdem carminum libri II. Ad eundem epistolarum amicorum liber.

Ars 8° BL 2510.

Cioranescio 7907; Longeon 2 sq.

Strophes alcaïques (pp. 177, 181, 194, 202, 213, 224), distiques composés d'un trimètre et d'un dimètre iambiques (pp. 183, 184, 185, 187, 191, 197, 198, 204, 208, 222, 225, 228), strophes asclépiades 2 (pp. 188, 243), dimètres iambiques catalectiques (pp. 189, 209), strophes asclépiades 5 (pp. 193, 220, 239), saphiques majeurs (p. 193), mètre hipponactéen (p. 196), strophes saphiques (pp. 197, 241), strophes asclépiades 4 (pp. 199, 205, 218), strophes asclépiades 3 (p. 200), mètre archiloquien 3 (pp. 201, 216), ioniques mineurs (p. 208), strophes composées de trois glyconiques et d'un phérécrateen (p. 227), mètre archiloquien 1 (p. 231), tétramètres trochaïques catalectiques (p. 232), strophes asclépiades 4 (p. 238), distiques composés d'un ternaire dactylique catalectique et d'un dimètre iambique (p. 244).

1536

10. [Tagliacarne, Benedetto, dit Teocreno] Benedicti Theocreni, episcopi Grassensis, regis Francisci liberorum praeceptoris Poëmata, quae iuuenis admodum lusit. Pictaui ex officina Marnefiorum fratrum, sub Pelicano. An. M. D. XXXVI.

Ars 8° BL 5768.

*Répertoire bibliographique XVI<sup>e</sup> V 24.*

Strophes alcaïques (ff. Aii r°, Bii r°, Biiii v°), strophes saphiques (ff. Aiiii r° et Biiii r°), strophes asclépiades 4 (ff. Aii v°, Bi v°, Biii r°).

1537

11. [Jean Salmon Macrin] Salmonii Macrini Iuliodunensis, cubicularij regij, Odarum libri sex, ad Franciscum regem regum potentiss. inuictiss. que. Seb. Gryphius excudebat Lugduni, anno M. D. XXXVII.

Maz 45110.

Baudrier VIII 108 sq.; Cioranescu 20327.

Strophes asclépiades 3 (cinq odes), strophes saphiques (34 odes), strophes alcaïques (20 odes), strophes asclépiades 4 (quatre odes), strophes asclépiades 2 (cinq odes), distiques composés d'un hexamètre dactylique et d'un dimètre iambique (trois odes), strophes asclépiades 1 (deux odes).

12. [Jean Salmon Macrin] Salmonii Macrini Iuliodunen. cubicularii regii, Hymnorum libri sex, ad Io. Bellauium, s. r. e. cardinalem ampliss. Cum priuilegio regis. Parisiis. Ex officina Roberti Stephani. M. D. XXXVII. Maz 21265, p. 3.

Cioranescu 20326; Renouard, *Estienne* 46; Schreiber 54.

Strophes asclépiades 1 (deux odes), strophes saphiques (56 odes), strophes asclépiades 2 (dix odes), strophes alcaïques (49 odes), strophes asclépiades 3 (sept odes), strophes asclépiades 4 (huit odes), distiques composés d'un hexamètre dactylique et d'un dimètre iambique (quatre odes).

## 1538

13. [Nicolas Bourbon, l'ancien] Nicolai Borbonii Vandoperani Lingonensis Nugarum libri octo. Ab autore recens aucti et recogniti. Cum indice. Apud Seb. Gryphium Lugduni, 1538.

Ars 8° BL 5486.

Cioranescu 4607; Baudrier VIII 118 sq.

Contient dans les pièces liminaires une ode, composée en strophes alcaïques, par Jean Salmon Macrin (p. 5), une ode, composée en dimètres iambiques, par Philippe Glycon (p. 11) et une ode, en strophes saphiques, par Paul Galterus (p. 13). Strophes saphiques (27 odes), dimètres iambiques (21 odes), distiques composés d'un trimètre et d'un dimètre iambiques (23 odes), strophes asclépiades 1 (une ode), une ode dans laquelle on trouve un mélange irrégulier d'hendécasyllabes et de glyconiques, adoniques (une ode), strophes asclépiades 2 (une ode), distiques composés d'un hexamètre dactylique et d'un dimètre iambique (huit odes), strophes composées de quatre glyconiques et d'un phérécratéen (une ode), dimètres iambiques catalectiques (une ode).

14. [Pierre Busseron] Sapphicae Petri Busseroni medicam colentis facultatem, Horae ad fidissimorum chisticolarum vsum, de salutifero Christi aduentu, de ignominiosa illius morte, de condignis eiusdem matris illibatae laudibus, cum septem monstris mortalibus, et praeconiis coelicolarum, delphineis in oris aeditae. Prostant Lugduni sub signo sphaerae apud Aegidium et Iacobum Huguetan fratres. Cum priuilegio. M. D. XXXVIII.



Maz 23898.

Baudrier XI 318-321; Cioranescó 5042.

Outre les odes saphiques proprement dites, on trouve des odes qui regroupent des hendécasyllabes saphiques et des adonéens en diverses strophes (ff. B2 r°, B3 v°, H8 r°) ainsi que deux odes composées de phérécratéens, une ode composée de pentamètres, une ode en distiques formés d'un phérécratéen et d'un adonique, une ode en distiques formés d'un hexamètre dactylique et d'un adonique.

15. [Étienne Dolet] Stephani Doleti Galli Aurelii Carminum libri quatuor. Lugduni anno M. D. XXXVIII.

Maz 10237, p. 4.

Cioranescó 7913; Longeon 20-22.

Distiques composés d'un trimètre et d'un dimètre iambiques (dix odes), strophes alcaïques (six odes), strophes asclépiades 1 (une ode), strophes saphiques (quatre odes), strophes asclépiades 4 (six odes), strophes formées de trois glyconiques et d'un phérécratéen (une ode), strophes asclépiades 2 (trois odes), distiques composés d'un hexamètre dactylique et d'un dimètre iambique (une ode), mètre archiloquien 3 (une ode), strophes asclépiades 5 (trois odes), saphiques majeurs (une ode), distiques composés d'un dimètre trochaïque et d'un trimètre iambique catalectiques (une ode), strophes asclépiades 3 (une ode).

16. [Gilbert Ducher] Gilberti Ducherii Vultonis Aquapersani Epigrammaton libri duo. Apud Seb. Gryphium Lugduni, 1538.

Maz 21212, p. 4.

Cioranescó 8591.

Dimètres iambiques (pp. 19, 94, 104), strophes saphiques (pp. 25, 81, 141, 148), strophes alcaïques (p. 116), une ode qui réunit un hendécasyllabe alcaïque avec un dimètre iambique (p. 55) et, dans les pièces liminaires, une ode saphique de Antonius Molinius (p. 160).

17. [Hubert Susannée] Huberti Sussannaei legum et medicinae doctoris Ludorum libri nunc recens conditi atque aediti. Parisiis apud Simonem Colinaeum. 1538.

Maz 45110.

Cioranescó 20863; Renouard, *Colines* 296.

Distiques composés d'un hexamètre dactylique et d'un dimètre iambique (12 odes), dimètres iambiques (quatre odes), strophes saphiques (cinq odes), une ode qui réunit divers mètres dactyliques et iambiques, strophes alcaïques (sept odes), strophes formées de trois dimètres et d'un dimètre catalectique iambiques (une ode), distiques formés d'un skazon et d'un dimètre iambique (deux odes), strophes asclépiades 4 (deux odes), glyconiques (une ode) ainsi que deux poèmes figurés dont l'un est intitulé "Alae", l'autre "Lyra".

18. [Jean Visagier, dit Voulté] Ioan. Vultei Rhemi Inscriptionum libri duo. Ad Aegidium Boherum archid. Rhem. et Auen. Ad Barpt. Castellatum Nicaeum Xeniorum libellus. Apud Sim. Colinaeum. 1538.  
Maz 21556, p. 2.  
Cioranescu 22022; Renouard, *Colines* 298 sq.

Strophes asclépiades 1 (ff. 20 r°, 21 v°, 24 v°), strophes saphiques (ff. 20 v°, 21 r°, 22 r°. 23 r°, 26 v°, 27 r°, 30 v°), deux poèmes figurés (ff. 23 v°, 28 r°).

## 1539

19. [Étienne Dolet] Genethliacum Claudii Doleti, Stephani Doleti filii. Liber uitae communi in primis utilis, et necessarius. Autore patre. Lugduni, apud eundem Doletum, 1539. Cum priuilegio ad decennium.  
Maz 10237.  
Cioranescu 7919; Longeon 34-36.

Il existe aussi une réimpression de 1540 (cf. Longeon 36). Le livre contient une ode saphique (f. C1 r°).

20. [Martin Thierry] Martini Theodorici Bellouaci Epigrammata. Ad R. Odonem Collignium, cardinalem Castillioneum, archiepiscopum Tholosanum, episcopum et comitem Bellouacensem. Accessit liber cuius titulus Leander. Parisiis apud Hieronymum Garmontium, via Iacobeae sub signo trium coronarum. 1539.  
BN Yc.8685.

Distiques formés d'un hendécasyllabe et d'un glyconique (f. 4 r°), strophes saphiques (f. 12 v°), strophes asclépiades 1 (f. 13 r°).

## 1540

21. [Jean Salmon Macrin] Salmonii Macrini Iuliodunensis cubicularii regii, Hymnorum selectorum libri tres. Ad illustrissimum principem Io. Lotharingium cardinalem amplissimum. Cum priuilegio regis. Ex officina Roberti Stephani typographi regii. M. D. XL.  
Maz 21265, p. 4.  
Cioranescu 20329; Renouard, *Estienne* 50.

Strophes asclépiades 4 (six odes), strophes saphiques (32 odes), strophes alcaïques (19 odes), strophes asclépiades 3 (quatre odes), strophes asclépiades 2 (trois odes), distiques composés d'un hexamètre dactylique et d'un dimètre iambique (deux odes), strophes asclépiades 1 (deux odes), dimètres iambiques (une ode). Dans les pièces liminaires, une ode en distiques formés d'un trimètre et d'un dimètre iambiques par Jean Olivier (p. 114).

## 1546

22. [Jean Salmon Macrin] Salmonii Macrini Iuliodunensis Odarum libri tres ad P. Castellatum pontificem Matisconum. Io. Bellai cardinalis amplissimi Poemata aliquot elegantissima ad eundem Matisconum pontificem. Parisiis ex officina Rob. Stephani typographi regij. M. D. XLVI. Ex priuilegio regis.

Maz 21265, p. 5.

Cioranescu 20331; Renouard, *Estienne* 68.

Dans les "Odes" de Macrin: strophes alcaïques (19 odes), strophes saphiques (19 odes), strophes asclépiades 2 (trois odes), strophes asclépiades 3 (quatre odes), strophes asclépiades 4 (deux odes), strophes asclépiades 1 (une ode), distiques composés d'un hexamètre dactylique et d'un dimètre iambique (une ode). Dans les "Poemata" de Jean Du Bellay: strophes saphiques (neuf odes), strophes alcaïques (trois odes), distiques formés d'un hexamètre dactylique et d'un glyconique (une ode), strophes asclépiades 1 (deux odes), strophes asclépiades 4 (une ode), strophes asclépiades 3 (deux odes), distiques où un asclépiade est suivi d'un glyconique (une ode).

23. [Jules-César Scaliger] Iulii Caesaris Scaligeri Poematia ad illustriss. Constantiam Rangoniam. Lugduni, apud Godefridum et Marcellum Beringos, fratres, M. D. XLVI.

Maz 21271.

Baudrier III 43.

Deux odes pindariques, pp. 368 et 371.

## 1550

24. [Jean Salmon Macrin] Salmonii Macrini Iuliodunensis cubicularij regij Naeniarum libri tres, de Gelonide Borsala uxore charissima: quae annos XXXX, menses II, dies XV nata, obiit XIII Iunij, anno domini M. D. XXXX. [...] Lutetiae, apud Vascosanum, uia Iacobaea ad insigne fontis. M. D. L. Cum priuilegio.

Maz 23901.

Cioranesc0 20334.

Strophes alcaïques (six odes), strophes saphiques (six odes), strophes asclépiades 2 (une ode), strophes asclépiades 3 (deux odes), strophes asclépiades 4 (une ode), strophes asclépiades 1 (une ode), distiques composés d'un hexamètre dactylique et d'un dimètre iambique (deux odes), mètre archiloquien 1 (une ode). Une ode pindarique de Jean Dorat (p. 109), une ode alcaïque de Janus Sauellius (p. 119), une ode alcaïque non signée, traduite d'un poème de Mellin de Saint-Gelais (p. 141).

### 1551

25. [Bernard Poey Du Luc] De collegio Auscitano Bernardi Podii Lucensis Carmen ad posteritatem. Eiusdem aliquot epigrammata. Tolosae, ex officina Guidonis Boudeuillaei academiae typographi, 1551.

Maz 21629 Rés.

Cioranesc0 17713; *Répertoire bibliographique XVI<sup>e</sup> XX* 133 sq.

Une ode composée en strophes asclépiades 1 (f. giiij r°).

### 1553

26. [Marc Antoine de Muret] M. A. Mureti Iuuenilia. Elenchum sequens pagella continet. [...] Parisiis ex officina uiduae Mauricij à Porta in clauso Brunello, ad d. Claudij insigne. 1553. Cum priuilegio.

Ars 8° BL 5640.

Cioranesc0 16422.

Strophes alcaïques (pp. 116, 118, 119, 123, 124), strophes asclépiades 2 (p. 122).

27. In Ioannis Caussadi aduocati Tolosani disertiss. tumulum diuersorum poetarum Latini et Gallici versus. Amicorum absentium imagines iucundae. Tolosae, ex officina Guidonis Boudeuillaei, academiae typographi. 1553. SG Z 8°.988 inv. 3128 (pièce 6) Rés.

Une ode composée en strophes asclépiades 3 de Bernard Poey Du Luc (p. 13).

### 1554

28. [Louis-François Le Duchat] L. Francis. Ducatii Trecae Praeludiorum. lib. II. Ad uirum illustriss. Ianum Brinonem regium in suprema Pari-

siensi curia senatorem. Parisiis, apud Ioannem Caueiller, in clauso Brunello, via Frementella, sub stella aurea. 1554. Cum priuilegio regis, ad sexennium.

Maz 21212, p. 5.

Cioranescio 13060.

Distiques formés d'un trimètre et d'un dimètre iambiques (ff. 11 v°, 48 v°), strophes alcaïques (ff. 14 r°, 31 r°), strophes asclépiades 3 (ff. 27 v°, 38 v°), strophes asclépiades 4 (f. 32 v°), strophes saphiques (f. 36 r°), strophes formées de quatre glyconiques et d'un phérécratéen (f. 55 v°).

## 1556

29. Anacreontis Teii antiquissimi poëtae lyrici Odae, ab Helia Andrea Lati-nae factae, ad clariss. uirum Petrum Montaureum consiliarium, et biblio-thecharium regium. [...] Lutetiae, apud Robertum Stephanum, et Guil. Morelium. M. D. LVI.

BN Yb.1478.

Cioranescio 2543; Renouard, *Estienne* 161.

Outre la traduction métrique des odes d'Anacréon et des poèmes (pseudo-) anacréontiques, on trouve la traduction de trois poèmes de Sappho (pp. 50-52) et une ode saphique du traducteur Hélié André (p. 53); ces pièces ne sont pas incluses dans l'édition publiée par Thomas Richard, Paris, 1555.

30. [Claude Roillet] Claudii Roilleti Belnensis varia poemata. Indicem sequens pagella continet. Parisiis, apud Gulielmum Iulianum, sub insigni amicitiae, prope collegium Cameracense. Cum priuilegio. 1556.

Maz 21562.

Cioranescio 19266.

Dans les "Epigrammata", l'on trouve trois pièces en dimètres iambiques catalectiques (ff. Svi r°, Tvi r°, Tvii v°).

## 1557

31. [Louis Des Masures] Ludouici Masurii Neruii Carmina. [...] Lugduni apud Ioan. Tornaesium, et Gul. Gazeium. M. D. LVII. Cum priuilegio regis.

Maz 10731 pièce.

Cioranescio 7648; Alain Cullière, “Bibliographie de Louis Des Masures, de 1547 à 1615”, *BHR* 47 (1985), 637-656, p. 640.

Strophes asclépiades 2 (pp. 33, 47), strophes alcaïques (p. 38), strophes saphiques (p. 74).

## 1558

32. [Jean Dorat] Io. Aurati Lemouicis Triumphales odae, ad illustriss. principem Carolum Lotharingum cardinalem. Lutetiae, ex officina Roberti Stephani. M. D. LVIII.  
SG Z 8°.988 inv. 3128 (pièce 21) Rés.  
Cioranescio 8013; Renouard, *Estienne* 163.

Strophes alcaïques (ff. Aij r°, Aiiij r°, Aiiij v°, Bi r°, Bi v°, Biiij r°), strophes asclépiades 2 (f. Bij v°), une ode pindarique (f. Ci r°).

33. [Jean Girard] Ioannis Girardi Diuionensis Assonae Sequanorum dicastae Poemata. [...] Lugduni, apud Petrum Fradin. 1558.  
Maz 44333.  
Baudrier XI 149 sq.; Cioranescio 10712.

Dans les “Epigrammata” et dans les “Epodi”, l’on trouve plusieurs odes iambiques (des dimètres iambiques qui sont employés soit seuls, soit en distiques avec des trimètres iambiques ou des hexamètres dactyliques). Dans les “Carmina”: strophes asclépiades 2 (ff. 3 r°, 4 v°, 5 v°, 8 r°), dimètres iambiques (ff. 3 r°, 7 v°), strophes saphiques (ff. 3 v°, 6 r°, 8 r°), strophes composées d’un hexamètre dactylique et de trois adoniques (f. 5 r°), strophes composées de trois glyconiques et d’un phérécratéen (f. 6 v°), strophes composées d’un hexamètre dactylique et de deux dimètres iambiques (f. 7 r°). Dans les “Quisquilae”: strophes asclépiades 1 (f. 25 r°).

34. [Jean Mercier] Ioannis Mercerii Montacutani adolescentis Dialogus in nobilissimi Gallorum delphini, et illustrissimae Scotorum reginae nuptias. Eiusdem aliquot Epigrammata. Ad nobilissimum, clarissimúmque virum, dominum Annam de la Chenal, Belleacum abbatem, regium elemosinarium, cardinalisque Lotharingi protonotarium. Parisiis, apud Gabrielem Buon, in clauso Brunello, ad D. Claudii insigne. 1558.  
SG Z 8°.988 inv. 3128 (pièce 20) Rés.  
Cioranescio 14971.

Strophes saphiques (ff. cv v°, cvii r°), strophes alcaïques (ff. cvi v°, cvii v°).

## 1559

35. [Claude Roillet] Ode ad Gulielmum Gallandium gymnasiarcham Becodanum, autore Claudio Roilletto Belnensi, cui accessit eiusdem de obitu Petri Gallandii Latinarum literarum regij professoris, secunda editione, aucta et recognita, Elegia. Parisiis. E typographia Oliuarij de Harsy, ad cornu cerui in clauso Brunello. 1559.

BN Yc.4053.

Cioranesco 19267.

Une ode alcaïque (f. Aij r°).

36. [Iohannes Laurencaeus] Epithalamion illustrissimi principis Caroli Lotharingiae ducis, et D. Claudiae Henrici regis Francorum christianissimi filiae sereniss. Ioanne Laurencaeo Lotharingo autore. [...] Parisiis, ex typographia Oliuarij de Harsy ad cornu cerui in clauso Brunello. 1559. SG Y 4°.424<sup>(2)</sup> inv. 555 FA (pièce 4).

Strophes asclépiades 2 (ff. 10 r°, 12 v°), strophes asclépiades 4 (f. 11 r°), strophes saphiques (f. 12 r°).

## 1560

37. [Léger Du Chesne] Flores epigrammatum, ex optimis quibusque authoribus excerpti per Leodegarium à Quercu. Ad illustrissimum virum Robertum Lenuncurium cardinalem. Tomus primus. Parisiis, apud Hieronymum de Marnef, sub pelicano, monte D. Hilarij. 1560. Cum priuilegio regis.

BN Rés. p.Yc.1110-1111.

Cioranesco 8637; *Imprimeurs Parisiens*, fascicule *Cavellat* 158.

Dans ce recueil, on trouve des odes par Hercule Strozza (t. I, ff. 63 r° sqq.), Étienne Dolet (t. I, ff. 281 r° sqq.), George Buchanan (t. II, ff. 56 v° sqq.), Marc-Antonio Flaminio (t. II, ff. 173 r° sqq.) et Jean Dorat (ff. 356 v° sqq.).

## 1565

38. [Étienne Cruseau] Ode Stephani Cruselli Burdigalensis sub adventum Caroli IX. regis semper augusti in suam urbem Burdigalam. Ad illus-

triss. uirum Micha. Hospitalium, magnum Galliae cancellarium. Burdigalae Aprilis 1565.

BN Lb<sup>33</sup>.513.

CioranESCO 7170; *Répertoire bibliographique XVI<sup>e</sup>* I 22 sq.

L'exemplaire que nous avons consulté est une réimpression, publiée dans la *Revue des bibliophiles* de 1882, éditée par Ph. Tamizey de Larroque; il s'agit d'une ode alcaïque.

### 1568 (?)

39. [George Buchanan] Georgii Buchanani Scoti poetae eximij Franciscanus et fratres, quibus accessere varia eiusdem et aliorum poëmata quorum et titulos et nomina XVI. indicabit pagina. Eiusdem Psalmos seorsim non sine accessione excudit Basileae Rauracorum Thomas Guarinus Neruius. Ars 8° BL 6002.  
CioranESCO 21389.

Dans les poèmes de Buchanan: distiques formés d'un trimètre et d'un dimètre iambiques (f. a2 v°, p. 126), distiques composés d'un hexamètre dactylique et d'un dimètre iambique (p. 39), strophes alcaïques (pp. 39, 52, 132). Dans les poèmes d'Adrien Turnèbe: une ode alcaïque (p. 24). Dans les poèmes de Jean Dorat: strophes alcaïques (pp. 123, 125, 126, 127, 131, 158, 170), strophes asclépiades 2 (pp. 128, 155), une ode pindarique (p. 133), dimètres trochaïques (p. 149), strophes saphiques (p. 161).

### 1570

40. [Jean-Paul de Labeyrie] Io. Pauli Laberii Condomiensis regis consiliarii Carminum sylua. Ad Io. Auratum Lemouicem poëtam regium. [...] Tolosae. Apud Arnaldum et Iacobum Colomerios fratres academiae typographos. M. D. LXX.  
Maz 10688.  
CioranESCO 12041; *Répertoire bibliographique XVI<sup>e</sup>* XX 168.

Strophes saphiques (ff. B1 v°, C2 v°, N1 r°, N3 r°), glyconiques (ff. B3 v°, G2 r°, Giiiij r°), strophes alcaïques (ff. B4 r°, C2 v°, F3 r°, M3 r°, M3 v°, N2 v°), distiques formés d'un trimètre et d'un dimètre iambiques (ff. C3 r°, K4 r°, Liiij v°, M1 r°), strophes asclépiades 4 (ff. D1 r°, Iiiiij r°), strophes asclépiades 3 (f. D4 v°), strophes composées de quatre glyconiques et d'un phérecratéen (f. E3 r°), saphiques majeurs (f. H2 v°), dimètres iambiques (f. K1 r°), mètre archiloquien 2 (f. K2 r°).



## 1571

41. [Guillaume Calvimont] Gulielmi Caluimontani in supremo Parisiensi senatu patroni Sylvarum liber primus. Parisiis, ex typographia Dionysij à Prato, via Amygdalina ad ueritatis insigne. 1571. Cum priuilegio regis. BN Yc.1283.  
CioranESCO 5109.

Strophes saphiques (ff. 5 v°, 7 v°, 8 v°, 9 r°, 12 v°, 17 r°).

42. [Jean Dorat] Ad deum pro sanitate sibi restituta Io. Aurati Poetae regij graecolatini ode Latina et Graeca. Parisiis, apud Petrum L'huillier, via Iacobaea. 1571.  
BN Yc.8026.  
CioranESCO 8019.

Une ode alcaïque bilingue (en grec et en latin).

## 1572

43. Varia epigrammata à variis auctoribus doctissimis ad illustres viros pro xeniis missa, hoc anno 1572. Parisiis, ex typographia Dinoysij à Prato, via Amygdalina, ad ueritatis insigne.  
Maz 21470.

Strophes saphiques (ff. 2 r°, 2 v°).

## 1573

44. [Jean de La Jessée] I. Gessei Mauuesii in obitum excellentissimi principis Claudii à Lotharingia, et ducis Aumallae, Naenia. Vario genere carminum nouissimé ab ipso autore inuentorum, composita. Ad illustrissimum principem Carolum Lotharingiae cardinalem, ducis Aumallaei fratrem. Parisiis, ex typographia Dionysii à Prato, via Amygdalina, ad ueritatis insigne. 1573.  
SG Z 8°.988 inv. 3128 (pièce 9) Rés.  
(CioranESCO 12258).

L'exemplaire que nous avons consulté pourrait être incomplet, l'unique cahier étant chiffré Di à Diiij. La Jessée a lui-même inventé les mètres de ses six odes, dont il explique la forme métrique en tête de chacune.

45. [Martialis Monier] Martialis Monerii Lemouicis Epigrammata. Elegiae, et Odae. Burdigalae, apud Simonem Millangium. 1573.

BN Yc.8376.

Cioranescu 15177; *Répertoire bibliographique XVI<sup>e</sup>* I 29.

Ioniques mineurs (ff. Aviii r°, Ciii v°), distiques composés d'un hexamètre dactylique et d'un dimètre iambique (ff. Bv r°, Dv r°, Evii v°, Fiiii r°, Giiii v°), distiques formés d'un hexamètre dactylique et d'un glyconique (ff. Bvi r°, Diii v°, Nvi v°), glyconiques (f. Eiii v°), strophes asclepiades 1 (f. Mi r°), strophes alcaïques (ff. Mij r°, Mv v°), strophes saphiques (f. Miiij r°), strophes asclépiades 4 (ff. Mviii r°, Nij r°), strophes formées de quatre glyconiques et d'un phérecratéen (f. Nij r°).

## 1574

46. [Jean de La Jessée] I. Gessei Mauuesii e Vasconia, Epigrammaton ad principes, et magnates Galliae, permultosque alios insignes viros, pro xenijs: libri duo. Parisiis, ex typographia Dionysij à Prato, via Amygdalina, ad ueritatis insigne. 1574.

Maz 21470.

Cioranescu 12265.

Strophes saphiques (ff. 6 r°, 16 v°, 27 r°), distiques composés d'un hendécasyllabe alcaïque et d'un phalécien (f. 12 r°), strophes asclépiades 1 (f. 17 r°), adoniques (f. 18 v°), hendécasyllabes alcaïques (f. 25 r°), ainsi que des vers inventés par La Jessée lui-même (ff. 21 r°. 26 r°. 27 v°, cf. [44]).

47. [Jules-César Scaliger] Iulii Caesaris Scaligeri uiri clarissimi poemata in duas partes diuisa. Pleraque omnia in publicum iam primum prodeunt: reliqua vero quam ante emendatius edita sunt. Sophoclis Ajax lorarius stylo tragico a Iosepho Scaligero Iulii f. translatus. Eiusdem epigrammata quaedam, tum Graeca, tum Latina, cum quibusdam e Graeco versis. Anno M. D. LXXIII.

Maz 21272A.

Chaix, Dufour, Moeckli 82; Cioranescu 20514.

Il est impossible d'analyser ici la grande variété de mètres lyriques que Scaliger utilise, surtout dans la partie intitulée "Farrago" (pp. 150-223), mais aussi dans "Arae fracastoreae" (pp. 256-271), "Tumulus" (pp. 291-306) et "Anacreontica" (472-525). L'ouvrage fut réimprimé en 1591, "apud Petrum Santandreaum" (Chaix, Dufour, Moeckli 131).

## 1575

48. [Marc Antoine de Muret] M. Antonii Mureti i. c. et ciuis R. Hymnorum. sacrorum. liber iussu serenissimi Gulielmi ducis. Mantuae Montisferrati. et. c. conscriptus. Eiusdem alia quaedam poematia. Venetiis. ∞. D. LXXV apud Aldum.  
Maz 20620.

Strophes asclépiades 2 (pp. 5-31), dimètres iambiques (p. 32), distiques formés d'un quaternaire et d'un sénaire iambiques (p. 39), strophes alcaïques (p. 44).

## 1577

49. [Jean Antoine de Baïff] Carminum Iani Antonii Baiffi liber I. Lutetiae, apud Mamertum Patissonium, in officina Rob. Stephani. M. D. LXXVII. Maz 21574.  
Cioranescu 3023; Renouard, *Estienne* 179.

Distiques formés d'un trimètre et d'un dimètre iambiques (f. 2 r°, f. 24 v°), strophes alcaïques (f. 3 r°), aristophaniens (ff. 3 v°, 6 r°), strophes saphiques (ff. 4 r°, 10 r°, 20 r°, 29 r°), dimètres iambiques catalectiques (ff. 8 v°, 16 r°, 19 r°), strophes formées de trois glyconiques et d'un phérécratéen (ff. 9 r°, 13 r°), strophes formées de quatre glyconiques et d'un phérécratéen (ff. 11 v°, 14 r°, 14 v°), dimètres iambiques (f. 15 v°), strophes asclépiades 5 (f. 21 v°).

## 1578

50. [Louis de Balsac] Ludouici Balsacii Ruthenensis nobilis Ioan. Aurati Poëtae regij alumni, Operum poëticorum libri tres. Ad Henricum III. Galliae et Poloniae regem et Lythuaniae ducem. Anno aetatis 17. [...] Parisiis, apud Guilelmum Iulianum sub insigni amicitiae, ad collegium Cameracense. 1578.  
BN 8° Yc.937.

Deux odes pindariques (ff. aiii r° et 66 v°).

51. [Jean-Édouard Du Monin] Ioannis Edoardi Du Monin, Burgundionis Gyani, Miscellaneorum poëticorum aduersaria, tomum alterum, in quo lyra cothurno pleniùs forsàn nubet, comitem accitura. Interiecta sunt philosophica pleraque, ex Platonis, Aristotelis, d. Thomae, et Iul. Scalig.

legitimi philosophorum dictatoris eruta. Ad Claudium de La Baulme, Vesontinum antè archiepiscopum, cardinalem recèns et famosissima Baulmeorum prosapia, et solidioris gloriae peculio apprimè conspicabilem. Parisiis, apud Ioannem Richer, via d. Io. Lateranensis, sub arbore virescente. 1578. Cum priuilegio regis.

Maz 21357; SG Y 8°.742 inv. 1907 Rés.

CioranESCO 8835.

Strophes saphiques (15 odes), mètre archiloquien 1 (une ode), strophes asclépiades 1 (trois odes), distiques composés d'un hexamètre dactylique et d'un dimètre iambique (deux odes), une ode pindarique, strophes asclépiades 3 (deux odes), strophes asclépiades 4 (deux odes), strophes alcaïques (six odes), glyconiques (deux odes), saphiques majeurs (une ode), strophes formées de trois glyconiques et d'un phérécratéen (une ode).

52. Curiosolitorum de haereticis triumphus, ad amplissimum virum dominum de Pontecroix. Parisiis, ex typographia Dionysij à Prato, via Amygdalina, ad ueritatis insigne. 1578.

Maz 10811 C<sup>2</sup>.

Strophes asclépiades 1 (f. Aii r°).

## 1580

53. [Adrien Turnèbe] Adriani Turnebi philosophiae et Graecarum literarum professoris regij Poëmata. Ad c. u. Achillem Harlaeum senatus Parisiensis praesidem. Parisiis, apud Martinum Iuuenem, via S. Io. Lateranensis ad insigne serpentis. 1580. Cum priuilegio regis.

SG Z 8°.1046 (pièce 5) inv. 3189 Rés.

CioranESCO 21394.

Une ode en distiques composés d'un hexamètre dactylique et d'un dimètre iambique (p. 109).

## 1581

54. [Jules-César Boulenger] Iulii Caesaris Bulengeri Iuliodunensis Ioci. [...] Lutetiae. 1581.

Maz 10731.

Dans les "Epigrammata", l'on trouve plusieurs pièces en distiques composés d'un hexamètre dactylique et d'un dimètre iambique (ff. 9 r°, 10 r°, 13 r°, 13 v°, 16 r°, 16 v°) ainsi

qu'un poème qui se compose librement d'hexamètres et de pentamètres dactyliques et d'ithyphalliques (f. 14 r°).

55. [Claude Du Verdier] Cl. Verderii Peripetasis epigrammatum uariorum latius oratione soluta expressorum: eiusdem Bombycum metamorphosis, ecloga cui titulus Aphtharques, et alia poematia. Ad clarissimum virum Antonium Verderium dominum Vallispriuatae et Luriaci, regis consiliarium, aerarij apud Lugdunenses antigraphaeum, patrem suum colendiss. Parisiis, apud Mathurinum Preuost, sub scuto Veneto, è regione d. Ioannis Lateranensis. 1581.  
Maz 21338.  
CioranESCO 9422.

Strophes alcaïques (p. 2), une ode dans laquelle un asclépiade est suivi d'un glyconique (p. 157), strophes asclépiades 2 (p. 159).

56. [François Meneust] Francisci Menutij p. p. de Sophico certamine oratio, cuius magna pars de verborum cura est. Poëmata. Partim eruditione, partim peritia rerum agendarum insigne heroës. Ad Milonem Benedictum auunculum, curiae comitatus asseclae conscriptum et regiarum rationum principem. Parisiis. Ex typographia Dionysij à Prato, via Amygdalina, ad ueritatis insigne. 1581.  
BN X.18362.  
CioranESCO 14952.

Strophes asclépiades 1 (f. 16 r°), sénaires de spondées (f. 16 v°), adoniques (f. 17 v°), dimètres iambiques (ff. 19 v°, 22 r°), strophes asclépiades 2 (f. 20 v°), dimètres trochaïques (f. 22 v°).

57. [Marc Antoine de Muret] M. Antonii Mureti i. c. et ciuis R. Hymnorum sacrorum liber, iussu serenissimi Culielmi ducis Mantuae, etc. conscriptus. Eiusdem alia quaedam poematia. Omnia aucta et recognita post primam editionem. Permissu superiorum. Romae. Ex officina Georgii Ferrarii. M. D. LXXXI.  
Maz 23901.  
CioranESCO 16424.

Strophes asclépiades 2 (ff. 3 r°, 4 r° - 11 v°), dimètres iambiques (ff. 3 v°, 11 v°, 12 r°, 12 v°), strophes saphiques (f. 19 v°), strophes alcaïques (ff. 21 v°, 27 r°), mètre archiloquien 3 (ff. 20 v°, 21 r°), une ode en distiques formés d'un trimètre et d'un dimètre iambiques (f. 24 v°)

58. [Guillaume Paradin] Gulielmi Paradini Anchemani Epigrammata. Accessit Francorum regum series: cum notis annorum, quibus singuli inierunt principatum: eodem autore. Lugduni, apud Ant. Gryphium. M. D. LXXXI. Maz 10731.  
Baudrier VIII 380 sq.; Cioranescu 17032.

Strophes saphiques (pp. 6, 27, 38).

59. [Chr. Pison] Potamologus seu descriptio fluuiialis eorum quae gesta sunt super Sequanam 6. non. oct. in gratiam nuptiarum ducis Loyeusij. Auct. Chr. Pisone. Parisiis, ex typographia Dionysij à Prato, via Amygdalina, ad ueritatis insigne. 1581.  
Maz 21470.  
Cioranescu 17634.

Une ode en distiques formés d'un trimètre et d'un dimètre iambiques (f. 1 v°).

## 1584

60. [Jean Girard] Ioannis Girardi Diuionensis Assonae Sequanorum i. et p. Poemata noua. Parisiis, apud Guillelmum Auray, via d. Ioan. Bellouacensis, sub insigni Bellerophontis coronati. M. D. LXXXIII. Cum priuilegio regis.  
Maz 21311.  
Cioranescu 10717; *Imprimeurs parisiens* I 245.

En tête de chaque ode, Girard donne lui-même une analyse des mètres employés: strophes alcaïques (f. 1 v°), priapéens (f. 2 r°), distiques composés d'un trimètre dactylique catalectique et d'un hendécasyllabe saphique (f. 3 r°), strophes composées de deux décasyllabes et de deux hendécasyllabes alcaïques (f. 3 v°), strophes composées de quatre glyconiques et de quatre phérecratéens (f. 4 v°), strophes composées de quatre glyconiques et de deux ennéasyllabes alcaïques (f. 5 r°), strophes composées de six glyconiques et de deux ennéasyllabes alcaïques (f. 6 r°), distiques formés d'un décasyllabe et d'un hendécasyllabe alcaïques (f. 7 r°), décasyllabes alcaïques (f. 7 v°), strophes saphiques (f. 8 r°). Outre ces odes, l'on trouve des dimètres iambiques et des distiques composés d'un hexamètre dactylique et d'un dimètre iambique dans les parties intitulées "Parnassus", "Epigrammata" et "Dialogi".

61. In felicem D. I. Hamiltonij omnium philosophorum facilè principis recitatum. E. a. XVI. ca. ia. CIO IO XXCIV.  
Maz 21470.

Une ode en strophes asclépiades 1, non signée (p. 3).

## 1585

62. [Etienne Pasquier] Stephani Paschasii iurisconsulti, ac in senatu Parisiensi patroni Poemata. Parisiis, apud Aegidium Beysium, sub insigni albi lilij, via Iacobeae. M. D LXXXV. Cum priuilegio regis.  
Ars 8° BL 5655.  
Arbour 158 et 158\*; Cioranescu 17183; *Imprimeurs parisiens* III 358-360.

Dans les pièces liminaires, une ode saphique de Scévole de Sainte-Marthe (f. 135 r°).

63. [Jean Robelin] Ioannis Robelin Burgundionis Poemata. Parisiis, apud Marcum Orry, in monte diui Hilarij. M. D. LXXXV.  
Maz 21460, p. 4.  
Arbour 169 et 169\*; Cioranescu 19225.

Strophes asclépiades 2 (pp. 5, 8, 10), distiques formés d'un trimètre et d'un dimètre iambiques (p. 13), distiques composés d'un hexamètre dactylique et d'un dimètre iambique (p. 14).

## 1586

64. Ad amplissimum senatum pro retento academiae iure in causa Hamiltonij cum de nominando curione d. d. Cosmae et Damiani ageretur, gratiarum actio. Anno M. D. LXXXVI. Ex typographia Dionysij à Prato,  
Maz 21470.  
Arbour 18607.

De Jean-Édouard Du Monin: une ode alcaïque (f. 4 r°), distiques composés d'un hexamètre dactylique et d'un dimètre iambique (f. 8 r°), mètre archiloquien 2 (f. 10 v°). Deux odes alcaïques de Jean Morel (ff. 6 r°, 25 r°). Une ode pindarique signé "N. Micaël".

65. [Jean Dorat] Ioannis Aurati Lemouicis poetae et interpretis regij Poëmata. Hoc est Poëmatum lib. 5 Odarum lib. 2 Epigrammatum lib. 3 Epithalamiorum lib. 1 Anagrammatum lib. 1 Eclogarum lib. 2 Funerum lib. 1 Variarum rerum lib. 1 Cum indicibus rerum et verborum locupletissimis. Ad Henricum tertium christianiss. Franc. et Polon. regem. Lutetiae Parisior. apud Gulielmum Linocerium in monte diui Hilarij, ad insigne uasis aurei. cIo Io XXXCVI. Cum priuilegio regis.  
Maz 21362.  
Arbour 259 et 259\*; Cioranescu 8009.

Strophes saphiques (pp. 171, 225 [en grec]), strophes alcaïques (pp. 173, 181, 184, 187, 189, 197, 199, 202, 203, 204, 207, 228, 233, 234, 237), deux odes pindariques (pp. 176, 209), strophes asclépiades 2 (pp. 194, 206).

66. [Jacques Grenier] *Hymnus Calaidis et Zethae, e Gallico Petri Ronsardi Latine expressus à Iacobo Grenerio Parisiensi. Versibus Gallicis è regione Latinorum appositis. Adiecta sunt aliquot eiusdem Grenerii praeludia poëtica. Parisiis, ex officina Petri L'Huillier via Iacobaea, sub signo oliuae. M. D. LXXXVI. Cum priuilegio.*  
Maz 10731.  
Arbour 287; Cioranescu 10979.

Une ode alcaïque (p. 113).

## 1587

67. [Scévole de Sainte-Marthe] *Scaeuolae Sammarthani Poemata. Ad Henricum III. Galliae et Poloniae regem. Lutetiae, apud Mamertum Patissonium typographum regium: in officina Roberti Stephani. M. D. LXXXVII.*  
BN Yc.8588.  
Arbour 585 et 585\*.

Strophes alcaïques (pp. 77, 88, 98, 107, 109, 151, 218), distiques composés d'un hexamètre dactylique et d'un dimètre iambique (pp. 85, 102, 156, 190), strophes asclépiades 3 (p. 93), mètre archiloquien 1 (p. 95), strophes saphiques (pp. 117, 238), strophes formées de quatre glyconiques et d'un phérécraéen (pp. 125, 240), distiques composés d'un trimètre et d'un dimètre iambiques (pp. 136, 162, 220), distiques composés d'un hexamètre dactylique et d'un trimètre iambique (p. 186), strophes asclépiades 4 (p. 226), strophes asclépiades 2 (p. 243).

## 1589

68. [Guillaume Le Blanc] *Poemata Guilielmi Blanci iun. Albiensis i. c. Sixti V. cubicularii intimi. Ad eundem s. d. n. Sixtum V. pont. opt. max. Indicem singulorum poematum sequens pagina continet. Lutetiae, apud Federicum Morellum typographum regium. M. D. LXXXIX. Ex priuilegio regis.*  
Maz 21366, p. 2.  
Arbour 748 et 748\*.

Une ode alcaïque (f. 60 v°); une ode saphique (f. 61 v°).



69. [Jean-Jacques Boissard] Iani Iacobi Boissardi Vesuntini Poemata. Elegiarum libri II. Hendecasyllabor. lib. II. Tumulorum et epitaphiorum lib. I. Epigrammatum lib. II. Metis, excudebat Abrahamus Faber. M. D. XIC. Cum priuilegio regis.

Maz 21427.

Arbour 878 et 878\*; Cioranescu 4267; *Répertoire bibliographique XVI<sup>e</sup>* VII 28 sq. et XXIX 63.

Une ode saphique (p. 317). Dans les pièces liminaires, une ode en distiques formés d'un vers archiloquien et d'un phalécéen par Petrus Friderus (f. a4 v<sup>o</sup>) et une ode en distiques formés d'un dimètre ionique et d'un dimètre iambique par Paul Schede (Melissus) (p. 285).

## 1590

70. Cleri Turonensis Hymni duo. Ad Henricum IIII. Galliarum et Nauarrae regem. Vnus ante pugnam: alter post uictoriam Ibricam. Addita est vernacula versio. Augustae Turonum. M. D. LXXXX.

Ars 4<sup>o</sup> BL 2063.

Arbour 1058 et 1058\*; *Répertoire bibliographique XVI<sup>e</sup>* XXIII 146.

Les deux hymnes sont écrits en dimètres iambiques regroupés en "strophes" à six vers.

## 1591

71. [Jean Jaquemot] Lamentationes prophetae Ieremiae, uariis lyricorum uersuum generibus expressae, cum aliquot sacrae scripturae canticis. Authore Ioanne Iacomoto Barrensi. Geneuae, apud Iacobum Stoer, 1591. BN Rés. p.Yc.1061 (5).

Arbour 1229 et 1229\*; Chaix, Dufour, Moeckli 131.

Strophes alcaïques (p. 126), strophes asclépiades 1 (p. 98). Un poème dont chaque strophe est composée avec un mètre différent. Dans les pièces liminaires, une ode en distiques composés d'un hexamètre dactylique et d'un dimètre iambique par Théodore de Bèze (f. \*8 r<sup>o</sup>), une ode en hendécasyllabes alcaïques par Jacques Lect (f. \*8 v<sup>o</sup>) et des strophes alcaïques par Henricus Altenhouius (f. \*\*4 r<sup>o</sup>) et par Paul Schede (Melissus) (p. 124).

72. [Jean Jaquemot] Ioannis Iacomoti Barrensis Lyrica. Geneuae, apud Iacobum Stoer M. D. XCI.

BN Rés. p.Yc.1061 (4).

Arbour 1230 et 1231\*; Chaix, Dufour, Moeckli 131.

Strophes alcaïques (14 odes), strophes asclépiades 2 (trois odes), deux odes en distiques composés d'un hexamètre dactylique et d'un dimètre iambique, strophes asclépiades 4 (cinq odes), strophes asclépiades 1 (deux odes), strophes saphiques (trois odes), un poème qui, à des phalécéens, fait suivre des strophes asclépiades 4.

73. [Scévole de Sainte-Marthe] Scaeuolae Sammarthani carmen de uictoria apud Euriacum parta pridie eid. Martias anno CIO . IO . XC. Ad Christianiss. regem Henricum IIII. Caesaroduni Turonum, apud Iametium Messorium typographum regium. M. D. XCI. Cum priuilegio regis.

BN Yc.1699.

Arbour 1273; Cioranescu 20170; *Répertoire bibliographique XVI<sup>e</sup> XXIII* 102.

L'unique pièce est composée de dix strophes qui regroupent divers mètres lyriques (glyconiques, hendécasyllabes alcaïques et saphiques, dimètres iambiques, etc.).

## 1593

74. [Gabriel de La Charlonye] Gab. Carlonii Angolismensis. De sphaera mundi siue de cosmographia libri II. Caesaroduni Turonum. Apud Iametium Messorium, regium typographum. 1593.

BN V.20685.

Cioranescu 12158; *Répertoire bibliographique XVI<sup>e</sup> XXIII* 116 sq.

Une ode alcaïque de R. Brisset, en l'honneur de l'auteur Gabriel de La Charlonye (f. 59 v°).

75. [Paul Thomas] Pauli Thomae Engolismensis Poemata. 1593.

Maz 21377.

Arbour 1568 et 1568\*; *Répertoire bibliographique XVI<sup>e</sup> II* 24.

Strophes asclépiades 3 (f. 15 r°), mètre archiloquien 1 (f. 15 v°), strophes saphiques (f. 16 r°), strophes alcaïques (ff. 17 r°, 18 r°, 24 v°, 26 r°, 27 r°), strophes asclépiades 4 (f. 18 v°), strophes composées de trois glyconiques et d'un phérecratéen (f. 19 r°), distiques formés d'un trimètre et d'un dimètre iambiques (ff. 25 v°, 47 v°), strophes asclépiades 1 (f. 29 r°), distiques composés d'un hexamètre dactylique et d'un dimètre iambique (f. 63 v°), glyconiques (f. 66 v°).

## 1595

76. [Gentil Cordier] Corderii Lepidi i. c. Lingonensis, Annona prima. In tres partes diuisa. Emblematum. Epigrammatum. Variorum. Parisiis, apud Leodegarium Delas, via Iacobaea, sub sole aureo. cId Io . XCV.  
Maz 21416.  
Cioranesc 6883.

Distiques composés d'un hexamètre dactylique et d'un dimètre iambique (pp. 10, 14, 15), strophes asclépiades 4 (p. 17).

## 1596

77. [Gilbert Banchereau] Gilberti Bancherelli Pleiades. Quarum index versa pagella continetur. Augustoriti Pictonum. Ex typographia Ioannis Blanceti. CIO IO XCVI.  
BN Yc.9978.  
Arbour 2047; Cioranesc 3089; *Répertoire bibliographique XVI<sup>e</sup>* V 123.

Strophes alcaïques (pp. 101, 102, 107, 108, 134), strophes composées de deux phalécéens et d'un vers qui réunit un mètre trochaïque et un adonique (p. 102), une ode dont les strophes se composent d'un asclépiade, d'un phalécéen et d'un tétramètre dactylique catalectique (p. 103), mètre archiloquien 2 (p. 104), strophes saphiques (p. 105), glyconiques (p. 110). Dans les pièces liminaires, une ode alcaïque d'Adam Blackwood (f. aij r°).

78. [Louis-François Le Duchat] Sacrorum heroum atque heroidum odae. A Franco Ducatio Sanctauintino Latinae factae benignitate et gratia Augusti principis. Errici Borbonii Franc. f. Lod. n. Mompenserii, Dumbaei, etc. Neustriae proregis. Tricassibus, excudebat Ianus Odotius, typographus regius. CIO IO . XCVI. Cum priuilegio.  
BN Yc.8219.  
Arbour 2143 et 2143\*; Cioranesc 13062; *Répertoire bibliographique XVI<sup>e</sup>* XII 86 sq.

Strophes asclépiades 4 (pp. 5, 7, 15, 23, 36), strophes alcaïques (pp. 10, 49, 56, 62), dimètres iambiques catalectiques (p. 20), strophes formées de quatre glyconiques et d'un phérécraéen (p. 25, 53), dimètres composés d'un trimètre d'un dimètre iambiques (pp. 32, 50, 59), strophes saphiques (pp. 41, 47, 65), strophes asclépiades 3 (p. 43), distiques composés d'un hexamètre dactylique et d'un trimètre iambique (p. 55), une ode dont les strophes se composent de deux glyconiques et de deux asclépiades (p. 65).

79. [Scévole de Sainte-Marthe] Scaeuolae Sammarthani Poemata. Recens aucta et in libros quindecim tributa. Augustoriti Pictorum. Ex typographia Ioannis Blanceti. Anno CIO IO XCVI.

Ars 4° BL 2118.

Arbour 2211 et 2211\*; Cioranescu 20171; *Répertoire bibliographique XVI<sup>e</sup>* V 124.

Il existe une réimpression de 1606. Neuf odes pindariques (pp. 129 sqq.), strophes asclépiades 2 (pp. 179, 201), strophes alcaïques (pp. 181, 184, 187, 195, 199, 203, 209), distiques composés d'un hexamètre dactylique et d'un dimètre iambique (pp. 183, 209, 210), distiques composés d'un trimètre et d'un dimètre iambiques (p. 189), strophes asclépiades 3 (p. 191), mètre archiloquien 1 (pp. 193, 211), strophes saphiques (p. 197), strophes composées de quatre glyconiques et d'un phérecratéen (p. 205), mètre hipponactéen (p. 212). Dans les pièces liminaires, strophes alcaïques par Jean Douza le jeune (f. \*ij v°) et par Adam Blackwood (f. \*iiij v°).

## 1597

80. [Jean Jaquemot] Agrippa ecclesiomastix, tragoedia, auctore Ioanne Iacomoto Barrensi. Geneuae, excudebat Matthaeus Berjon. cIo . Io . XCVII. BN Yc.8295.

Arbour 2339 et 2339\*; Chaix, Dufour, Moeckli 150; Cioranescu 11755.

Trois odes alcaïques (pp. 3, 91, 94).

81. [Jean Jaquemot] Ioannis Iacomoti Barrensis Musae neocomenses. Excudebat Matthaeus Berjon. cIo . Io . XCVII.

BN Yc.8296.

Arbour 2340 et 2340\*; Chaix, Dufour, Moeckli 150; Cioranescu 11756.

Strophes alcaïques (20 odes), distiques composés d'un trimètre et d'un dimètre iambiques (deux odes), strophes asclépiades 4 (cinq odes), hendécasyllabes alcaïques (six odes), strophes saphiques (trois odes), strophes asclépiades 2 (une ode), distiques composés d'un hexamètre dactylique et d'un dimètre iambique (deux odes), strophes asclépiades 3 (une ode), glyconiques (une ode). Un poème dont chaque strophe est composée avec un mètre différent.

82. [Abel de Sainte-Marthe] Abelii Sammarthani Scaeuolae fil. Poemata. Lutetiae, apud Mamertum Patissonium typographum regium. Ex officina Rob. Stephani. M. D. XCVII.

Maz 21519.

Arbour 2432 et 2432\*.

Cinq odes alcaïques (ff. 32 r°, 34 r°, 39 v°, 44 v°, 50 r°), une ode saphique (f. 36 v°). Dans les pièces liminaires, une ode alcaïque de Gilbert Banchereau (f. 58 v°).

## 1598

83. [Thierry Marcilly] Hymnus d. Nicolao Myrensi episcopo sanctiss. dictus. Theodorus Marcilius. Parisiis, e typographia Steph. Preuosteau, in via aurigarum è regione trium crescentium. M. D. XCVIII.  
BN Yc.1525.  
Arbour 2612.

Une ode saphique.

84. [Sébastien Rouillard] Sebastiani Rolliardi Melodun. suprema in curia patroni, Agrocharis. E Gallico u. c. u. f. Pybracii poemate, Latino carmine expressa. Adiecta sunt et quaedam eiusdem Rolliardi Musurgia. Parisiis, apud Petrum Labelum, cuius officina ad gradus mediae portae magnae aulae palatij. CIO IO . XCVIII. Non sine priuilegio.  
BN Yc.8562.  
Arbour 2676 et 2676\*; Cioranescu 60380.

Une ode alcaïque (ff. 39 r° - 51 r°).

## 1599

85. [Nicolas Bourbon, le jeune] Nicolai Borbonii d. Nicolao Myrensi episcopo Hymni II. Ex typographia Philippi à Prato, via amygdalina, ad ueritatis insigne. 1599.  
BN Yc.1237.  
(Arbour 2740).

Une ode alcaïque (p. 3), une ode saphique (p. 6).

86. [Denys Guérin] Beati Dionysii Areopagitae, Athenarum episcopi, et fidei christianae apud Franco-Celtas praeconis Martyrium. Dionysius Guerinus. cIo . cI. Ic. Parisiis, e typographia Steph. Preuosteau, haeredis Guill. Morelij, in Graecis typogr. regij, in clauso Brunello.  
Maz 10811 C<sup>2</sup>.  
Arbour 19267.

Un poème en distiques composés d'un trimètre et d'un dimètre iambiques.

87. [Denys Guérin] D. Nicolao, Myrensiū episcopo solenne votum. Ad uirum piissimum et eruditissimum d. d. Medardum Bourgeottium collegij Praeleo-Bellouaci moderatorem prudentiss. Dionysius Guerinus. Parisiis, e typographia Steph. Preuosteau, in uia aurigarum è regione trium crescentium. cIo . cI . Io .

Maz 10811 C<sup>2</sup>.

Arbour 2805 et 2805\*.

Une ode saphique.

88. [Thierry Marcilly] Cunaē. S. Nicolao, Myrensiū episcopo. Hymnus I. Theodori Marcilii. Parisiis, e typographia Steph. Preuosteau, in uia aurigarum e regione trium crescentium. M. D. XCIX.

BN Yc.1529.

Arbour 2841.

Une ode saphique.

89. [Thierry Marcilly] Theodori Marcilii s. Ioanni prophetae, antecursori, et baptistae Hymnus. Parisiis, e typographia Steph. Preuosteau, in uia aurigarum, è regione trium crescentium. M. D. XCIX.

BN Yc.1527.

Arbour 2843 et 2843\*.

Une ode saphique.

90. [Thierry Marcilly] S. Martino Turonensiū episcopo. Hymni III. Theodorus Marcilius. Parisiis, è typographia Stephani Preuostaei, in uia aurigarum è regione trium crescentium. CIO CI IC.

BN Yc.1526.

Arbour 2844 et 2844\*.

Trois odes saphiques.

## 1600

91. [Louis de Sainte-Malachie] F. Ludouici a S. Malachia. Viennensis. monachi Fuliensis Piorum carminum libri quinque item De poesi ad res honestas et potissimum sacras conferenda lucubratiuncula. Parisiis apud Ioannem Boulliette iuxta collegium Cameracense 1600.

Ars 8° BL 5849.

Arbour 3095 et 3095\*.

Strophes saphiques (ff. 30 v°, 34 v°, 37 v°, 38 r°, 38 v°, 39 v°, 43 v°, 104 r°), distiques formés d'un trimètre et d'un dimètre iambiques (ff. 40 r°, 76 r°, 96 v°), strophes alcaïques (f. 42 v°), dimètres iambiques (f. 44 v°).

92. [Jean Rouxel] *Poemata Ioannis Ruxelii Britouillani Cadomensis iuris-consulti oratoris et poetae elegantissimi. Additae sunt lamentationes Ieremiae ab eodem elegiaco uersu redditae. Rothomagi, apud Raphaelem Paruiualium typographum regium. 1600. Cum priuilegio regis.*

BN Yc.9198.

Arbour 3164 et 3164\*; Cioranescu 20042; *Répertoire bibliographique XVI<sup>e</sup>, Bibliographie normande* VI 123.

Une ode saphique (f. Cv v°).

## 1601

93. [Guillaume Du Peyrat] *Gulielmi Du-Peyratii Lugdunensis. Spicilegia poetica. Et Amorum libri III. A Paris, Chez Ieremie Perier marchand libraire, rue S. Iacques, à l'enseigne du Bellerophon. 1601.*

Maz 44298.

Arbour 3295 et 3295\*; Cioranescu 9030.

Deux odes alcaïques (ff. 25 r°, 27 v°), trois odes qui mélangent différents mètres Horatiens (ff. 10 v°, 27 r°, 37 r°).

94. [Jean Jaquemot] *Ehud, siue Τυραννοκτονοϋ. Tragoedia, auctore Joanne Jacomoto Barrensi. Cum aliquot poematiis Latinogallicis. Apud Ioan-nem Tornaesium. CIO .IO . CI.*

BN Yc.8297.

Arbour 3334 et 3334\*; Cartier 710; Cioranescu 11758.

Distiques composés d'un hexamètre dactylique et d'un dimètre iambique (p. 60), distiques composés d'un hexamètre dactylique et d'un trimètre iambique (p. 61), hendécasyllabes alcaïques (p. 63), strophes asclépiades 4 (p. 85), strophes alcaïques (p. 101).

95. [Jean Jaquemot] *Variorum poematum liber. Auctore Ioanne Iacomoto Barrensi. Ex typographæio Ioannis Tornaesii Lugd. CIO . IO . CI.*

BN Yc.8298.

Arbour 3335 et 3335\*; Cartier 711; Cioranesc 11758.1.

Strophes alcaïques (pp. 3, 17, 20, 23, 27, 28, 35, 46, 52), strophes asclépiades 4 (pp. 13, 31), strophes asclépiades 2 (pp. 42, 56). Distiques composés d'un hexamètre dactylique et d'un dimètre iambique (pp. 63, 67, 73, 75, 85, 147), distiques composés d'un trimètre et d'un dimètre iambiques (pp. 66, 68, 72), distiques composés d'un hexamètre dactylique et d'un trimètre iambique (p. 70), hendécasyllabes alcaïques (p. 134). Une ode dont chaque strophe comporte un mètre différent.

96. [Henri Monantheuil] De Iacobo Brissarto consiliariorum regiorum decano uita honorificentissima functo, ad eius nepotem Iacobum Brissartum abbatem Samprisium iuris utriusque peritissimum καὶ πάντων μαθημάτων φίλον. Parisiis, e typographia Steph. Preuosteau, in coll. Cameracensi. 1601.  
BN Yc.1567.

Mètre archiloquien 2 (p. 3).

## 1602

97. [Jérôme Séguier] Hieronymi Segulier sacro-magni praesidis Daphnidium. In panegyrica et florida tributum. Parisiis, e typographia Steph. Preuosteau, uia D. Ioann. Lateranensis in coll. Cameracensi. cIo . Io cII.  
Maz 34413.  
(Arbour 3854 et 3854\*).

Strophes asclépiades 1 (pp. 64, 82), strophes saphiques (p. 67), distiques composés d'un trimètre et d'un dimètre iambiques (p. 73), adoniques (p. 86).

98. [Guillaume Sibylla] In aduentum ad Senonas reuerendiss. ac illustriss. d. d. Reginaldi de Beaulne, archiepisc. Senonensis, Galliarum et Germaniae primatis, magni Franciae eleemosin. utriusque auditorij regis senatoris, regij sodalitiij equitum s. spiritus rectoris, etc. A Paris, chez George Niuer, imprimeur demeurant ruë saint Jacques, prés le college du Plessis. M. DCII.  
BN Yc.8668.  
Arbour 3626.

Une ode alcaïque.



1603

99. [Jean Jaquemot] D. O. M. ob liberatam a perfidiosissima sceleratissimorum latronum conjuratione Geneuam, prid. id. Decemb. hiemali solstitio, carmen εὐχαριστικὸν J. Jacomoti Bar. Geneuae, apud Ionam Vexilliferum. CIO . IO . CIII.

BN Yc.1467.

Arbour 3779; CioranESCO 11759.

Une ode alcaïque.

100. [Jean Morel] In festa sollennia d. Remigii Remorum archiepiscopi quae celebrantur idibus Ianuarij et kal. Octob. heroicum carmen et sapphicum. Ad ornatiss. uirum d. Ioannem Carton ecclesiae Rem. praecentorem, et canonicum. Parisiis, e typographia Steph. Preuosteau, è regione d. Io. Lateranensi in coll. Cameracensi. 1603

BN Yc.1579.

Arbour 3802; CioranESCO 16176.

Une ode sapphique (p. 5).

101. [Jean Morel] Sacri studii theologici laudes I. Morelli Remorum gymnasiarchae. [p. 8] Parisiis, è typographia Steph. Preuosteau, via diui Ioan. Later. in colleg. Camerac. 1603.

BN Yc.1578.

Arbour 3803; CioranESCO 16177.

Distiques formés d'un trimètre et d'un dimètre iambiques (p. 1), mètre archiloquien 1 (p. 6), strophes alcaïques (p. 7).

102. [Pierre Nevelet] Petri Neueleti Doschii. Lacrumae in funere u. cl. Petri Pithoei auunculi. Cum aliorum carminibus. Parisiis, apud Ieremiam Perier, via Iacobaea sub signo Bellerophonitis. M. DCIII.

Ars 4° BL 2070 (1).

Arbour 3817 et 3817\*; CioranESCO 16526.

Distiques formés d'un trimètre et d'un dimètre iambiques (p. 12), strophes asclépiades 1 (p. 25). Une ode alcaïque de Paul Schede (Melissus) (p. 39).

103. [Sébastien Rouillard] Iani Passerti nuper eloquentiae professoris et interpretis regii. Traiectus elysius. Auctore Sebastiano Rolliardo. i. c. to.

Parisiis, apud Philippum a Prato, viâ Amygdalinâ, ad ueritatis insigne.  
C10 . 10 . III.

Maz 10834, p. 11.

Arbour 3849; Cioranescu XVII<sup>e</sup> 60385.

Une ode alcaïque (f. 10 r<sup>o</sup>).

## 1604

104. [César Augustin Costé] Caes. Aug. Cottae Casteldunensis Poemata. Ad amplissimum u. Achillem Harlaeum equitem torquatum regni curiae principem. Parisiis, apud Iamet Mettayer typographum regium. M. DC. IIII.

Maz 21430.

Arbour 3937 et 3937\*; Cioranescu XVII<sup>e</sup> 21977.

Distiques composés d'un hexamètre dactylique et d'un dimètre iambique (f. 19 r<sup>o</sup>), strophes asclépiades 2 (f. 19 v<sup>o</sup>).

## 1605

105. [Jean Morel] Illustrissimo principi d. d. Lodoico à Lotharingia nunc primùm archiepiscopo duci Rhemorum, primo pari Franciae, legato nato s. sedis apost. gratulatur schola Rhem. Paris. Parisiis. E typographia Steph. Preuosteau via d. Ioann. Later. in colleg. Camer. M. DC. V.

BN Yc.1580.

Arbour 19637; Cioranescu 16178.

Une ode alcaïque.

106. [Guillaume Le Roux] Gulielmi Rufi presbyteri Armorici Nugae poëticae: clarissimo nobilissimoque adolescenti Renato de Kermabon d. d. à villa primaëus gentis: dicatae. Parisiis, apud Petrum Pautonnier, in Graecis typographum regium, via d. Hilarij. M. DCV.

SG Y 8<sup>o</sup>.539 (p. 4) Inv. 1667 Rés.

Arbour 4294 et 4294\*.

Strophes saphiques (pp. 17, 50, 85), strophes asclépiades 2 (pp. 29, 59), strophes composées de quatre phalécéens et d'un glyconique (p. 35), glyconiques (p. 46). Deux odes font suivre des strophes saphiques à des distiques élégiaques (pp. 41, 116).

107. [Sébastien Rouillard] Sebastiani Rolliardi Melodunensis, in suprema curia Franciae causs. patroni: Agrocharis. E Gallico u. c. u. f. Pybracii poëmate, Latino carmine, ad verbum expressa. Adiecta sunt et IX. eiusdem Rolliardi Musurgia. Parisiis. Apud Michaellem Sonnum, via Iocobaea, sub scuto basiliensi. M. D. C. V.

Maz 21431.

Arbour 4373 et 4373\*.

Strophes alcaïques (ff. Fiiij r°, Lvi r°, Qviii r°), priapéens (f. Nvi v°), strophes saphiques (f. Nviii r°), strophes composées de trois glyconiques et d'un phérécratéen (f. Oiiij r°).

### 1607

108. V. amplissimi Claudii Puteani tumulus. Parisiis, CIO IO CVII.

BN Yc.1893.

Lachèvre 267 sq.

Une ode saphique par Frédéric Morel (p. 7), une ode en distiques formés d'un trimètre et d'un dimètre iambiques par Scévole de Sainte-Marthe (p. 27). Deux odes non signées en distiques composés d'un hexamètre dactylique et d'un dimètre iambique (pp. 51, 72; la deuxième est sans doute écrite par Daniel Heinsius),

### 1608

109. [Adam Blackwood] In psalmum Davidis quinquagesimum, cuius initium est, miserere mei deus, Adami Blacuodaei meditatio. Augustoriti Pictorum. Ex officina Iuliani Thorelli typographi uniuersitatis. 1608.

Maz 23916, p. 2.

*Répertoire bibliographique XVII<sup>e</sup> V 20.*

Une ode saphique (p. 95).

110. [Adam Blackwood] Sanctarum precationum prooemia, seu mauis, eiaculationes animae ad orandum se praeparantis. Per Adam. Blacuodaum regis apud Pictones in praesidiali curia consiliarium. Augustoriti Pictorum. Ex officina Iuliani Thorelli, typographi uniuersitatis. 1608.

Maz 23916, p. 1.

*Répertoire bibliographique XVII<sup>e</sup> V 20.*

Strophes alcaïques (pp. 39, 43, 53), strophes asclépiades 2 (p. 40), distiques composés d'un trimètre et d'un dimètre iambiques (p. 41), strophes saphiques (p. 45).

111. [Jean Bonyol] Francoparnassus. Antrum quo Henrici III. Galliarum regis christianissimi gloria, et illustrissimi clarissimique d. domini Nicolai Brulardi Syllerii Galliarum et Nauarrae cancellarij et Apollinis, honos à Musis celebrantur. A Io. Bonyol in sacro regis consilio patrono. Parisiis, per Petrum Seuestre, typographum, in quadriuo sanctae Genouefae. M. DC. VIII.

Maz 10685, p. 3.

Arbour 19814.

Strophes asclépiades 2 (f. 17 r°), strophes alcaïques (f. 18 v°).

112. [Jean Fortin] Diui Nicolai Genethliacon siue cunas eruditissimo uiro d. d. Cagnyeo regiae Nauarrae primario dicat et consecrat Ioannes Fortinus vindoc. Parisiis, apud Martinum Verac, via Iudaica è regione d. Annae. M. DC VIII.

BN Yc.8248.

Arbour 19832.

Deux odes alcaïques (pp. 6, 10).

113. [Jean Caecilius Frey] D. Nicolao Myrensib. pontifici geminos hymnos Ianus Coecilius Frey dixit. Anno ab orbe seruato M. DC. VIII. Parisiis e typographia Ioannis Libert, uia diui Ioannis Lateranensis propè collegium Cameracense in angulo. M. DC. VIII.

BN Yc.1390.

Arbour 19834.

Une ode alcaïque (p. 7).

114. [Jean Morel] Ioannis Morelli musei Rhemensis Paris. gymnasiarchae Lyra plectri Horatiani aemula ad r. p. Philippum Cospeanum Aturensum episcop. Item acrostichis ad c. u. Ludouicum Seguierium eccl. Paris. decanum in suprema curia consiliarium. Aliaque diuersa poemata. Parisiis apud Iulianum Bertault in monte d. Hilarii 1608 Cum priuilegio reg.

Maz 21339.

Arbour 5163 et 5163\*; Cioranescu 16179.

Morel utilise les mètres suivants: strophes alcaïques, strophes asclépiades 4, strophes saphiques, distiques composés d'un hexamètre dactylique et d'un dimètre iambique, distiques composés d'un trimètre et d'un dimètre iambiques, strophes asclépiades 2, strophes asclépiades 3, mètre archiloquien 1, strophes asclépiades 1, saphiques majeurs. Aux pp.

119-122, l'on trouve des odes écrites par des élèves de Morel, signées Jacques Du Pin, Fr. Budé, Jacques Colombel, Jacques Bourneuf, Jacques Duchon. Dans les pièces liminaires, l'on trouve des strophes alcaïques par Jean Heliot (f. †v v°) et par Jacques Vasseur (p. 255).

115. [Paul Duez] *Luctus iuuentutis academiae Mussipontanae. In funere sereniss. Caroli III. Calab. Lothar. Barri Ducis, etc. patriae, et litterarum parentis opt. Mussiponti, apud Melchiorem Bernardum, sereniss. Lothar. ducis, et uinuersitatis typog.* 1608.

Maz 21436.

Arbour 19849; Cioranescu XVII<sup>e</sup> 26869; *Répertoire bibliographique XVII<sup>e</sup> X* 166.

Strophes saphiques (ff. Biiij r°, Dij r°), strophes alcaïques (ff. Bvii r°, Cvi r°, Cvi v°, Cvii r°, Cvii v°, Diiij v°, Fi v°), distiques composés d'un hexamètre dactylique et d'un adonique (f. Dij v°), mètre archiloquien 1 (f. Diiij v°), strophes formés d'un asclépiade, d'un hendécasyllabe, d'un ennéasyllabe et d'un décasyllabe alcaïques (f. Dv r°), strophes asclépiades 3 (f. Ei r°), strophes asclépiades 2 (f. Ev v°), mètre archiloquien 2 (ff. Evi r°, Evii v°), strophes asclépiades 4 (f. Fi r°), distiques composés d'un trimètre et d'un dimètre iambiques (f. Fij v°). Une ode est un mélange de divers mètres Horatiens (f. Fiiij r°).

## 1609

116. [Adam Blackwood] *Varii generis poematia, per Adam. Blacuodaeum in praesidiali Pictonum consessu, et in metropolitano decurionum collegio consiliarium. Pictauis, ex officina libraria Iuliani Thorelli academiae typographi.* 1609.

Maz 23916, p. 3.

Arbour 5280 et 5280\*.

Strophes alcaïques (15 odes), strophes asclépiades 4 (p. 52).

## 1610

117. *Vita Laurentiae Stroziae sacri ordinis dominicani. Parisiis, ex officina Plantiniana. Apud Hadrianum Perier. M. DC. X.*

BN Yc.1900.

Arbour 6020.

Une ode saphique de Sébastien Rouillard (p. 7), un mélange de divers mètres Horatiens de Guillaume Du Peyrat (p. 7).

118. [Jean Morel] D. Remigii Remorum archiepiscopi de futura diuturnitate regni Francici uaticinium. De sancta, vt vulgò vocant, ampulla ad eum caelitùs demissa: de ipsius d. meritis et laudibus carmen partim epicum, partim lyricum ex Ioannis Morelli Remorum Paris. gymnasiarchae operibus excerptum. Ad sereniss. regem Ludouicum XIII. Remis nuper inauguratum. Parisiis, apud Ioannem Libert, via d. Ioan. Lateranensis, propè collegium Cameracense. M. DC. X.

Maz 47232, p. 37.

Arbour 20062; Cioranescu 16180.

Deux odes saphiques (pp. 8, 10).

119. [André Valladier] Variorum poematum liber I. Lyrica auctore Andrea Valladerio à sancto Paulo Foresiensi sacrae theologiae doctore, protonotario apostolico, regis christianissimi ecclesiaste, et eleemosynario atque illustrissimi cardinalis de Gyury in episcopatu Metensi vicario generali. Ad illustrissimum dominum, d. Rob. Vbalinum episcopum Politianum sanctae sedis apostolicae apud regem christianissimum oratorem. Parisiis, ex officina Niuelliana. Apud Sebastianum Cramoisy, via Iacobaea sub ciconiis. M. DC. X.

Maz 21629 Rés., p. 2.

Arbour 6074; Cioranescu XVII<sup>e</sup> 65381.

Strophes alcaïques (pp. 1, 3, 20, 37, 60, 65.), mètre archiloquien 3 (pp. 8, 63), distiques composés d'un hexamètre dactylique et d'un trimètre iambique (p. 12), une ode pindarique (p. 15), strophes composées de quatre glyconiques et d'un phérécratéen (p. 26), strophes asclépiades 3 (p. 41).

sans date

120. [Louis Andrieu] In laudem trium doctorum Sorbonicae domus alumnorum tres odae.

Maz 21470.

Strophes alcaïques (p. 3), mètre archiloquien 1 (p. 13), strophes formées de deux hendécasyllabes alcaïques, d'un phérécratéen et d'un glyconique (p. 21).

121. [Guillaume Castel] In hoc opusculo continentur due elegie. Guilelmi. Castelli Turonensis cum quibusdem eius carminibus. Item honestissima Virgilii epigrammata noue impressa.

BN Rés. p.Z.173.

Cioranescio 5921.

Strophes asclépiades 1 (f. C1 r°), une ode en rythmes libres (f. C3 r°).

122. [Julien de L'Espinay] Monmelianus expugnatus.

BN Yc.11238.

Arbour 3086.

Une ode alcaïque.

123. [Jacques Pinon] Iacobi Pinonis theologi ad Nic. Borbonium epigramma.

BN Yc.1637.

Une ode alcaïque (p. 1).

124. [Jacques-Auguste de Thou] Carminum liber.

BN Yc.12550 [exemplaire incomplet?].

Strophes alcaïques (deux odes), strophes saphiques (deux odes), strophes asclépiades 3 (une ode), strophes asclépiades 4 (une ode), distiques composés d'un hexamètre dactylique et d'un dimètre iambique (une ode).

125. [Siméon de Malmédy] Hymnus in laudem diuae Ceciliae uirginis, autore Symeone Malmediano medico et professore regio. Ad Henricum III. Galliae et Poloniae regem inuictissimum.

BN Yc.8334.

Une ode saphique.

## ODES ÉCRITES PAR DES ÉTRANGERS

1508

- E1 [Pietro Riccio, dit Crinito] Petri Criniti uiri eruditissimi de honesta disciplina lib. XXV. De poetis latinis. lib. V. Et poematum lib. II. Cum indicibus suis. Venundantur in vico sancti Jacobi ab Johanne Paruo et ipso Ascensio.

Maz 375 B.

*Imprimeurs Parisiens* II 56 sq.; *Inventaire chronologique* I 272; Renouard, *Josse Badius* II 350 sq.

L'ouvrage fut réimprimé plusieurs fois, ainsi en 1510, 1513, 1518, 1520, 1525, 1535 et 1554 (voir Renouard, *Josse Badius* II 351-354); la première édition fut imprimée à Florence, en 1500. Strophes composées de deux hendécasyllabes alcaïques et de deux glyconiques (deux odes), strophes formées de trois hendécasyllabes alcaïques et d'un dimètre iambique (une ode), dimètres iambiques (deux odes), strophes asclépiades 2 (une ode), strophes saphiques (une ode), distiques composés d'un hexamètre dactylique et d'un dimètre iambique (une ode), distiques composés d'un trimètre et d'un dimètre iambiques (une ode), strophes composées de deux hendécasyllabes alcaïques, d'un mètre iambique et d'un adonique (une ode), hendécasyllabes alcaïques (une ode), glyconiques (deux odes), strophes formées de trois glyconiques et d'un phérécratéen (une ode), strophes asclépiades 1 (une ode).

## 1548

- E2 [Marcantonio Flaminio] M. Antonii Flaminii carminum libri duo. Eiusdem paraphrasis in triginta psalmos, uersibus scripta. Apud Seb. Gryphium Lugduni, 1548.  
 Ars 8° BL 5602.  
 Baudrier VIII 225.

Strophes composées de quatre glyconiques et d'un phérécratéen (p. 8), strophes saphiques (pp. 13, 15, 21), strophes composées de trois glyconiques et d'un phérécratéen (pp. 14, 17), distiques formés d'un trimètre et d'un dimètre iambiques (pp. 48, 53). Quelques-unes des paraphrases (pp. 73-126) sont également composées en mètres lyriques.

## 1550

- E3 [Marcantonio Flaminio] M. Antonii Flaminii de rebus diuinis carmina, ad Margaritam Henrici Gallorum regis sororem. Lutetiae, ex officina Rob. Stephani typographi regij. M. D. L. Ex priuilegio regis.  
 Ars 4° BL 1987.  
 Renouard, *Estienne* 78.

Tous les poèmes sont composés en dimètres iambiques.

## 1551

- E4 [Petrus Lotichius Secundus] P. Lotichii Secundi Elegiarum liber. Eiusdem Carminum libellus, ad D. Danielum Stibarum equitem Francum. Lutetiae ex officina Vascosani, uia Iacobaea. M. D. LI.



Strophes formées de trois glyconiques et d'un phérécraéen (f. 22 v°), strophes saphiques (f. 27 v°).

## 1558

- E5 [George Buchanan] De Caletio nuper ab Henrico II recepta carmen, per Georgium Buchananum. Parisiis. Ex officina Caroli Stephani typographi regii. M. D. LVIII.  
SG Y 4°.424<sup>(2)</sup> inv. 555 FA (p. 1).

Une ode alcaïque.

## 1561

- E6 [Jean Second] Ioannis Secundi Hagiensis poetae elegantissimi opera, nunc secundum in lucem edita: quorum catalogum proxima facies enumerabit. Parisiis, apud Andream Wechelum, sub Pegaso, in vico Bel-louaco. 1561.  
Maz 21545.

Un livre d'odes, en mètres horatiens (f. 125 v°-133 r°).

## 1578

- E7 [Godefroy Mylander] Eidyllia quaedam lyrica strenarum nomine calendis Ianuariis ad uarios tum principes tum etiam doctrina insignes uiros missa. Per Godefridum Mylandrum Coloniensem. Δόσεις δ' ὀλίγαι τε φίλαι τε. Exigua munera, tamen grata. Aureliis. Apud Eligium Gibierum, uniuersitatis eiusdem typographum. 1578. Cum priuilegio.  
Maz 10811 C<sup>2</sup>.  
*Répertoire bibliographique XVI<sup>e</sup> X 57.*

Strophes asclépiades 1 (f. Aiiij r°), strophes asclépiades 3 (f. Bi v°), strophes alcaïques (ff. Cij r°, Ciiij v°, Eiiij v° [en grec]), strophes asclépiades 2 (ff. D ij r°, Fi r°), distiques composés d'un trimètre et d'un dimètre iambiques (f. Eij r°), distiques composés d'un hexamètre dactylique et d'un iambélégiaque (f. Eiiij r°), saphiques majeurs (f. Eiiij r°), asclépiades majeurs catalectiques (f. Fi r°), strophes composées de trois glyconiques et d'un phérécraéen (f. Fi v°), distiques composés d'un hexamètre dactylique et d'un trimètre iambique (f. Fij r°).

## 1588

- E8 [Pierre Pantin] De d. Leocadiae e Belgica in Hispaniam ad pristinos auitósque lares reuersione, varij generis carmina. Auctore Petro Pantino Belga. Parisiis, ex typographia Dionysij à Prato, via Amygdalina, ad ueritatis insigne. 1588.  
Maz 21470.

Strophes asclépiades 3 (p. 8), priapéens (p. 9), strophes alcaïques (p. 10), distiques formés d'un trimètre et d'un dimètre iambiques (p. 13), distiques composés d'un hexamètre dactylique et d'un dimètre iambique (p. 13).

## 1589

- E9 [Panagius Salius] Panagii Salii Audomarensis uaria poemata. Ad illustrissimum principem, ducémque inuictissimum Alexandrum Farnezium ducem Parmae, et Placentiae etc. Philippi regis catholici in Belgio praefectum. Poematum numerum et nomen sequens pagina indicabit. Parisiis, ex typographia Dionysii à Prato, via Amygdalina, ad ueritatis insigne. 1589.  
Maz 21386, p. 1.  
Arbour 1009 et 1009\*; Cioranescu 20316.

Deux odes saphiques (pp. 140, 144).

## 1604

- E10 [Francesco Benci] Francisci Bencii è societate Iesu, orationes et carmina, cum disputatione de stylo et scriptione. Editio quarta. Cui praeter multa poëmata, accessit oratio de morte et rebus gestis illustriss. principis Alexandri Farnesij ducis Parmensis. Lugduni, apud Ioan. Pillehotte, sub signo nominis Iesu. M. DCIII.  
BN X.2250.

Dans le deuxième tome ("Carmina"): strophes alcaïques (neuf odes), strophes saphiques (seize odes), strophes asclépiades 3 (deux odes), distiques composés d'un trimètre et d'un dimètre iambiques (trois odes), distiques composés d'un hexamètre dactylique et d'un dimètre iambique (une ode), strophes asclépiades 4 (une ode), quinze odes en dimètres iambiques et une ode en strophes asclépiades 2.

1607

- E11 [Dominique Baudier] Dominici Baudii poematum noua editio. Quorum seriem pagina sequens indicabit. Lugduni Bataurum, ex officina Thomae Basson, cId Id cvii.  
Ars 8° BL 5918.

Strophes alcaïques (six odes), strophes asclépiades 2 (trois odes), strophes asclépiades 4 (trois odes), strophes saphiques (trois odes), dimètres iambiques (deux odes). Une ode alcaïque de Jean Douza (p. 316).

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LUIS RIVERO GARCÍA

NOTAS AL LATÍN DEL *DE ORBE NOVO* DE  
JUAN GINÉS DE SEPÚLVEDA\*

El objeto de estas notas es tan sólo añadir algunos datos a otros trabajos más extensos sobre el latín del *De Orbe Nouo* del humanista cordobés Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda (Pozoblanco 1490-1573), al que se ha venido atribuyendo una marcada tendencia ciceroniana. En cualquier caso, me veo forzado a remitir continuamente a estos trabajos para planteamientos generales a la vez que para información más específica<sup>1</sup>.

**Léxico**<sup>2</sup>

En este terreno merece comentario por ejemplo el sustantivo *rapiditas* (II,19,2 “*rapiditate aquarum conatus frustrante, in anchoris subsistunt*”) y ello porque, entre los antiguos, aparece tan sólo en César<sup>3</sup> (Gall. 4.17.2 “*propter latitudinem rapiditatem altitudinemque fluminis*”; Ciu. 1.62.2 “*pedites... rapiditate fluminis ad transeundum impediuntur*”) y Frontino (Strat. 1.6.2 “*Idem, hostibus tergum eius in itinere*”).

\*El presente artículo ha sido elaborado dentro del Proyecto de Investigación (PS87-0124) “El *De Orbe Nouo* de Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda: edición crítica y estudio filológico”, financiado por la DGICYT del Ministerio Español de Educación y Ciencia. Aprovecho para expresar mi gratitud hacia los profesores A. Ramírez de Verger, G. Laguna, L. Merino, A. Salvador y J. Ureña por sus correcciones y desinteresada ayuda.

<sup>1</sup> L. Rivero García, *El latín del ‘De Orbe Nouo’ de Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda* (Sevilla 1993); id., “La prosa latina humanística y el problema del léxico a través de la crónica indiana de Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda” en *Actas del I Simposio sobre Humanismo y Pervivencia del Mundo Clásico (Alcañiz, 8-11 de mayo de 1990)* (en prensa); id., “Aspectos de la latinidad de Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda” en *Actas del Congreso Internacional V Centenario del Nacimiento del Dr. Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda (Pozoblanco, 13-16 de febrero de 1991)* (Córdoba 1993), pp. 185-195.

<sup>2</sup> Un breve panorama del problema del léxico en la prosa latina humanística, en mi comunicación “La prosa latina...” (nota 1). Un estudio exhaustivo del léxico clásico y no clásico en esta crónica, en *El latín...* (nota 1), pp. 63-172. Para las abreviaturas utilizadas en adelante, *uid.* la lista al final del trabajo.

<sup>3</sup> Sobre la influencia de César sobre Sepúlveda (añadida a la más esperable de Tito Livio), *uid. El latín...* (nota 1), pp. 46 y 148-159.

*prementibus, flumine interueniente non ita magno, ut transitum prohiberet, moraretur tamen rapiditate...*”) y, como se ve, siempre asociado a *flumen*, de modo análogo a la variante *aquarum* de Sepúlveda (*OLD s.u.*, 1573; *LS s.u.*, 1522; *CALEP s.u.*, 218; *FORC s.u.*, 9).

En el campo de los adjetivos he de comentar una formación sorprendente que, en un primer momento, induce a pensar en un neologismo formal<sup>4</sup>. Se trata de *motrix*, inserto en un pasaje de feo estilo, que choca fuertemente con el tono habitual del latín de Sepúlveda<sup>5</sup>: I,4,4 “*aquae a radicibus sugendo commotae non solum ad ipsas arbores sed etiam ad locum aliquem idoneum confluunt et fontem efficiunt, qui arboribus sublatis et motrice causa cessante deficit*”. Este adjetivo es efectivamente ajeno a toda la latinidad clásica, la cual tan sólo conoció como *hapax legomenon* su correspondiente sustantivo masculino *motor* (Marcial 11.39.1; *uid.* por ejemplo *TLL VIII* 1532, 26-30; *OLD s.u.*, 1137; *LS s.u.*, 1168)<sup>6</sup>.

Sin embargo, Sepúlveda no ha creado este término, ni por analogía con el modelo morfológico de *motor*<sup>7</sup> ni por influencia de su lengua materna<sup>8</sup>. En realidad, es un vocablo de origen medieval, escolástico,

<sup>4</sup> Impropios de un ciceroniano, pero presentes en nuestra crónica al menos en un caso (*uid. El latín...* [nota 1], pp. 82-83 y, para los neologismos en general, *ibid.*, pp. 25-38 y 69-113). No incluyo entre los neologismos formales propiamente dichos, esto es de motivación léxico-semántica, otros dos *neologismos morfológicos*, creados sencillamente por la aplicación del morfema de superlativo a dos participios de perfecto clásicos que en la Antigüedad no conocieron dicha gradación (o al menos no podemos documentar ningún ejemplo semejante entre los textos que conservamos). Se trata de (V,7,1) *addictissimus* (*uid. TLL I*, 574,29 a 577,74; *OLD s.u. addictus*<sup>1</sup>, 36) y *deiectissimus* (*TLL V*, 1, 401,16). *Vid. además El latín...* (nota 1), pp. 201-202.

<sup>5</sup> En realidad, no sólo el pasaje que a continuación reproducimos sino todo el capítulo I,4 está redactado en un tono oscuro y desaliñado inhabitual en Sepúlveda, si bien el análisis de los manuscritos descarta cualquier duda sobre su autoría.

<sup>6</sup> En efecto, los únicos pasajes en que, según los léxicos, vuelve a documentarse este vocablo son los *Varia excerpta gramatica*, p. 351,4 y -como adjetivo- en Vindiciano Afro, *Frg.* 35.

<sup>7</sup> Sobre la pujanza de los sufijos *-tor/-trix* para los *nomina agentis* en latín medieval, *uid.* O. Prinz, “Mittelateinische Wortneubildungen, ihre Entwicklungstendenzen und ihre Triebkräfte”, *Philologus* 122 (1978), pp. 249-275 (pp. 250-251).

<sup>8</sup> Desde luego, este tipo de vocablos son muy frecuentes en el latín de esta crónica (*uid. El latín...* [nota 1], pp. 86-113), pero, como veremos, no es éste el origen del término. Sobre la fecha de incorporación del adjetivo *motrix* al castellano, carecemos lamentablemente de noticia cierta: en efecto, *COR.-PASC* (*s.u.* ‘mover’, 169b, 27 a 171a, 14 y concretamente 170a, 53-54) se limitan a dar testimonio de su existencia, sin informarnos sobre sus primeras apariciones; está ausente del vocabulario de autores como Lope de Vega, Góngora o Cervantes; tampoco lo recoge aún Sebastián de Covarrubias en su

seguramente incorporado al bagaje de Sepúlveda durante sus estudios de Filosofía<sup>9</sup>. En efecto, por medio de textos de soporte informático<sup>10</sup> lo he podido encontrar en tres pasajes anteriores a Sepúlveda: se trata de la obra del autor medieval Raimundo Lulio, mejor conocido como Ramón Lull<sup>11</sup> (1232/1235-1315). El primer caso lo encuentro en su *Tractatus nouus de astronomia* (I,2,2): “Vnde sequitur, quod instinctus et appetitus, qui sunt inferius, se habent cum maiori uirtute ad accidentia superiora quam ad substantias, quae sunt dominae, magistrae et motrices suorum accidentium; quod est impossibile”; obsérvese el valor sustantivo del vocablo en este pasaje. Claro valor adjetival tiene en cambio en los dos casos siguientes, ambos del capítulo 74 de su *Declaratio Raimundi*. El primer caso dice así: “Ait Socrates, quod intelligentia motrix caeli influit in animam rationalem, sicut corpus caeli influit in corpus humanum”. El segundo: “Sed si ita est, quod intelligentia motrix caeli praeter primum influat in animam rationalem, non est anima...”<sup>12</sup>. De

*Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española*, de 1611. Lo encuentro por fin en el *Diccionario de Autoridades* (Madrid 1726; *uid. s.u. motriz*, 618), quien lo asocia a los sustantivos “causa” e “inteligencia” y documenta una forma latina *Motrix*, *icis*; también lo testimonia el *Diccionario Castellano con las voces de Ciencias y Artes y sus correspondientes de las tres lenguas francesa, latina é italiana* (Madrid 1787) de E. Terreros, en 3 vols., donde vuelve a estar asociado a “causa”, así como a “fuerza” (*uid. s.u. MOTRIZ*, 628; *uid. también s.u. MOTOR*, 627) y se le da el correlato francés “motrice” y un supuesto correlato latino *motrix*, sobre cuyo fundamento tampoco tenemos noticia cierta y que podría seguramente basarse en la información del *Diccionario de Autoridades*.

<sup>9</sup> Sepúlveda utiliza vocablos de la terminología y vocabulario general del latín de los cristianos, dispensándoles en no pocas ocasiones el mismo tratamiento que a los vocablos de los autores clásicos (*uid. para ello El latín...* [nota 1], pp. 117-124). También emplea, aunque con menor frecuencia, vocablos propiamente medievales (*ibid.*, pp. 114-116).

<sup>10</sup> Se trata del inmenso corpus de textos de la *Cetedoc Library of Christian Latin Texts*, publicado por la Universidad Católica de Lovaina la Nueva (Turnhout 1991), al que he accedido por gentileza de los Prof. J. Fernández Valverde y J.A. Estévez Sola. Entre los repertorios lexicográficos consultados que no recogen el vocablo debo citar *TLL*, *LS*, *OLD*, *FORC*, *DACH*, *DU CANGE* o *CALEP*, y ni siquiera aparece entre los *Vocabula Barbara* que este último recoge en apéndice al final de su segundo volumen. Tampoco lo registra Nebrija en su *Diccionario Latino-Español* (Salamanca 1492), del que he manejado la edición preparada por G. Colón y A.J. Soberanas (Barcelona 1979).

<sup>11</sup> De quien, por cierto, se sospecha que escribiera sus obras originariamente en catalán y él mismo las mandara traducir al latín para su mayor difusión. De ser ello así, la creación del vocablo ni siquiera sería atribuible a este autor.

<sup>12</sup> Otros repertorios lexicográficos en que he podido hallar al fin noticias, aunque vagas, de este vocablo, son *LATHAM* (*s.u.*, en *motatio*, 306), que lo documenta en un primer pasaje cercano a 1250 y un segundo que data ya de 1686. También lo recogen J.H. Baxter y Ch. Johnson en su *Medieval Latin Word-List from British and Irish Sources* (Londres 1950 = 1934), *s.u.*, en *motabilitas*, 272, quienes lo fechan en 1267. Al latín escolástico, por último, lo atribuye A. Blaise en su *Dictionnaire Latin-Français des*



estos pasajes me interesa destacar, en primer lugar y por razones obvias, la documentación misma del vocablo, y en segundo lugar su asociación al sustantivo *intelligentia*, que en este contexto acerca su significado al de *causa*. Estos pasajes pueden explicar, a la vez que el tono del pasaje de Sepúlveda, la documentación del vocablo latino en el *Diccionario de Autoridades* y en el de Terreros, y sobre todo explica su asociación a *inteligencia* en el primero de ellos. Este mismo razonamiento, por último, nos hace sospechar que su asociación a *causa* en ambos diccionarios no sea fortuita o analógica, sino que se deba efectivamente a una asociación real de ambos vocablos latinos en textos más cercanos a la redacción de estos diccionarios; es decir, que la asociación *causa motrix* aparezca en textos de los humanistas, de los que no tenemos este soporte informático y ni siquiera diccionarios, lo cual nos obliga a dejar aquí esta hipótesis en espera de confirmación. La fuente, en fin, de estos dos diccionarios castellanos no debe ser el texto de Sepúlveda -desde luego no del de Autoridades-, pues el *De Orbe Nouo* -como tantas otras obras de nuestro autor- no fue publicado sino hasta 1780<sup>13</sup>.

Siguiendo con el léxico, no está de más comentar entre las *iuncturae* -precisamente por el hecho de llevarnos a los modelos esperados en un historiador ciceroniano- el uso de *minime omnium* ("menos que nada"): V,15,1 "*quod reges m. omnium deceret*". En efecto, esta fórmula<sup>14</sup> es usada ya por ejemplo por Cicerón en un pasaje de cierto parecido (*Amer.* 34.96): "*ad te m. omnium pertinebat*"; también lo utiliza en (*Or.* 227): "*quod... tu m. omnium ignoras*" y lo emplea asimismo Livio<sup>15</sup> en 32.32.14: "*non omnium... credo fidei..., atque omnium*

*Auteurs du Moyen-Age* (= *Lexicon Latinitatis Medii Aevi* [Turnhout 1975], s.u. *motrix*, 603).

<sup>13</sup> Vid. A. Ramírez de Verger, "Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda: *De Orbe Novo* (Historia y problemas del texto)" en J. Gil y J.M. Maestre, edd., *Humanismo latino y Descubrimiento* (Sevilla-Cádiz 1992), pp. 81-91; id., *Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda. Historia del Nuevo Mundo* (Madrid 1987), pp. 21-24.

<sup>14</sup> Paralela, por cierto, a *maxime omnium*, expresión más propia de Livio y que Sepúlveda también utiliza en ésta y alguna otra de sus obras (*uid.* *El latín...* [nota 1], p. 153). Téngase en cuenta, por otra parte, que para la filiación estilística de un autor renacentista pueden resultar tan significativos estos usos analógicos (imitación de los rasgos ciceronianos, en nuestro caso), como los anómalos (desviación de la norma esperable).

<sup>15</sup> Sobre la influencia de Livio en nuestra obra, *uid.* A. Ramírez de Verger, *Historia del Nuevo Mundo* (nota 13), p. 18 y L. Rivero García, *El latín...* (nota 1), pp. 46, 125, 148 y 394.

*minime Aetolis*” (TLL X,1, 583, 66-70). Un segundo sintagma que merece comentario -y por parecidos motivos- es *praesidiarius miles* (IV,15,5 “*milites praesidiarios armis dumtaxat exutos*”). Efectivamente, el adjetivo *praesidiarius*, ausente de Cicerón y César, es aplicado a *miles* en plural por Livio 29.8.7 y esta *iunctura* no reaparece sino hasta Lactancio, *Mort.* 45.4 y Amiano Marcelino, 21.12.15; además, este término fue utilizado en forma sustantivada por Festo, *s.u. subsidium*, p. 306 Müll. (*LS s.u. praesidiarius*, 1429; *CALEP s.u. praesidiarius*, 172; TLL X,2, 883, 11-44 y esp. 16-20).

### Ortografía

La *imitatio*<sup>16</sup> de los humanistas suele investigarse en los terrenos donde ésta se hace evidente o al menos verosímil, esto es, en el léxico y la sintaxis. Sin embargo, un campo como el de la ortografía puede eventualmente convertirse en apoyo o refrendo de un eco observado en cualquiera de aquellos otros dos aspectos<sup>17</sup>. Algo así ocurre en un pasaje como el siguiente: VI,38,2 “*ex aqua uix ab humeris et capite exstantes*”. En efecto, la *h* que encontramos en *humerus* es etimológicamente infundada, por más que tal ultracorrección se diera ya en época antigua, sin ir más lejos, en el pasaje que sirve de modelo a Sepúlveda: César (*Ciu.* 1.62.2) “*pedites uero tantummodo humeris ac summo pectore extarent*”<sup>18</sup> (*LS s.u. umerus*, 1928; *Leumann* 174<sup>1</sup> -y para su etimología, *ibid.* 212<sup>3</sup>-).

<sup>16</sup> Se trata, de hecho, del principio motor más importante en el quehacer literario de los humanistas. Sobre su planteamiento a nivel general y su aplicación particular en Sepúlveda, pueden verse algunas observaciones en *El latín...* (nota 1), pp. 32, 34, 35, 37, 38, 49, 51, 66, 345, 394 y 396.

<sup>17</sup> Naturalmente, cualquier observación en torno a la ortografía de un autor ha de hacerse sólo cuando tengamos constancia de que el texto conservado fue escrito o al menos corregido (y ése es nuestro caso) por el propio autor. Un planteamiento general de los problemas que el humanista encontró para la reconstrucción de la ortografía clásica, así como un estudio particular de los rasgos fonético-ortográficos de nuestra obra, pueden verse también en *El latín...* (nota 1), pp. 173-191.

<sup>18</sup> Ésta debía de ser sin duda la lectura de las ediciones que Sepúlveda manejara; por poner un ejemplo, así aparece en la edición de las obras completas de César (seguidas de la *Eutropii epitome belli Gallici ex Suetonii Tranquilli monumentis quae desiderantur*), publicada en 1543 en París por Miguel Vascosani (*uid.* 67v.). Como curiosidad, entre los editores modernos mantiene la *h* S. Mariner (Madrid 1990), mientras que R. du Pontet (Oxford 1968 =1908), P. Fabre (París 1968 =1936) y A.G. Peskett (Londres-Cambridge, Mass., 1979 =1914) corrigen a *umeris*.

### Morfología

También los aspectos morfológicos pueden llegar a resultar -utilizados siempre con la oportuna cautela- estilísticamente significativos<sup>19</sup>. Veamos un ejemplo: I,22,7 “*uterque in itinere aegritudine animi confectus interiuit*”. Efectivamente, el perfecto *interiuit*, frente al más normal -iit, aparece tal cual tan sólo en Apuleyo<sup>20</sup>, *Met.* 7.7, si bien no hay que perder de vista una posible lectura -ivimus en *Itala*, *Ezech.* 37.11, San Cipriano, *Test.* 3.58 (*QM*) y San Ambrosio, *Exc.* 2.75 (*LS s.u. intereo*, 980; *TLL* VII,1, 2186, 25-36 y esp. 34-36). De todas formas, para estos casos de atribución tan insegura hemos de tener presente en todo momento la posibilidad -más plausible- de una simple creación analógica por parte de nuestro humanista.

### Sintaxis

El análisis sintáctico del latín de un autor renacentista aporta un volumen de información mayor de lo que en un principio pudiera imaginarse. Como ya he expuesto en otra parte<sup>21</sup>, frente a la objetividad del léxico, frente al carácter más discreto de sus elementos, la sintaxis aporta una información más subjetiva, relacionada con el modo íntimo y en no pocas ocasiones inconsciente<sup>22</sup> de escribir de un autor. Veamos algún rasgo sintáctico más del latín de nuestra obra.

En general, el uso del acusativo como complemento directo del gerundio es arcaico y postclásico y en su lugar se prefiere la construcción de gerundivo. Entre autores clásicos como Cicerón y César, el empleo del gerundio para estos casos obedece normalmente a motivos de eufonía, por ejemplo para evitar la sucesión de varias desinencias de genitivo plural (*HS* 372<sup>3</sup> y 373<sup>1</sup>): César (*Gall.* 1.52.3), “*spatium pila... coiciendi*” (pero cf. *Gall.* 3.6.2: “*in spem potiendorum castrorum*”). Concreta-

<sup>19</sup> Véanse asimismo mis observaciones en *El latín...* (nota 1), pp. 193-206.

<sup>20</sup> Para la inesperada y a la vez clara presencia de Apuleyo en nuestra obra, *uid.* L. Rivero García, “Aspectos...” (nota 1), esp. su apartado 5.b.

<sup>21</sup> *El latín...* (nota 1), pp. 207-212. El estudio de los principales rasgos sintácticos de nuestra obra puede verse *ibid.*, pp. 212-391.

<sup>22</sup> Creo que bajo esta perspectiva debe explicarse el hecho, ya señalado por A. Fontán (“El latín de los humanistas”, en *Humanismo Romano* [Barcelona 1974], p. 263), de que, si bien los humanistas se propusieron la depuración del latín en todos sus órdenes, su progreso fue mucho mayor en el restablecimiento del léxico -concepto de *elegantia*- que en el de la sintaxis -*compositio*- y el estilo -*dignitas*-.

mente, el genitivo del gerundio lleva objeto directo en 7 ocasiones en Plauto y otras tantas veces en Terencio, su frecuencia decrece en Cicerón y César y vuelve a aumentar en Livio, hasta superar a la construcción de gerundivo en Q. Curcio Rufo y buen número de autores posteriores a él (*HS* 373<sup>2</sup>).

Por otra parte, cuando el genitivo del gerundio iba regido por *causa* y *gratia*<sup>23</sup>, tampoco aceptaba en latín clásico dicho complemento directo, quedando limitado su uso a autores arcaicos -por ejemplo Plauto (*Curc.* 706), “*rem perdendi gratia*”- o arcaizantes, o bien a contextos en que razones de claridad lo recomiendan -por ejemplo Livio (2.25.3), “*experiendi animos militum causa*”, donde ya hay otro genitivo- (*HS* 373<sup>2</sup>).

Pues bien, en nuestra crónica pueden ampararse en razones de eufonía y claridad pasajes -sin preposición- como I,24,3 “*omni spe Hispanos ex insula depellendi sublata*”, II,19,5 “*nouas gentes nouasque terras cognoscendi studio*” o VII,43,4 “*Tantum ualuit ad popularium perniciem regis adolescentis temeritas et prudens piumque suorum consilium aspernandi pertinacia*”; y otros -con alguna de estas preposiciones- como I,16,1 “*nouas terras inuestigandi causa*”, II,14,2 “*ceteros deportandi gratia*” (caso en el que se suman el rechazo a la sucesión -*orum... -orum* con aquel otro por el que esta desinencia se rehuía en palabras que de por sí tenían ya una *r*), o bien III,2,1 “*res necessarias comparandi gratia*”<sup>24</sup>. En un pasaje como III,3,2 “*uenere quidam ab ipso regulo uxorem et filios quaerendi causa missi*” no es presumible que Sepúlveda pueda haberse visto condicionado por la diferencia de género y número de ambos complementos directos, y sí más bien que haya influido la cacofonía de la expresión normal para estos contextos, esto es *uxoris et filiorum quaerendorum*.

Sin embargo, en otros casos (normalmente aquéllos en que el acusativo es singular y no evita por tanto una secuencia cacofónica de geni-

<sup>23</sup> En realidad solía rechazarse esta construcción cuando el gerundio iba regido por cualquier preposición. Sepúlveda rehúye estas construcciones, si bien se cuela en su latín alguna que otra de tonalidades escasamente clásicas (*uid. El latín...* [nota 1], pp. 322-323).

<sup>24</sup> No nos olvidemos, no obstante, de que en Sepúlveda hallamos también pasajes como III,24,2 “*Hic deorum imagines lapideae repertae uestigiaque prodigiosorum sacrificiorum uictimarum humanarum*”, en el que poco se cuida nuestro autor de la eufonía. Con todo, casos como éste deben parangonarse a otros igualmente cacofónicos documentados en autores en principio reacios a similitudines de este tipo, como ocurría por ejemplo en el pasaje de César (*Gall.* 3.6.2) arriba citado, o en Cicerón (*Or.* 68) “*faciendorum iungendorumque uerborum*”.

tivo plural) no podemos apelar a motivos de sonoridad: I,18,4 “*naturam loci considerandi causa*”<sup>25</sup>; V,15,3 “*culpam deprecandi causa*”; III,20,4 (con *uariatio*) “*ipsius salutandi et legationem perferendi gratia*”. En un caso como II,19,1 “*et paucos dies uulnera curandi et nauim quae mare largius admittebat reficiendi causa commorati...*”, la falta de coincidencia entre las desinencias de los sustantivos y las de sus respectivos gerundios, así como la separación entre ambos gerundios hacen menos creíble la motivación eufónica.

Obsérvese, por cierto, que en los cuatro ejemplos recién citados el núcleo del complemento directo lo forma un sustantivo femenino - *naturam, culpam, legationem, nauim*- y ello puede que no se deba a la simple casualidad: en efecto, es cierto que también utiliza la construcción del genitivo del gerundivo para sustantivos femeninos en singular, ya en dependencia de otro sustantivo (VII,30,1 “*spem urbis tuendae*” *al.*), ya de estas dos preposiciones (II,18,3 “*se inuitum et iniuria repellendae causa...*”; VI,13,2 “*urbis condendae causa*”; VI,7,2 “*nouae urbis... condendae gratia*”), y que asimismo utiliza la construcción de gerundio para sustantivos masculinos o neutros en singular, pero siempre en dependencia de otro sustantivo (VII,30,1 “*nec tamen ab instituto susceptoque consilio reuocauit patriae regique suum officium ad extremum spiritum constantissime praestandi*” y otro por ejemplo en VII,43,4) y nunca de *causa* o *gratia* (tipo *crimen deprecandi c./g.*), para lo que prefiere la construcción de gerundivo (I,22,6 “*fratris liberandi gratia*”; VI,24,5 “*cibi sumendi causa*” *al.*). El hecho de que la infracción a la norma propiamente clásica -en lo que a la construcción del gerundio con estas preposiciones se refiere- se produzca en cuatro ocasiones, y de que el núcleo de todas ellas sea un sustantivo femenino, puede obedecer, como digo, a influencias antiguas sobre Sepúlveda. En primer lugar, podría tratarse de aquella tendencia ya arcaica a fosilizar el genitivo del gerundivo en la forma *-ndi* cuando el régimen aparece representado por un pronombre personal, ya femenino -tipo Plauto (*Truc.* 370), “*cupiditas tui [sc. meretricis] uidendi*”-, ya plural -tipo César (*Gall.* 7.43.2), “*sui purgandi gratia mittunt*”-; en segundo lugar, podría estar influido nuestro autor por aquella otra ten-

<sup>25</sup> En este caso no vale argumentar la presencia de otro genitivo, pues *loci naturae considerandae c.* hubiera sido perfectamente comprensible; bastante más, por cierto, que esta redacción de Sepúlveda, en la que la alteración del orden de palabras del sintagma nominal *loci naturam*, unida a la coincidencia del caso de *loci* y el gerundio, oscurecen sobremano la expresión resultante.

dencia, fundamentalmente arcaica, arcaizante y postclásica, según la cual el genitivo del gerundio -nótese que, también en este caso, se trata de una forma -ndi- se construía con complementos que inesperadamente aparecían en genitivo -tipo Plauto (*Capt.* 852), “*nominandi istorum... copia*” o Cicerón (*Inu.* 2.5), “*exemplorum eligendi potestas*”- (*uid.* HS 374<sup>4</sup>-375<sup>1</sup> y 375<sup>4</sup>; *Bassols* I, 394-395). En apoyo de nuestras sospechas acude el propio Sepúlveda, que nos ofrece un ejemplo de esta construcción anómala (aunque autorizada nada menos que por César) del gerundivo con pronombre personal en plural: I,23,3 “*Hoc enim aliaque castella sui muniendi gratia nostri per insulam locis opportunis erexerant*”.

Por otra parte, encontramos un pasaje ambiguo en III,8,3 “*rogare ut... in terram... commeatus iusto pretio coemendi causa descendere liceret*” (sim. III,9,2 “*itaque nullam esse suggerendi commeatus facultatem*”), pues podría tratarse tanto de una construcción de gerundivo como de una de gerundio con acusativo plural. Como hemos visto, ambas construcciones son posibles en nuestra obra, aunque, si atendemos a los índices de frecuencia de uso, Sepúlveda utiliza *commeatus* con el significado de “viveres” -al margen de los dos pasajes arriba citados- 8 veces en singular frente a 28 en que recurre al plural<sup>26</sup> y, si ello significa algo, 13 veces en este mismo libro III, en el que tan sólo utiliza el singular en dos ocasiones.

Un pasaje como I,7,1 “*Qui uenandi homines gratia mitiorum gentium insulis... adnauigare... consueuerunt*”, podría fácilmente explicarse por motivos de eufonía, dado que el complemento (*homines*) va en plural, y que aparecen otros dos genitivos plurales en la misma frase. En cualquier caso, el propio sintagma *mitiorum gentium* demuestra que no necesariamente hay cacofonía cuando ambos genitivos tienen distinta terminación (*cf.* *uenandorum hominum*). Tiene, en cambio, más peso el segundo argumento (es decir, la disimilación con los otros genitivos) y la sola comparación del pasaje de Sepúlveda con la redacción *uenandorum hominum gratia mitiorum gentium...* así lo confirma.

Hay, por último, un caso como VI,11,2 “*qui a Pamphilo cum litteris ad notos et amicos mandatisque Veram Crucem sollicitandi gratia missi fuerant*”, en el que *Veram Crucem* podría entenderse, no como objeto directo del gerundio (“para instigar-revolver-sublevar Veracruz”), sino

<sup>26</sup> En ocasiones, en contextos donde hubiera sido claramente preferible el singular: III,13,1 “*commeatum nonnihil attulerunt*”.

como lativo dependiente de *missi fuerant*<sup>27</sup>, atribuyendo por su parte a *sollicitandi* valor absoluto<sup>28</sup>.

Veamos a continuación un par de pasajes interesantes por lo que respecta a la concordancia pronominal<sup>29</sup>. En el primero Sepúlveda incurre en una falta evidente de gramaticalidad: IV,22,4 “*Qui legati dum expectantur, per ripam aduersi fluminis, qui uallem interfluit, uillis undique paene continuatis frequentissimam, passuum octo milia progressus in oppidum uenit*”. A. Ramírez de Verger, achacándolo a un despiste del amanuense o del propio Sepúlveda, corrige acertadamente a *quod*<sup>30</sup>. Sin embargo, creo que no conviene perder de vista a César (*Gall.* 1.2.3): “*id hoc facilius iis persuasit, quod undique loci natura Heluetii continentur: una ex parte flumine Rheno latissimo atque altissimo, qui agrum Heluetium a Germanis diuidit, ..., tertia lacu Lemanno et flumine Rhodano, qui prouinciam nostram ab Heluetiis diuidit*”. En efecto, no me parece aventurado suponer que en la memoria de Sepúlveda resonara el conocido pasaje de César y que fuera éste el origen de su confusión. Sin embargo, es al mismo tiempo evidente la diferencia gramatical de ambos textos: César hace concertar el pronombre no con el sustantivo genérico *flumen* sino con sus determinaciones apositivas, *Rhenus* y *Rhodanus*, de género masculino<sup>31</sup>.

Para concluir, veamos un segundo pasaje de concordancia llamativa, un ejemplo más de síntesis de género, de *constructio ad sensum* entre un sustantivo colectivo y un pronombre, que debe añadirse a otros análogos ya detectados anteriormente: VII,31,3 “*copias infestis signis in urbem inducit, quorum erat numerus centum amplius quinquaginta milium*”. En efecto, cuando un pronombre relativo se refiere a colectivos personales, es normal incluso en latín clásico que se construya *ad sensum*: cf. por ejemplo César (*Gall.* 2.26.4-5), “*decimam legionem... misit. Qui*

<sup>27</sup> Cf. VI,9,4 “*Mexicum missi sunt*”. Vid. a este respecto *El latín...* (nota 1), p. 216.

<sup>28</sup> Véanse algunos ejemplos de la propensión de Sepúlveda a utilizar verbos transitivos con valor intransitivo o absoluto, en *El latín...* (nota 1), pp. 327-329.

<sup>29</sup> Sobre este aspecto, *uid. El latín...* (nota 1), pp. 337-339.

<sup>30</sup> Véanse, además de su edición teubneriana (Stuttgart-Leipzig 1993) *ad loc.*, sus “Notas textuales al *De Orbe Novo* de Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda”, *Habis* 23 (1992), pp. 287-295 (p. 292).

<sup>31</sup> No debemos olvidar, de todas formas, que el latín conoció ya un uso según el cual el pronombre podía concertar con un concepto sinónimo del antecedente y no con éste propiamente: cf. Lucrecio, 6.214-215 “*...nubila caeli. Nam cum uentus eas [sc. nubes]...*” y Ovidio, *Met.* XIII 821 “*Hoc pecus omne meum est; multae [sc. pecudes] quoque uallibus errant*” (*uid. Bassols* II, 79; *HS* 441<sup>3</sup>; *Kühner-Stegmann* II,1 64).

*cum... cognouissent, nihil... fecerunt*” o, más cercano aún (*ibid.* 7.5.3), “*copias equitatus peditatusque... mittunt. Qui cum... uenissent*” (*uid. HS* 440<sup>3</sup>; Kühner-Stegmann II,1 29-30).

#### ABREVIATURAS

- Bassols* = M. Bassols de Climent, *Sintaxis Latina* (Madrid 1981 =1956) 2 vols.  
*CALEP* = *Septem Linguarum Calepinus* (Patavii, Typis Seminarii, MDC-CLXXII) 2 vols.  
*COR.-PASC* = J. Corominas & J.A. Pascual, *Diccionario Crítico Etimológico Castellano e Hispánico* (Madrid 1984-1991) 6 vols.  
*DACH* = A. Blaise, *Dictionnaire Latin-Français des Auteurs Chrétiens* (Paris 1954).  
*DU CANGE* = Ch. du Cange, *Glossarium Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis* (Graz 1954 =1883-1887) 10 vols.  
*FORC* = E. Forcellini, *Totius Latinitatis Lexicon* (Prato 1858-1875) 6 vols.  
*HS* = Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr, *Lateinische Grammatik*, vol. II, *Syntax und Stylistik* (Munich, 3 vols, 1972).  
*Kühner-Stegmann* = R. Kühner & C. Stegmann, *Ausführliche Grammatik der lateinischen Sprache* (Hannover, 3 vols., 1966 =1962<sup>4</sup>)  
*LATHAM* = R.E. Latham, *Revised Medieval Latin Word-List from British and Irish Sources* (Oxford 1980 =1965).  
*Leumann* = *Lateinische Laut- und Formenlehre*, vol. I de Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr (*uid. supra HS*).  
*LS* = Ch.T. Lewis & Ch. Short, *A Latin Dictionary* (Oxford 1984 =1879).  
*OLD* = P.G.W. Glare, *Oxford Latin Dictionary* (Oxford 1968).  
*TLL* = *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* (Leipzig 1900-).

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## LA CONTRIBUCION DE JUAN GINES DE SEPULVEDA A LA EDICION DE LOS TEXTOS DE ARISTOTELES Y DE ALEJAN- DRO DE AFRODISIAS

No son muchas, desde luego, las páginas que las historias de la filología clásica al uso dedican a Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda (ca. 1490-1573). Su labor como estudioso de los textos clásicos mereció poca atención por parte de, entre otros, Sandys o Reynolds-Nilson.<sup>1</sup> Afortunadamente en los últimos años varios trabajos han glosado la contribución de Sepúlveda a la filología neotestamentaria y al estudio del texto pliniano.<sup>2</sup> No parece, sin embargo, que el aspecto más importante de la actividad filológica de Sepúlveda, el de traductor y crítico de los textos de Aristóteles y de Alejandro de Afrodísias, haya despertado demasiado interés entre la crítica.<sup>3</sup> La poca atención a la labor de Sepúlveda como corrector y estu-

<sup>1</sup> J.E. Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship* (Cambridge 1908), Vol. III, p. 158, y L.D. Reynolds & N.G. Wilson, *Scribes and Scholars. A Guide to the Transmission of Greek and Latin Literatures* (Oxford 1991<sup>3</sup>), p. 279. Mayor atención mereció, en cambio, a R. Pfeiffer en su *History of Classical Scholarship (from 1300 to 1850)* (Oxford 1976), pp. 94-95.

<sup>2</sup> Para la contribución de Sepúlveda a la filología bíblica véase J. Beumer, "Erasmus. Seine humanistischen Gegner in Italien", *Theologie und Philosophie*, 44 (1969), 1-24; J.H. Bentley, *Humanists and Holy Writ. New Testament Scholarship in the Renaissance* (Princeton 1983), pp. 134-135; y E. Rummel, *Erasmus' Annotations on the New Testament. From Philologist to Theologian*, (Toronto-Buffalo-London 1986), p. 40, y A. Sáenz-Badillos, *La filología bíblica en los primeros helenistas de Alcalá* (Estella 1990), pp. 257-258. Sobre Sepúlveda y Plinio ha escrito J. Rodríguez Peregrina ("El Pinciano, amigo y corresponsal de Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda", *Actas del I Simposio sobre humanismo y pervivencia del mundo clásico* (Alcañiz 1990), (en prensa).

<sup>3</sup> Exceptuemos los escasos trabajos de A. Losada, "Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda, traductor y comentarista de Aristóteles", *Revista de Filosofía*, VII, 24 (1948), 499-536, y de E. Rodríguez Peregrina, "J.G. Sepúlveda y sus traducciones comentadas de los filósofos griegos", *Estudios de Filología Latina*, 4 (1984), 235-246. La contribución más interesante a la actividad de traductor de Sepúlveda la constituyen las páginas de C.B. Schmitt en *Aristotle and the Renaissance* (Cambridge, Mass.-London 1983), p. 172, y en "Alberto Pio and the Aristotelian Studies of his Time", *Società, politica e cultura a Carpi ai tempi di Alberto III Pio* (Padova 1981), I, pp. 43-64, en pp. 61-63. El único estudio de conjunto

dioso de los escritos aristotélicos es especialmente preocupante si se tiene en cuenta el volumen de obras que el humanista español tradujo, primero en Italia y posteriormente en España, entre 1522 y 1548, año en que apareció en París su versión de la Política.<sup>4</sup>

A finales del siglo XV, editado ya el grueso de — digámoslo así — las obras más literarias de la Antigüedad grecolatina, fueron los escritos filosóficos y científicos los que merecieron la atención de los estudiosos. Entre estos últimos el nombre de Angelo Poliziano sobresalió como el iniciador de un nuevo método filológico, que el propio humanista italiano aplicó a la interpretación de los escritos aristotélicos.<sup>5</sup> El propósito de Poliziano respondía a la necesidad de solucionar “i problemi filosofici con i metodi della ‘grammatica e della filologia affinati da un secolo di esperienza umanistica’”.<sup>6</sup> En el modo como el autor de los *Miscellanea* estudió el texto de Aristóteles se combinaban, por igual, una sólida preparación filológica y una precisa comprensión del pensamiento aristotélico y de toda la tradición peripatética.

La renovación filológica propiciada por Poliziano, cuyo método no tardó en ser asimilado por otros humanistas de finales del Quattrocento,

de las traducciones sepulvedianas parece ser nuestra tesis de doctorado “Estudios sobre Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda: sus traducciones latinas de Aristóteles” leída en la Universidad de Barcelona en marzo de 1993.

<sup>4</sup> Una rápida noticia de Sepúlveda en A. Pacheco, “Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda”, *Contemporaries of Erasmus: a Bibliographical Register of the Renaissance and Reformation*. Edited by P. G. Bietenholz & Th. B. Deutscher. 3 vols. (Toronto-Buffalo-London, 1985-87), vol. III (1987), pp. 240-242. Puede consultarse también A. Losada, *Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda a través de su “Epistolario” y nuevos documentos*, (Madrid 1973 (=1949)).

<sup>5</sup> En un pasaje de sus *Miscellanea* (5,4) Poliziano formula una jerarquía de los instrumentos adecuados para la enmienda de los textos, proponiendo el siguiente orden: 1) *Veteris auctoritas codicis*; 2) *Scriptoris idonei testimonium*; 3) *Sensus*, que no sea “*undecunque decerptus*”. La metodología del humanista italiano da prioridad a “la valutazione delle testimonianze manoscritte seguita da un abbozzo di storia della tradizione superstita...e alla identificazione degli usi linguistici.” (cfr. V. Branca, “Il metodo filologico del Poliziano in un capitolo della “*Centuria Secunda*””, *Tra Latino e Volgare. Per Carlo Dionisotti*, 2 vols. (Padova 1974), Vol. I, pp. 211-243, en p. 212, reimpresso ahora en *Poliziano e l’Umanesimo della parola*, (Torino 1983), pp. 157-181). Sobre el método poliziano puede consultarse, además del estudio de Branca, el artículo de A. Grafton, “On the Scholarship of Politian and its Context”, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 40 (1977), 150-188, ahora en A. Grafton, *Defenders of the Text. The Traditions of Scholarship in an Age of Science, 1450-1800* (Cambridge, Mass.-London 1991), pp. 47-75 y 258-269, y V. Fera, “Problemi e percorsi della ricezione umanistica”, in G. Cavallo, P. Fedeli, A. Giardina (dir.), *Lo spazio letterario di Roma Antica*. Vol. III. *La ricezione del testo* (Roma 1990), pp. 513-543.

<sup>6</sup> C. Vasoli, “Il Poliziano maestro di dialettica”, *La dialettica e la retorica dell’Umanesimo* (Milano 1968), pp. 116-131, en p. 118.

exigía establecer el texto aristotélico de acuerdo con los nuevos presupuestos metodológicos. Es en estos años (1495-8) cuando de la imprenta de Aldo Manuzio salio la monumental edición del texto aristotélico a la que siguieron en las dos primeras décadas del nuevo siglo ediciones individuales y parciales de las obras del filósofo y, a iniciativa de otros editores, de sus comentaristas.<sup>7</sup> La iniciativa de Aldo Manuzio — señalan sus biógrafos — no se limitaba únicamente a organizar la publicación del *corpus* aristotélico, sino que pretendía, al fijar canónicamente todo el texto de Aristóteles y hacerlo accesible a los lectores de su tiempo, poner fin a la bárbara enciclopedia aristotélica del Medievo, basada en florilegios y en simples reducciones de la filosofía del Estagirita.<sup>8</sup> Con la aportación de Aldo — como con la de Poliziano y la de los editores de los comentaristas aristotélicos de la Antigüedad o de los comentarios de Averroes, con la iniciativa de los humanistas en definitiva — el Aristóteles del Renacimiento adquiriría así dimensiones nuevas, notablemente distintas del Aristóteles medieval. De este modo, y antes de 1540, cualquier persona que pretendiera estudiar con profundidad las obras de Aristóteles disponía para ello de un abundante material impreso compuesto, además de por el texto del Estagirita en su lengua original, de un amplio *corpus* de comentaristas. Como no será difícil advertir, toda esta serie de nuevos instrumentos supuso ya para los traductores humanistas del texto aristotélico un cambio cualitativo muy importante con respecto de las versiones del Medievo.

Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda no constituye, en este sentido, una excepción. Traductor él mismo de un comentario de Aristóteles, Sepúlveda hace uso con frecuencia del extenso *corpus* de comentaristas, tanto latinos como griegos. Ello es especialmente interesante en el caso de su segunda versión de los *Parva Naturalia*. Para el humanista español el haber podido cotejar algunos de los comentarios a dichos libros constituye ya una razón suficiente para plantearse la necesidad de una completa revisión del texto.<sup>9</sup> En el caso de los *Meteorologica* son precisa-

<sup>7</sup> Las estadísticas presentadas por Cranz [F.E. Cranz, *A Bibliography of Aristotle Editions (1501-1600)*. Second edition with *addenda* and revisions by C.B. Schmitt (Baden-Baden 1984), p. xii] demuestran el auge de la publicación de los escritos de Aristóteles entre 1491 y 1520.

<sup>8</sup> Tal es el punto de vista de L. Minio Paluello, "Attività filosofico-editoriale aristotelica dell'Umanesimo", *Opuscula: the Latin Aristotle* (Amsterdam 1972), pp. 483-500, esp. en p. 491, y M. Lowry, *The World of Aldus Manutius* (Oxford 1979), pp. 234-237.

<sup>9</sup> El título de la obra (*Libri de animalibus quos vulgo "Parvos Naturales" vocant cum libro de incessu animalium, et de mundo ad Alexandrum, prius quidem editi, sed nunc*

mente los comentarios al texto de Aristóteles los que le han animado a llevar a cabo una versión de la obra.<sup>10</sup> Para Sepúlveda el material de los comentaristas no constituye un mero complemento filológico válido para la interpretación del texto aristotélico, sino que de su conocimiento y lectura depende directamente la calidad de la traducción redactada. Otras veces — como sucede con los *Meteorologica* — el haber podido contar con los comentaristas le ha facilitado notablemente la interpretación de algunos pasajes.<sup>11</sup>

Pero Sepúlveda no siempre se preocupa por detallar explícitamente la serie de comentaristas de los que se sirve para sus traducciones. Así para los *Parva Naturalia*, por ejemplo, disponemos únicamente de dos testimonios: en las glosas al texto de *De memoria et meminisse* y *De insomniis* Sepúlveda hace referencia a la *Paraphrasis* del Pseudo-Temistio, texto que el traductor español leyó en una versión latina, al carecer del original griego;<sup>12</sup> en las notas a *De memoria et meminisse* encontramos también una alusión al comentario de Santo Tomás.<sup>13</sup> Por lo que respecta a *De sensu et sensilibus* podemos pensar que Sepúlveda consultara el comentario de Alejandro de Afrodisias, editado en la imprenta aldina en 1527, y que lo tuviera en cuenta en su segunda versión de los *Parva Naturalia*.

Mucho más fácil resulta, en cambio, determinar cuál fue el comentario consultado para la traducción de *De incessu animalium*. En el prólogo a la primera versión de la obra Sepúlveda lamenta no haber podido

*accuratissime ab eodem interprete recogniti, quinimo alii facti ex fide veterum exemplarium et expositione graecorum enarratorum*) nos demuestra que Sepúlveda tuvo en cuenta para su segunda versión los textos de los comentaristas griegos.

<sup>10</sup> *Opera Aristotelis Latina facta Ioanne Genesio Sepulveda Cordubensi*, (París 1532), f.IV: “Quos libros Meteorologicorum ego initio ut e graeco in latinum convertendos susceperem, invitavit me non solum eorum qui hoc opus ante me converterant negligentia, multis mihi locis deprehensa, sed etiam graecorum expositorum...commentaria quae mihi desideratissima contigere”.

<sup>11</sup> *Opera Aristotelis Latina facta...*, f.IV: “si cui constantius commodiusque nunc loqui quam priorum interpretum voce visus fuerit, is tribuet hoc non solum Graecis enarratoribus, quos supra nominavi (horum namque doctrina me magnopere adiutum esse profiteor)...”.

<sup>12</sup> Véase a este respecto la nota 32. Sepúlveda no duda en ningún momento de la autoría de la *Paraphrasis* a los *Parva Naturalia*. Para él es claro que dicho comentario es obra de Temistio. La crítica moderna atribuye la paternidad de dicha obra a Sofonias.

<sup>13</sup> *Libri de animalibus quos vulgo “Parvos Naturales”...* (Bolonia 1522), *De memoria et meminisse*, f. 22<sup>v</sup>: “Hic locus non modo ab aliis parum percipit, verum etiam a Sancto Thoma viro alioquin eruditissimo et in exponendo Aristotele latinorum diligentissimo.”, glosa a Aristóteles, *De memoria et meminisse*, 450 a 15.

emplear el comentario de Miguel de Efeso, texto éste que había recibido de manos del príncipe Alberto Pio y al que Sepúlveda accedió sólo después de haber editado su versión.<sup>14</sup> En su edición parisina de 1532 Sepúlveda debió de hacer uso ya de los escolios de Miguel de Efeso al *De incessu animalium* aristotélico.

Donde más exactas y numerosas resultan las noticias de Sepúlveda es en la traducción de los *Meteorologica*. Ya en mayo de 1522, cuando la versión estaba sólo en sus inicios, Sepúlveda nos informa que tiene a su disposición los comentarios de Alejandro de Afrodisias, Juan Filópono y Olimpiodoro a los *Meteorologica*.<sup>15</sup> Años más tarde, en el prefacio a su versión del texto aristotélico, reconoce haber cotejado “Alexandri Aphrodisiensis, Ioannis Philoponi Olympiodorice commentaria”.<sup>16</sup> El manuscrito del comentario de Alejandro de Afrodisias, editado por vez primera en 1527 y que, por tanto, pudo Sepúlveda leer en la etapa final de su traducción, sabemos que fue solicitado en préstamo, en nombre del príncipe Alberto Pio de Carpi, de la Biblioteca Vaticana por el humanista español Juan Montesdeoca, y que no fue devuelto hasta 1524.<sup>17</sup> La amistad entre el príncipe de Carpi y Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda nos hace pensar que éste tuviera acceso en algún momento al manuscrito vaticano que contenía la exégesis de Alejandro. Por su parte, el comentario de Olimpiodoro conoció una notable difusión desde fecha muy temprana entre los círculos intelectuales de la época, a pesar de que su *editio princeps* veneciana no apareció hasta 1551.<sup>18</sup> El testimonio del propio Sepúlveda y el parentesco

<sup>14</sup> *Libri de animalibus quos vulgo* “Parvos Naturales”...(Bolonia 1522), f. AAi<sup>v</sup>: “et Michaellem Ephesum graecum expositorem ne videram quidem ante, quia ad me superioribus diebus, impresso iam ipso (ut scis) opere, convertendi gratia misisti volumen illud, in quo eius quoque in hunc librum τό σχόλιον repperi, et magna cum aviditate perlegi”.

<sup>15</sup> *Libri de animalibus quos vulgo* “Parvos Naturales”...(Bolonia 1522), f. AAiv<sup>v</sup>: “Extant enim Alexandri Aphrodisei, Ioannis grammatici, Olympiodori in hos libros [Meteorologicorum] graecae expositiones...”.

<sup>16</sup> *Opera Aristotelis Latina facta...*, f.I<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>17</sup> Cfr. M. Bertòla, *I due primi registri di prestito della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (Codici Vaticani latini 3964, 3966). Pubblicati in fototipia e in trascrizione con note e indici a cura di...* (Città del Vaticano 1942), p. 50: “1518. Albertus Carpensius dominus habuit suprascriptum et amplius ex mandato Leonis X pontificis maximi: Iohannem Grammaticum graecum in libros Aristotelis de anima et Alexandrum, Aphrodysium graecum in 4 libros Meteorum Aristotelis. Tulit hos etiam idem Iohannes Montesdocta. Restituit omnes die 30 octobris 1524.”

<sup>18</sup> Tal como afirma C.B. Schmitt, “the work was cited from manuscript as early as 1520 by Gianfrancesco Pico della Mirandola.” (Cfr. C.B. Schmitt, “Olympiodorus Alexandrinus Philosophus”, *Catalogus Translationum et Commentariorum* (Washington D.C. 1971), Vol. II, pp. 199-204, esp. p. 200).

entre Pico y Alberto Pio nos permiten pensar que, a través del príncipe de Carpi, fuera éste el manuscrito que llegó a manos de Sepúlveda y al que el traductor hace referencia varias veces en sus prefacios. Sobre el posible origen de la copia que del comentario de Juan Filópono se sirvió Sepúlveda para su versión resulta, en cambio, muy arriesgado especular.

Aludamos, aunque sea sólo brevemente, a los comentaristas medievales que Sepúlveda pudo haber leído y empleado en sus versiones de Aristóteles. El comentario de Santo Tomás aparece citado en las glosas de los *Parva Naturalia*. A menudo las referencias a Tomás de Aquino se completan con alusiones a otros exégetas de Aristóteles. Tal es el caso del comentario de Alejandro de Afrodisias y de la *Paraphrasis* del Pseudo-Temistio a los *Parva Naturalia*.<sup>19</sup> Los testimonios de Sepúlveda nos informan también de otros exégetas latinos de Aristóteles a los que el humanista español debió de consultar en alguna ocasión. La mayoría de las veces se trata, sin embargo, de alusiones fuertemente críticas a los traductores latinos de los comentaristas griegos de Aristóteles. Así, en el prólogo a los *Parva Naturalia*, Sepúlveda censura a “qui latine commentarios in ea opera ediderunt”.<sup>20</sup> Su juicio de los comentarios latinos a los *Meteorologica* no admite tampoco dudas: “graecae expositiones, quibus Latinae comparatae ridiculae sane videantur et monstris insignes”.<sup>21</sup> En ambos casos Sepúlveda parece referirse a las versiones de Guillermo de Moerbeke, autor de sendas versiones de los comentarios de Alejandro de Afrodisias a *De sensu et sensato* y a los *Meteorologica* de Aristóteles.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Consúltase la nota 33. Véase también *Libri de animalibus quos vulgo “Parvos Naturales”*...(Bolonia 1522), f.24v: “Mem. 452 a 16 Porro universale principium ac medium omnium rerum esse videtur, quoniam si non prius, at certe cum ad hoc fuerit perventum, reminisceris aut numquam nec aliunde, exempli gratia, si quis intellexerit a b c d e f g h. Medium. Via qua possumus in memoriam rerum pervenire. Hic enim principium et medium, quod videtur esse universale pro eodem accipitur; nec enim Themisti sententia, si modo recte ab Hermolao conversa, etiam verbis Aristotelis tam congruere videtur quam Sancti Thomae, qui multa et haec quoque fortassis ab Alexandro in horum librorum commentariis mutuatus est. Quorum alter in exemplo litterarum E putat esse principium, quia in medio consistit. Alter A principium et medium inveniendi, quoniam A principium est universale ad omnes litteras; quare, si cum cetera sigillatim obierit nec potuerit alicubi meminisse, certe, cum ad A pervenerit, recordabitur quia principium est et medium aut nusquam. Et certe H magis experimur, si aliquam dictionem alicuius carminis memoria investigamus”.

<sup>20</sup> *Libri de animalibus quos vulgo “Parvos Naturales”*...(Bolonia 1522), f. AAiii<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>21</sup> *Libri de animalibus quos vulgo “Parvos Naturales”*...(Bolonia 1522), f. AAiv<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>22</sup> Un indicio de los vínculos entre Sepúlveda y Moerbeke parece ser la adaptación, por parte del traductor español, de buena parte del vocabulario filosófico latino acuñado por Moerbeke: “actio” *πραξις*; “actus” *ἐνέργεια*; “alteratio” *ἀλλοίωσις*; “intellec-

Como cualquier otro traductor, Sepúlveda consultó otras versiones que le pudieran ayudar en aquellos pasajes que presentaban mayor dificultad. Punto de referencia constante para sus trabajos lo constituyen los textos de Teodoro Gaza [Theodorus Gazes], “vir alioquin doctissimus”, algunas de cuyas propuestas de traducción, sin embargo, son matizadas por Sepúlveda.<sup>23</sup> Otras veces, en cambio, se trata de versiones más recientes, muchas de ellas incluso contemporáneas. Sabemos que Sepúlveda leyó “nulla data mora velut devorantibus oculis avidae” la edición de Pietro Alcionio, versión que sin duda tuvo en cuenta, pese a las muchas críticas que le mereció.<sup>24</sup> Para su traducción de la Política también empleó varias versiones recién editadas, traducciones éstas que Sepúlveda recibió en un principio con gran expectación: “mihi nuntia-

tus” νοῦς; “phantasma” φάντασμα; “subsistentia” ὑπόστασις (Sobre el léxico establecido por el traductor medieval, puede consultarse F.E. Cranz, “The Renaissance Reading of the *De anima*”, in J.C. Margolin (ed.), *Platon et Aristote à la Renaissance* (Paris 1976), pp. 359-376, en p. 361).

<sup>23</sup> En una glosa a propósito de un pasaje confuso de *De sensu et sensilibus*, Sepúlveda cita la famosa traducción de los *libri de animalibus* de Aristóteles de Teodoro Gaza a propósito del término *nigrum*: “Sens. 437 b 1 *At ea pars oculi quae nigrum appellata in medio consistit levem esse constat*. Nigrum appellata. De nigro oculi et ceteris eius partibus vide Aristotelem li. i. de natura animalium cap. ix. [Arist., *H.A.*, 491 b 21] iuxta Theodori editionem. [“Umor oculi interior, quo videmus pupilla est. Quod eam ambit nigrum dicitur.”, (edición consultada: *Theodori Gazae Libri de animalibus Aristotelis*, Venetiis 1525, f. 2°)] (*Libri de animalibus quos vulgo* “Parvos Naturales”...[Bolonia 1522], f. 9°)”.

El prestigio de Teodoro Gaza no impide, sin embargo, que Sepúlveda se muestre reticente con algunos de sus criterios de traducción. Así en otra glosa: “Sens. 438 a 24 *Si quidem nemo umquam intra genas ab algore infestatur. Ex anguium oculis sua durities pro tutamine est*. Intra genas. Genae sunt quibus oculi supra infraque integuntur. In quarum extremis pili sunt quae palpebrae nuncupantur. At ait Aristoteles de na. ani. li. i c. ix [Arist., *H.A.*, 491 b 18-19]. Sic enim βλεφάρων quod verbum pro ὀμμάτων in castigatioribus exemplaribus legitur, interpretari satius est Plinii auctoritate li. xi cap. xxxvi [Plin., *Hist. Nat.*, XI 246: *Nam simiarum genera perfectam hominis imitationem continent facie, naribus, auribus, palpebris, quas solae quadrupedum et in inferiore habent gena.*] quam palpebras, ut Theodorus vir alioquin doctissimus in citato loco, nescio cuius auctoritate, convertit. [“Quod postremo nigrum circumdat, candidum sive albugo, pars superioris, inferioris quam palpebrae, angulus est.”, *ibidem supra*, f. 2v.] (*Libri de animalibus quos vulgo* “Parvos Naturales”...[Bolonia 1522], f. 11°)”.

<sup>24</sup> *Libri de animalibus quos vulgo* “Parvos Naturales”...[Bolonia 1522], f. A<sup>r</sup>. El volumen de las traducciones de Alcionio, editado por Bernardinus Vitalis en Venecia en abril de 1521, comprendía — además de los *Parva Naturalia* — las versiones de *De generatione et interitu*, *Meteorologica* y de *De mundo*. Sobre Pietro Alcionio puede consultarse el artículo de M. Rosa en *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Roma 1960), Vol. II, pp. 77-80. Sobre la polémica entre Sepúlveda y Alcionio consúltense S.D. Wingate, *The Medieval Latin Versions of the Aristotelian Scientific Corpus* (London 1931), p. 128; *Aristotelis Latinus*, XI.1-2 (ed. alt.), *De mundo*, edidit W.L. Lorimer, revisit L. Minio-Paluello (Leiden 1965), pp. xliii-iv; y G. Hugo Tucker, “Exile Exiled: Petrus Alcyonius (1487-1527?) in a Travelling-Chest”, *Journal of the Institute of Romance Studies* 2 (1993), 83-103.

tum est duas novas interpretationes prodivisse ab interpretibus emissas qui se tum dissertos (*sic* !) et utraque lingua peritos, tum diu in philosophia exercitatos esse profiterentur. Quo nomine cum aetati nostrae de tanta felicitate gratularer ac fore sperarem ut horum industria me reliquo labore ac edendi cura liberaret...”<sup>25</sup>

Sepúlveda leyó el texto de Aristóteles según la edición de Aldo Manuzio publicada en Venecia entre noviembre de 1495 y junio de 1498. En una glosa a *De incessu animalium* el traductor discute una lectura concreta del texto “quae etiam in vulgata graeci voluminis editione habetur”.<sup>26</sup> La edición “vulgata” a la que Sepúlveda hace referencia es, sin duda, la edición aldina, algunos de cuyos volúmenes — lo sabemos ahora gracias a los trabajos de Manuel Nieto — formaron parte de la biblioteca particular del traductor.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>25</sup> Cfr. *Aristotelis De republica libri VIII, interprete et enarratore Io. Genesio Sepulveda*, (Paris 1548), f. II<sup>r</sup>. Traducciones latinas contemporáneas de la *Política* de Aristóteles son la publicada en Estrasburgo en 1540 con el título *Aristotelis Politicorum libri octo* (Introd. Jakob Bedrott), (Argentorati, 1540, per W. Rihelium); la de Jacques Louis d’Estrebay *Aristotelis Politica ab Jacobo Lodoico Strebæo, nomine Ioannis Bertrandi conversa*, (Parisiis 1542, 1547; y la de Joachim Périon *De republica qui Politica dicuntur libri VIII, Ioachimo Perionio interprete*, Parisiis 1543, apud I.L. Tiletanum). De todas ellas Sepúlveda se refería sin duda a las de Estrebay y Périon.

Sepúlveda debió de conocer sin duda la clásica versión de la *Política* aristotélica redactada por Bruni en las primeras décadas de 1400. Parecen probarlo, además de la extensa difusión de que gozó la versión bruniana, las coincidencias entre Sepúlveda y las soluciones propuestas por Bruni: πολίτευμα y πολιτεία por “res publica” y ἐκκλησία. por “concio”. Siguiendo el criterio de Bruni Sepúlveda rechaza las transliteraciones medievales de términos como οἰκονομική, ἀριστοκρατία y δημοκρατία, aunque en ocasiones discrepe de la versión de aquél.

<sup>26</sup> *Libri de animalibus quos vulgo “Parvos Naturales”...*(Bolonía 1522), *De incessu animalium*, f. IV<sup>r</sup>, glosa a Aristóteles, *De incessu animalium*, 709 b 13. Otra discrepancia de la edición aldina por parte de Sepúlveda la podemos encontrar en una de sus correcciones manuscritas a la versión de la *Política*: “Sed huius loci [Ut Homerus] scripturam tum in Aldino, tum in ceteris omnibus Graecis exemplaribus...praepostere sese habere declarat manifesta ratio et codicis testimonium...” (cfr. Io. Genesii Sepulvedae in scholia ad octo Politicorum Aristotelis libros emendationes et additiones, in libro III, cap. III, *Ioannis Sepulvedae opera, cum edita tum inedita, accurate Regiae Historiae Academia*, (Matriti 1780), Vol. I, p. cxxxiv).

<sup>27</sup> Cfr. M. Nieto, “Fondos librarios de Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda en la biblioteca de la Catedral de Córdoba”, *Studia Albortiana XXXVII: El Cardenal Alborno y el Colegio de España*, Edición de E. Verdera (Bolonía 1979), Vol. VI, pp. 743-750. El inventario de los fondos librarios de Sepúlveda constituye un testimonio precioso para conocer el estado del texto del que éste se sirvió para sus traducciones. Entre otras obras Sepúlveda dispuso en algún momento del segundo y tercer volumen de la *editio princeps* aristotélica, que contenían, además de la *Física*, el texto de *De animalibus*, los *Meteorologica*, *De ortu et interitu* y *De mundo*, así como del tomo correspondiente a 1498 en el que fueron editados las *Éticas* y la *Política*.



No se limita, sin embargo, Sepúlveda a seguir fielmente el texto editado por Manuzio, sino que en algunos casos difiere incluso de la lectura propuesta por el editor veneciano.<sup>28</sup> Sin que sus intereses sean los propios de un crítico textual, Sepúlveda sí se preocupa, en cambio, por acceder, en la medida de lo posible, a los mejores testimonios manuscritos del texto aristotélico. La actitud de Sepúlveda no es la propia de un editor, pero no por ello hemos de negar un notable componente crítico en su aproximación a los textos de Aristóteles.

La primera preocupación de Sepúlveda como traductor es asegurarse del buen estado de los textos objeto de la versión. Muchas de las anotaciones con las que el traductor acompaña sus versiones son un buen ejemplo de su interés por fijar correctamente el texto de Aristóteles. Fiel siempre a la tradición manuscrita y poco dado a la conjetura a la hora de determinar la naturaleza de un pasaje, Sepúlveda subraya con insistencia la necesidad de la restauración de los textos mediante la colocación de los códices *castigatores* o *emendati*. Ello se observa en una de sus glosas a la versión de *De memoria et meminisse*: “*Mem. 449 b 27. Sed praesentis est sensus, futuri spes, praeteriti memoria quocirca omnis memoria cum tempore est. Cum tempore est. Recte locus interpretatur non post tempus. Nam castigatores codices non μετὰ χρόνον, sed μετὰ χρόνον habent et hoc congruit dictis Aristotelis. (f. 21<sup>r</sup>)*”.

Otras veces Sepúlveda corrige pasajes de dudosa lectura basándose en el testimonio de los manuscritos más antiguos, como se pone de manifiesto en una nota al texto de la Política: “*Pol. 1262 b 2 Non tamen omnino dicunt. In vulgatis exemplaribus depravate legitur ἅμα δ’ ὠφασί, pro ὅλως δε ὠφασί, ut in vetustis legitur; est autem sensus qui servitutem ex bello natam iustam esse dicunt, iure quodam peculiari nituntur (f.12<sup>v</sup>)*”.

En sus consideraciones sobre las corruptelas que presentan los manuscritos cotejados Sepúlveda rara vez nos informa sobre las características

<sup>28</sup> Las palabras de Sepúlveda en el prólogo a su revisión de la traducción de los *Parva Naturalia* (“Cum illa igitur incohata et rudiora nobis adolescentibus necdum exemplaria fidei probatae nactis (nam quae impressa circumferuntur haud paucis in locis postea vetustiorum collatione depravata deprehendimus)...” [Cfr. *Opera Aristotelis Latina facta...*, f.XXXIX<sup>v</sup>]) parecen dar a entender que el traductor consultó varios manuscritos del texto aristotélico, que acabó por desechar. Para algunos casos en los que Sepúlveda se aparta de la lectura aldina véase, además de los ejemplos citados en la nota 23, *Aristotelis Latinus*, XI.1-2 (*De mundo*, ed. cit., p. xliv, n. 2., donde Minio-Paluello cita un pasaje de *De mundo* en el que Sepúlveda propone la lectura εἰς frente la propuesta ἥς de la edición de Aldo.

de los manuscritos; así, carecemos de noticias sobre el origen de los manuscritos a los que tuvo acceso. En los casos excepcionales en los que conjetura las posibles razones de un determinado error, no duda en achacar el mal estado del texto a la negligencia de los copistas.<sup>29</sup>

Cuando las divergencias entre los distintos manuscritos no afectan al sentido del texto aristotélico, el traductor minimiza la importancia de dichas discrepancias. Pone de manifiesto la variedad de lecturas, pero finalmente opta por la lección más fiel. Así lo explica en una de sus glosas al tercer libro de la *Politica*, donde la preciosa información que nos da Sepúlveda ha permitido a los editores modernos determinar el estado del texto de Aristóteles: “*Pol. 1277 b 19 quamquam temperantiae et iustitiae imperatricis species est diversa. A temperantia et iustitia subiecti et liberi, quatenus est subiectus, nam et hic duplicem habet virtutem, alteram ad parendum, alteram ad imperandum. In graecis exemplaribus scriptum est ὁτι οὐ μία ἂν εἴη τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ, id est non unam esse virtutem boni; in quibusdam illud τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ, id est boni, non habetur, sed idem est utriusque scripturae sensus, ut virtus duplex esse intelligatur, in subiecto libero, si bonus est, altera imperandi, altera parendi. Sed quia virtus non potest esse nisi in bono, idcirco illud τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ videtur esse supervacaneum.*”(f.78<sup>r</sup>).<sup>30</sup>

En sus prólogos y anotaciones al texto de Aristóteles Sepúlveda reconoce haber cotejado para sus versiones manuscritos, cuyo deterioro ha dificultado a menudo la comprensión de los textos: “nobis adolescentibus necdum exemplaria fidei probatae nactis”.<sup>31</sup> Otras veces prefiere no

<sup>29</sup> Véase, por ejemplo, otra de las glosas al texto de la *Política* (*Pol. 1275 a 12*): “*inquilinis multis in locis talis societas non perfecte communicatur. Talis societas. [...]* Talis societas non perfecte communicatur, addit hoc, sed necesse est tribuere astitorem: quare imperfecte aliquantulum participant tali communione, ut graecum exemplar quod interpres ille sequitur, sic habuisse videatur: ἀλλὰ νέμειν ἀνάγκη προστάτην, ὥστε ἀτελῶς μετέχουσι τῆς τοιαύτης κοινωνίας, quod sive glossema est in dictionem a librariis translatum, sive in aliis codicibus desideratur, illum sensum habet quem initio proposuimus. (f.71 v)”.  
<sup>30</sup> En efecto, uno de los códices sepulvedianos, en el que — tal como señala el propio traductor — no aparecen las palabras τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ, constituye el único testimonio que se aparta de la tradición [véase a este respecto el aparato crítico relativo a este pasaje en la edición de la *Politica* de Jean Aubonnet (Aristote. *Politique*, texte établi et traduit par... (Paris 1971), tome II, livre III, p. 62)].

<sup>31</sup> Con toda la prudencia que exige la ambigua terminología filológica de los humanistas pensamos que Sepúlveda emplea siempre la palabra “exemplar” con el significado de “manuscrito”, pese a que dicho término es usado indistintamente “oltre che per i manuscritti anche per i libri a stampa” (S. Rizzo, *Il lessico filologico degli umanisti* (Roma 1973), p. 188 y s.v. “exemplar”). Para denominar a las ediciones impresas Sepúl-

adoptar una postura concreta ante una lectura problemática, toda vez que carece de un manuscrito digno de crédito.<sup>32</sup> Es precisamente la comparación de manuscritos (“vetustiorum [exemplarium] collatione”) y el registro de las diferentes variantes lo que lleva a Sepúlveda a plantearse la necesidad de una nueva versión de los *Parva Naturalia*. De modo análogo, el cotejo de un buen número de manuscritos (“veterum et castigatorem exemplarium fidem”) asegura, en el caso de la Política, la calidad de la versión sepulvediana.<sup>33</sup> Cuando el examen de los diferentes testimonios no basta para dar con la mejor lectura, propone la conjetura, aunque con algunas prevenciones, pues es también consciente de que no pocos textos presentan numerosos errores por el abuso que de la “divinatio” han hecho traductores y editores.<sup>34</sup> El propósito de Sepúlveda no es, pues, corregir el texto aristotélico, y sólo en muy contadas ocasiones encontramos en nuestro traductor esbozos de una incipiente crítica textual. En dichos casos el criterio de Sepúlveda es siempre aceptar las lecturas de los manuscritos más antiguos o en mejor estado, como ocurre

veda utiliza, en cambio, la palabra “codices”: “[refiriéndose a ediciones contemporáneas de la Política] sperarem ut horum industria me reliquo labore ac edendi cura liberaret, codices nactus coepi diligenter Latina cum Graecis conferre...” (Cfr. *Aristotelis De republica libri VIII*..., f. II’).

<sup>32</sup> Glosa a *De insomnis* citada en la nota 13: “[Themistius] si modo recte conversus est neque enim graeci exemplaris copiam nactus sum...”.

<sup>33</sup> El texto de *Parva Naturalia* en *Opera Aristotelis Latina facta interprete Ioanne Genesio Sepulveda Cordubensi*, París 1532, f.XXXIX v; el pasaje de la Política en *Aristotelis De republica libri VIII*..., f. 2’. En una de sus correcciones a la primera versión de la Política se basa precisamente en la lectura de todos los manuscritos para modificar su traducción: “Id est, δῆμος. Sic scriptum est in omnibus exemplaribus Graecis quae mihi videre contigit.” (cfr. Io Genesii Sepulvedae in *scholia ad octo Politicorum Aristotelis libros emendationes et additiones*, in libro IV, cap. III, *Ioannis Sepulvedae opera*..., Vol. I, p. cxxxvii).

<sup>34</sup> Una conjetura en, por ejemplo, una glosa a *De divinatione per somnium* 464 a 5: “*Tale quidquam esse potest...Tale quidquam...et hoc verisimilius esse quam quod dicit Democritus quod simulachra et defluctiones causantur. Legendum est autem τι μᾶλλον, non τι μέλλον.*”. Dos ejemplos de la censura de Sepúlveda a quienes abusan de la conjetura en el prólogo a *Parva Naturalia* (ed. 1522): “Sic enim efficietur ut ingenti nostrorum philosophorum labori maxime consulatur qui priorum interpretum vitio, dum parum procedit divinatio, qua saepe in exponendo Aristotele utuntur, in magnis plerumque versati sunt erroribus.” [cfr. *Libri de animalibus quos vulgo “Parvos Naturales”*..., f. AA ii’]; y en el prefacio al Comentario de Alejandro de Afrodísias: “Sed quorundam [loco- rum depravatorum] pertinaciam quae utriusque ingenio, nisi divinatio processerit, obstinate repugnavit non dubitabat ille negligentiae librariorum assignare...” (*Alexandri Aphrodisie Commentaria in Aristotelis Metaphysica Ioanne Genesio Sepulveda interprete*, [Roma 1527], a IV’). El propio Sepúlveda, “non tam ingenio meo fidens..., quam assensu Nicolai Iudeci confirmatus”, desconfía a menudo de la conjetura. Sobre el término “divinatio” véase S. Rizzo, *op. cit.*, pp. 287-288.

con el texto de la Política.<sup>35</sup> Su versión del Comentario de Alejandro de Afrodiasias a la Metafísica de Aristóteles constituye, sin embargo, una muy importante excepción. En la traducción del comentarista griego sus intereses sobrepasan los de un mero traductor. Así Sepúlveda se preocupa, además de por señalar — “*appositis asteriscis*” — aquellos pasajes de dudosa lectura, por disponer el texto de la traducción de un modo claro, separando, “*lineis quibusdam*”, el comentario de Alejandro del texto original de Aristóteles.<sup>36</sup> Prueba del interés de Sepúlveda en que el texto de los Comentarios de Alejandro sea editado cuidadosamente y con los menores errores posibles es la carta que en 1534 el propio Sepúlveda dirigió a Rodrigo Manrique instándole a seguir muy de cerca la edición que de su traducción aparecería dos años más tarde.<sup>37</sup>

La versión del comentario de Alejandro de Afrodiasias presentaba, sin embargo, un arduo problema que era preciso resolver antes de dar inicio a la traducción del texto. A falta de una edición del original griego, Sepúlveda no podía disponer ni siquiera de una versión en lengua latina que emplear como punto referencia. Era necesaria, por tanto, una fijación previa del texto. Para dicha tarea Sepúlveda declara haber contado con “*quattuor antiquissima exemplaria*”, plagados de pasajes corruptos “*librarium incuria*”. La comparación y el análisis de dicho grupo de manuscritos, labor para la que fue aconsejado por Niccolò Giudeco, miembro de la Academia aldina, le permitieron eliminar los múltiples pasajes corruptos que se encontraban en el texto: “*...errata quae passim scatebant quattuor exemplaribus conferendis per laboriosum examen mihi fuerunt castiganda*”. Los estudiosos modernos han especulado sobre la naturaleza de los manuscritos cotejados por Sepúlveda. Según Hayduck, editor del texto de Alejandro a finales del siglo XIX, el texto

<sup>35</sup> Sepúlveda sigue en este sentido la norma de “*recentiores deteriores*”, tendiendo a infravalorar los manuscritos más modernos. Así en una glosa al texto de la Política prefiere la lectura de los antiguos manuscritos a la que aparece “*in vulgatis exemplaribus*”. (Cfr. *Aristotelis De republica libri VIII...*, f. 12<sup>v</sup>).

<sup>36</sup> En su traducción del Comentario de Alejandro de Afrodiasias Sepúlveda se sirvió, para los *lemmata* aristotélicos, de la traducción de la Metafísica de Juan Argirópulo. El mismo lo declara así en su prefacio: “*Ut autem lector quem sequatur habeat, sitque incommodo eo liberatus, quod mihi passim negotium facessebat, Aristotelis verba quae Graece cum verbis Alexandri permixta et admodum confusa sunt, Io. Argyropoli traductionem secutus, lineis quibusdam distinxi, qua diligentia effectum esse spero, ut Latinus Alexander quam Graecus nihilominus perspicuitatis habeat.*” (*Commentaria in Aristotelis Metaphysica...*, f. a IV<sup>r</sup>).

<sup>37</sup> *Ioannis Sepulvedae opera...*, vol. III, lib. II, ep. VIII, pp. 126-128. La carta posee fecha de 15 de julio de 1534.

empleado por Sepúlveda pertenece a la recensión “vulgata” (manuscritos A [Parisinus, gr. 1876], M [Monacensis 81, siglo XVI] y, para parte del comentario, L [Laurentianus 87, 12] y F [Ambrosianus F, 113]) y coincide en gran parte con los manuscritos L y F en las partes del Comentario donde éste contiene el texto “vulgata”.<sup>38</sup>

A diferencia de otros traductores y editores de Aristóteles Sepúlveda no se plantea en ningún momento problemas relativos a la autenticidad de las obras que traduce. Según su criterio, basta con que el texto se adscriba desde el punto de vista doctrinal al pensamiento de Aristóteles para que no quepa duda alguna sobre la autoría del escrito en cuestión. Ello es especialmente claro en el caso de *De mundo*, libro considerado como espúreo por la crítica moderna pero que Sepúlveda no vacila en atribuir a Aristóteles.<sup>39</sup> Para Sepúlveda el contenido del tratado y su coincidencia con la filosofía aristotélica disipan ya por sí solos cualquier duda sobre la autoría de *De mundo*.<sup>40</sup> De igual modo Sepúlveda en su traducción del Comentario de Alejandro de Afrodisias omite la cuestión de la autenticidad del segundo libro de la Metafísica aristotélica (el llamado libro α), sobre cuya autoría el propio Alejandro no se pronuncia con claridad.<sup>41</sup>

No terminan aquí los problemas relativos a los Comentarios de Alejandro de Afrodisias. Como es sabido, de los doce libros de que consta el comentario sólo los cinco primeros fueron escritos directamente por Alejandro, mientras que los siete restantes han sido atribuidos por la filología moderna en su mayor parte a la pluma de Miguel de Efeso. Sepúlveda cree en cambio que el texto es en su totalidad obra de

<sup>38</sup> *Alexandri Aphrodisie in Aristotelis Metaphysica Commentaria*, edidit M. Hayduck, *Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca*, I, (Berolini 1891), pp. viii-ix. Sobre Niccolò Giudico véase A. Firmin-Didot, *Alde Manuce et l'hellénisme a Venise* (Paris 1875), p. 149.

<sup>39</sup> *Aristotelis liber de mundo interprete Ioanne Genesio Sepulveda Cordubensi*, (Bologna 1523): “porro liber hic *de Mundo*, tam docte, tam eleganter, tam doctrinae Peripateticae convenienter scriptus est, ut merito eorum invaluerit opinio, a quibus Aristoteli tribuitur..” (f. Ai<sup>v</sup>).

<sup>40</sup> *Aristotelis liber de mundo*..., f. Ai<sup>v</sup>. Sobre el problema planteado por la autoría de *De mundo* desde el siglo XV hasta el XVIII véase J. Kraye, “Aristotle’s God and the Authenticity of *De mundo*: An Early Modern Controversy”, *Journal of History of Philosophy*, 28 (1990), 339-358, donde no se menciona la versión de Sepúlveda en el elenco de traductores modernos del texto aristotélico.

<sup>41</sup> Sobre la cuestión de la autenticidad del libro α en los editores y traductores de Alejandro véase J. Kraye, “Alexander of Aphrodisias, Gianfrancesco Beati and the Problem of *Metaphysics a*”, *Renaissance Society and Culture. Essays in Honor of E.F. Rice, jr.*, edited by J. Monfasani and R.G. Musto (New York 1991), pp. 137-160, sobre Sepúlveda pp. 141-142.

Alejandro y para demostrar su hipótesis se vale de cuatro razones que desarrolla en un segundo prólogo, introducido al final del quinto libro.

Pese a lo que algunos estudiosos de Sepúlveda han afirmado, los argumentos del traductor español para atribuir a Alejandro la total autoría del texto son en su mayor parte de carácter eminentemente filosófico o, cuando menos, no son los propios de un crítico textual.<sup>42</sup> Tanto el estilo (“dicendi character”) como la doctrina (“opinionum constantia”) presentan a lo largo de los doce libros una coherencia tal que es imposible, según cree Sepúlveda, pensar en una doble autoría. Por otra parte, aunque en los libros posteriores el nombre de Alejandro aparezca en tercera persona, ello no significa necesariamente que los siete últimos libros sean obra de otros comentaristas. La “ratio testimoniorum” apoya la hipótesis de una única autoría, ya que el pensamiento de los discípulos de Alejandro no es sino una síntesis de las teorías de éste (“Nam Michael Ephesius, Ioannes Philoponus, Simplicius, Ammonius, quid loquuntur aliud nisi Alexandrum?”). Para Sepúlveda cualquier discusión sobre la paternidad de los siete últimos libros carece de sentido, toda vez que su contenido no es ajeno a la filosofía de Alejandro.

A diferencia de otros traductores humanistas que se limitan a seguir una edición sin plantearse más problemas y que omiten cualquier tipo de referencia sobre los manuscritos, ediciones o comentarios consultados, el modo como Sepúlveda se plantea la traducción del texto de Aristóteles merece aún hoy el elogio de muchos editores y filólogos estudiosos del texto aristotélico. La de Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda no es, ciertamente, la labor propia de un editor. Algunas de sus opiniones están además muy lejos de los criterios de la crítica textual moderna. Su preferencia, por ejemplo, por algunas *lectiones*, basándose únicamente en el *sensus* del texto, nos demuestra hasta qué punto el método crítico sepulvediano se halla en un estado muy incipiente. Ello no impide, sin embargo, que el

<sup>42</sup> De los cuatro argumentos de que se vale Sepúlveda para demostrar la autoría de los siete últimos libros del comentario [“Mihi enim quoquo versus spectanti, cum quatuor omnino rationes accurrant, quibus auctor cuiusque operis de philosophia scripti diiudicari posse videatur, inscriptionum antiquitas, dicendi character, opinionum constantia ratioque testimoniorum...”] (cfr. *Commentaria in Aristotelis Metaphysica...*, f.Ai<sup>r</sup>.)], únicamente la “inscriptionum antiquitas” hace referencia a la naturaleza de los manuscritos consultados (Sobre el uso de “inscriptio” con la acepción de “título” entre los humanistas, cfr. S. Rizzo, *op. cit.*, pp. 11-12).

Otra prueba de la seguridad que Sepúlveda tiene de la autoría única de los comentarios la tenemos en el detalle de que se sirve de la misma palabra latina (“commentaria”) para traducir el término ὑπομνήμα, que aparece en los primeros cinco libros de Alejandro, y el término σχόλια, que encabeza los restantes libros del Pseudo-Alejandro.

nombre del traductor español aparezca todavía citado en el aparato crítico de algunas de las ediciones modernas del Estagirita cuatro siglos después de que sus versiones vieran la luz por vez primera.<sup>43</sup>

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#### APENDICE.

#### CUADRO DE LAS TRADUCCIONES LATINAS DE JUAN GINES DE SEPULVEDA DE ARISTOTELES Y ALEJANDRO DE AFRODISIAS.

Edición general:

— *Opera Aristotelis Latina facta Ioanne Genesio Sepulveda Cordubensi interprete* (París 1532).

Ediciones individuales:

— *Libri Aristotelis quos vulgo Latini "Parvos Naturales" appellant, e graeco in latinum sermonem conversi Ioanne Genesio Cordubensi interprete* (Bologna 1522).

— *Aristotelis libri de generatione et interitu interprete Ioanne Genesio Sepulveda Cordubensi* (Bologna 1523).

— *Aristotelis liber de mundo* (Bologna 1523).

— *Commentaria in Aristotelis Metaphysica, Ioanne Genesio Sepulveda interprete* (Roma 1527; París 1536; Venecia 1544, 1551, 1561).

— *Aristotelis libr [sic] de generatione et interitu interprete Ioanne Genesio Sepulveda* (Leipzig 1537).

— *Aristotelis De republica libri VIII, Ioanne Genesio Sepulveda interprete et enarratore* (París 1548; Colonia 1601; Madrid 1775).

<sup>43</sup> La lectura de algunas de las glosas de Sepúlveda demuestra su sumisión al *sensus* del texto a la hora de fijar el estado de un pasaje aristotélico. Un ejemplo de ello lo tenemos en una glosa al texto de la Política: "Política 1285 b 2 *Herilia, quoniam tyrannica*. Sic legitur in graecis exemplaribus quaecumque mihi videre contigit, sed lectio videtur esse transposita; quae commodius habitura videretur, si sic esset: *tyrannica, quoniam herilia*. Hic enim regnum cum tyrannide comparatur, quamquam utriusque scripturae verus est sensus estque imperium omne tyranni etiam herile. Tyranni enim Rempublicam administrando non subiectorum sed suam utilitatem spectant, quod est proprium herilis imperii". (*Aristotelis De republica libri VIII...*, f. 99<sup>v</sup>). La *lectio* sepulvediana ha sido aceptada, no obstante, por algunos de los editores modernos de la Política (Aristote. *Politique*, texte établi et traduit par Jean Aubonnet (Paris 1971), tome II, livre III, p. 89).

F. CAIRNS

FRACASTORO'S *SYPHILIS*, THE ARGONAUTIC TRADITION,  
AND THE AETIOLOGY OF SYPHILIS

I) INTRODUCTION

Girolamo Fracastoro's *Divinum ... poema*, as J.C. Scaliger called it<sup>1</sup>, *Syphilis*, has received renewed scholarly attention over the last decade. In part this is due to its account of the discovery of America, in part to its greater accessibility through Geoffrey Eatough's 1984 edition with commentary<sup>2</sup>, and in part to its intrinsic merits: on any criteria *Syphilis* is one of the best and most important Latin poems of the renaissance, and it always has been one of the best known. The most penetrating recent scholarly work on and relevant to *Syphilis* has come from Heinz Hofmann and Vivian Nutton<sup>3</sup>. It has focused on: 1) the links between *Syphilis* and the two prose treatises by Fracastoro which also discuss the

<sup>1</sup> Julius Caesar Scaliger *Poetices Libri Septem* 6.4.

<sup>2</sup> Geoffrey Eatough *Fracastoro's Syphilis: Introduction, Text, Translation and Notes with a computer-generated word index*, ARCA Classical and Medieval Texts, Papers and Monographs 12 (Liverpool 1984). Quotations from *Syphilis* in this paper follow the text of Eatough. The German translation of Georg Wöhrle *Girolamo Fracastoro. Lehrgedicht über die Syphilis*, Gratia 18 (Bamberg 1988; Zweite, erweiterte Auflage, Wiesbaden 1993) reprints as its accompaniment the text of Eatough.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Heinz Hofmann, "Syphilis di Fracastoro: immaginazione ed erudizione", *Res Publica Litterarum* 6 (1986), 175-81; "Aspetti narrativi ed unità epica della *Sifilide* di Gerolamo Fracastoro", *Res Publica Litterarum* 7 (1987), 169-74; "La scoperta del nuovo mondo nella poesia latina: I 'Columbeidos libri priores duo' di Giulio Cesare Stella", *Columbeis* 3 (1988), 71-94; "Enea in America", in *Memores tui. Studi di Letteratura classica ed umanistica in onore di Marcello Vitaletti* ed. Sesto Prete (Sassoferrato 1990), pp. 71-98; "La seconda edizione della <Columbeis> di Giulio Cesare Stella: Una revisione teologica", *Columbeis* 6 (1990), 195-219; "Cristoforo Colombo. Esploratore fra Medio Evo e Rinascimento", *Studi Umanistici Piceni* 11 (1991), 75-90; "Aeneas und Columbus. Die Entdeckungsreise nach Amerika in epischer Verfremdung" (forthcoming); further works by Hofmann are in preparation; Vivian Nutton, "The Seeds of Disease: An Explanation of Contagion and Infection from the Greeks to the Renaissance", *Medical History* 27 (1983), 1-34; "The Reception of Fracastoro's Theory of Contagion: The Seed that Fell among Thorns?", *Osiris* 2nd ser. 6 (1990), 196-234.



disease<sup>4</sup>; 2) the wider context of Latin and vernacular New World literature up to the eighteenth century to which *Syphilis* belongs; and 3) theories of infection from antiquity to the renaissance. But the classical Latin sources of *Syphilis* have never been neglected. There is a correct consensus about the main ancient influence on Fracastoro: like most renaissance Latin hexameter poets he is indebted principally to Virgil, and specifically to the *Georgics* and *Aeneid*; and latterly Virgilian influence has been annotated by Eatough *op. cit.*, by John E. Ziolkowski<sup>5</sup> and by Francesco Della Corte<sup>6</sup>. How much Fracastoro owes to Lucretius' *De Rerum Natura* is less clear, but some influence is certain<sup>7</sup>. In addition, Fracastoro drew on the *Natural History* of Pliny the Elder, with its abundant botanical, medical, and geographical information.

## II) *SYPHILIS* AND THE ARGONAUTIC TRADITION

The present paper originated in curiosity about one aspect of Fracastoro's account of the voyage of discovery made by Christopher Columbus in 1492. Columbus sailed over uncharted seas in search primarily of gold, pearls and spices and to expand the Christian religion. He discovered new lands inhabited by hitherto unknown and sometimes savage peoples, and he brought back to Spain some gold and other riches. Now *Syphilis* is a learned Latin poem much concerned with *imitatio* of the ancients; and it began its life in the years 1510-1512, when the gold-mines of the New World were under full exploitation. Surely, one might think, such a poem would have looked for major models among ancient works treating the theme of Jason and the Argonauts? For Jason too had quested (for the Golden Fleece) into unknown seas, he similarly had encountered new and sometimes dangerous peoples, and he had returned

<sup>4</sup> *Hieronymi Fracastorii De Contagione et Contagiosis Morbis et eorum Curatione, Libri III*, Translation and Notes by Wilmer Cave Wright, History of Medicine Series 2 (New York-London 1930), esp. Book 2 Chh. 11 and 12 (pp. 134-57); *Trattato inedito in prosa di Gerolamo Fracastoro sulla Sifilide*, ed. Francesco Pellegrini (Verona 1939). On these texts, cf. also other works cited by Nutton (1990), p. 199 n. 7 and his own remarks at p. 199.

<sup>5</sup> John E. Ziolkowski, "Epic Conventions in Fracastoro's Poem *Syphilis*", in *Altro Polo* ed. Anne Reynolds (Sydney 1984), pp. 57-73.

<sup>6</sup> Francesco Della Corte, "Il Colombo di Girolamo Fracastoro", *Columbeis* 1 (1986), 139-55.

<sup>7</sup> The debatable point is whether 'Lucretian' atomism played any part in Fracastoro's theory of infection; the certainty is that Fracastoro borrowed the language of Lucretius; cf. Nutton (1990) esp. p. 200.

with the Golden Fleece to Greece. Later writers on Columbus certainly recognised the Argonautic analogy. The author of a Columbus epic published in 1716, Ubertino Carrara S.J., described, not Columbus, but Amerigo Vespucci, as *Hetruscus Iason*<sup>8</sup>; and the Bavarian Bisselius could conceive of the exploration of the New World as an Argonautica<sup>9</sup>. Nor is there any question of Fracastoro or his readers being unaware of or undervaluing the role of gold as a motive for Columbus' voyage, particularly in Book 3, which will turn out to be the main focus of Argonautic material in *Syphilis*. First of all Fracastoro accepts the identification, commonplace in discovery literature<sup>10</sup>, of the Americas with Solomon's Ophir (3.120, 178, 199, 234), which was synonymous with gold. Then he emphasises that America is full of gold and that Columbus' men seek for it: cf. *Auri terra ferax* (3.34); *magno qui spumeus alveo / In mare fulgentes auro subvectat arenas*. (3.139-40); *pars fulvam fluminis undam / Mirari, mixtamque auro disquirere arenam*. (3.149-50); *E ripis collectum aurum* (3.209).

The expectation that Fracastoro had the Argonautic tradition in mind is confirmed by the one passage of *Syphilis* which certainly alludes to Columbus' voyage in Argonautic terms, i.e. 3.93-115, as Eatough *op. cit.* notes briefly: "The account of Columbus' voyage at one point recalls the voyage of the Argonauts in Catullus ..."<sup>11</sup> Catullus begins poem 64, his 'epyllion' about the wedding of Peleus and Thetis, with a brief description of the departure of the Argonauts from Colchis. This was when the marital pair first met:

Peliaco quondam prognatae vertice pinus  
dicuntur liquidas Neptuni nasse per undas  
Phasidos ad fluctus et fines Aeeteos,  
cum lecti iuvenes, Argivae robora pubis,  
5     auratam optantes Colchis avertere pellem  
       ausi sunt vada salsa cita decurrere puppi,  
       caerula verrentes abiegnis aequora palmis.

<sup>8</sup> Hubertinus Carrara *Columbus. Carmen epicum* (Rome 1715) 12.929, cf. Hofmann (1990), pp. 77-86. New edition: Ubertino Carrara, *Columbus. Traduzione poetica e note di M. Martini. Testo a fronte* (Sora 1992).

<sup>9</sup> Johannes Bisselius S.J. *Argonauticon Americanorum, sive historiae periculorum Petri de Victoria ac sociorum eius libri XV* (Munich 1647).

<sup>10</sup> Cf., for example, Eatough on *Syph.* 3.120.

<sup>11</sup> Introd. 23, referring to *Syph.* 3.98ff. Eatough (introd. 2) names Catullus as the third classical Latin poet imitated by Fracastoro, i.e. after Virgil and Lucretius; cf. also Eatough on *Syph.* 3.94, 99.

- diva quibus retinens in summis urbibus arces  
 ipsa levi fecit volitantem flamine currum,  
 10 pinea coniungens inflexae texta carinae.  
 illa rudem cursu prima imbuit Amphitriten;  
 quae simul ac rostro ventosum proscidit aequor  
 tortaue remigio spumis incanuit unda,  
 emersere +feri+ candenti e gurgite vultus  
 15 aequoreae monstrum Nereides admirantes.  
 illa, atque <haud> alia, viderunt luce marinas  
 mortales oculis nudato corpore Nymphas  
 nutricum tenus extantes e gurgite cano.  
 tum Thetidis Peleus incensus fertur amore,  
 20 tum Thetis humanos non despexit hymenaeos,  
 tum Thetidi pater ipse iugandum Pelea sensit.  
 o nimis optato saeculorum tempore nati  
heroes, salvete, deum genus! o bona matrum  
 23b progenies, salvete iter<um ...  
 vos ego saepe, meo vos carmine compellabo.  
 25 teque adeo eximie taedis felicibus aucte,  
 Thessaliae columen Peleu, cui Iuppiter ipse,  
 ipse suos divum genitor concessit amores;  
 tene Thetis tenuit pulcerrima Nereine?  
 tene suam Tethys concessit ducere neptem,  
 30 Oceanusque, mari totum qui amplectitur orbem?  
 14. *feri* V *freti* Schrader<sup>12</sup>

(Catullus 64.1-30)

Cf.

- ... Missae quaesitum abscondita Nerei  
Aequora, in occasum Solisque cubilia, pinus,  
 95 Littoribus longe patriis, Calpeque relictis,  
 Ibant Oceano in magno, pontumque secabant,  
 Ignaraeque viae, et longis erroribus actae.  
 Quas circum innumerae properantes gurgite ab omni  
 Ignoti nova monstra maris Nereides udae  
 100 Adnabant, celsas miratae currere puppes,  
Salsa super pictis volitantes aequora velis.  
 Nox erat, et puro fulgebat ab aethere Luna,  
 Lumina diffundens tremuli per marmora ponti,  
 Magnanimus quum tanta heros ad munera fati  
 105 Delectus, dux errantis per caerula classis

<sup>12</sup> *freti* at Cat. 64.14 is the eighteenth-century conjecture of J. Schrader in place of what stood in the lost Verona codex (V) from which all our Mss of Catullus derive, i.e. *feri*. This fact reinforces awareness of the limits and pitfalls of an investigation like the present, since Fracastoro in two other 'Argonautic' passages (on which see below) uses *fretum* (*Syph.* 1.36) and *freta* (*Syph.* 1.72)!

- 'Luna,' ait, 'O pelagi cui regna haec humida parent,  
 Quae bis ab aurata curvasti cornua fronte,  
 Curva bis explesti, nobis errantibus ex quo  
 Non ulla apparet tellus, da littora tandem  
 110 Aspicere, et dudum speratos tangere portus,  
 Noctis honos, coelique decus Latonia virgo.'  
 Audiit orantem Phoebe, delapsaque ab alto  
 Aethere, se in faciem mutat, Nereia quali  
 Cymothöe, Clothoque natant, juxtaque carinam  
 115 Astitit, et summo pariter nans aequore fatur:

(*Syphilis* 3.93-115)

[The correspondences between these two passages, and between the former and the further Argonautic passages which will be suggested in *Syphilis*, are indicated by underlining.]

All other Argonautic references in *Syphilis* which will be proposed also seem to derive from Catullus 64, and from lines 1-30 in particular. Hence *Syphilis* 3.93-115, with its greater concentration of borrowings from this source, is particularly valuable for the assessment of the other passages. First, it establishes that Fracastoro was borrowing consciously from Catullus 64, and not just remembering isolated scraps of Catullan diction, or employing the commonplace Latin vocabulary of poetic navigation; thus it underpins the possibility that Fracastoro was equally conscious of his borrowings in at least some of his less substantial Catullan reminiscences. Then again, *Syphilis* 3.93-115 exemplifies typical features of Fracastoro's bold and original use of ancient models, especially 'tesseration'<sup>13</sup>: Catullan words are recombined freely, sometimes in different grammatical forms, but often retaining their metrical *sedes*. Occasionally a synonym replaces the Catullan term. '*Contaminatio*', i.e. the conflation of material from different models, is also prominent: even where Catullan vocabulary is dominant in the *Syphilis* text, Virgil remains a constant powerful additional presence<sup>14</sup>. Similar techniques will be even more prominent in some of the other apparently Argonautic passages of *Syphilis*.

Although the major concentration of Catullan material at 3.93-115 comes in the final book, added by Fracastoro as a second thought, it seems that Fracastoro's recognition of the Argonautic analogy was with

<sup>13</sup> Parallel techniques of imitation can be observed in many areas of ancient Greek and Latin poetry, although the closest analogies come from late antiquity: cf., e.g., Michael Roberts *The Jeweled Style: Poetry and Poetics in Late Antiquity* (Ithaca and London 1989), esp. Ch. 3.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Eatough on *Syph.* 3.100, 104, 112.

him throughout the compositional process: arguably Argonautic passages indebted to Catullus 64 occur throughout *Syphilis*, the first early in Book 1:

... num tempore ab illo  
Vecta mari occiduo nostrum pervenit in orbem,  
Ex quo lecta manus solvens de littore Ibero  
Ausa fretum tentare, vagique incognita ponti est  
Aequora, et orbe alio positas perquirere terras?  
(*Syphilis* 1.33-7, cf. esp. Catullus 64.4-7, 30)

Here Fracastoro's *imitatio* of Catullus is subtle, and employs both *variatio* and *contaminatio* (cf. e.g. lecta manus in the same *sedes* at *Aeneid* 10.294)<sup>15</sup> However Francesco Della Corte, with characteristic sensitivity, unhesitatingly pointed to Catullus 64 as Fracastoro's model here and drew the appropriate conclusion: "La spedizione avventurosa viene presentata come una nuova argonautica" (*cit.*, p. 152). Della Corte also noted a second passage of *Syphilis* Book 1 as indebted to Catullus 64:

... nec eam cognovit Ibera  
Gens prius, ignotum quae scindere pupibus aequor  
Ausa fuit, quam quos disternat alta Pyrene,  
Atque freta, atque Alpes cingunt, Rhenusque bicornis:  
(*Syphilis* 1.69-72, cf. esp. Catullus 64.4-8)

Here again *Ausa* triggers recognition. A third passage from Book 1 may contain a reminiscence of Catullus 64:

Illum omnes Olliche Deae, Eridanique puellae  
Optarunt, nemorumque Deae, rurisque puellae:  
Omnes optatos suspiravere hymenaeos.  
(*Syphilis* 1.392-4, cf. esp. Catullus 64.20-2)

Only the shared context of water nymphs, along with *optatos hymenaeos* (cf. Catullus 64.141: *sed conubia laeta, sed optatos hymenaeos*), makes conscious imitation worth considering here.

Book 2 of *Syphilis* contains two Argonautic passages related to Catullus 64:

Haec eadem tamen, haec aetas (quod fata negarunt  
Antiquis) totum potuit sulcare carinis  
Id pelagi, immensum quod circuit Amphitrite.  
(*Syphilis* 2.24-6, cf. esp. Catullus 64.10-11, 30)

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Eatough on *Syph.* 1.35.

Denique et a nostro diversum gentibus orbem,  
 Diversum coelo, et clarum majoribus astris  
Remigio audaci attigimus ducentibus et Diis.

(*Syphilis* 2.35-7, cf. Catullus 64.6, 13, 30)

The first of these is particularly interesting because, in addition to the parallelism of subject-matter with Catullus, the successive line-ends of 25 and 26 (*carinis* and *Amphitrite*) virtually echo those of Catullus 64.10 and 11 (*carinae* and *Amphitriten*).

Finally, Book 3 of *Syphilis* contains two possible Argonautic/Catullan reminiscences additional to 93-115:

Unde aliquis forsán novitatis imagine mira  
 Captus, et heroas, et grandia dicere facta  
 Assuetus, canat auspiciis majoribus ausas  
Oceani intacti tentare pericula puppes.  
 Nec non et terras varias, et flumina, et urbes,  
 Et varias memoret gentes, et monstra reperta:

(*Syphilis* 3.13-18, cf. esp. Catullus 64.6, 15, 23, 30)

Et canat (auditum quod vix venientia credant  
 Saecula) quodcunque Oceani complectitur aequor  
 Ingens, omne, una obitum mensumque carina.

(*Syphilis* 3.23-5, cf. Catullus 64.10, 30)

To sum up this section so far: conscious (and thematic) imitation of Catullus 64.1-30 is certain in *Syphilis* 3.93-115. Most of the other passages discussed could provoke scepticism: if taken in isolation, they might seem to involve verbal imitation only, or to exemplify that unconscious reminiscence of classical authors which enriches most renaissance Latin poetry. But they must be evaluated in their historical and literary context, namely the prominence of gold in the popular (and Fracastorian) view of the New World and the undeniable exploitation by Fracastoro in *Syphilis* 3.93-115 of Catullus 64.1-30 to evoke the voyage of the Argonauts.

This raises a further question: since Fracastoro was aware of the possibilities of the Argonaut theme, and does allude to it, why did he not follow the analogy through? Why is it that, as has been confirmed repeatedly in the last decade<sup>16</sup>, Aeneas, not Jason, is the main ancient model for Fracastoro's Columbus? There were, of course, patent advantages for Fracastoro in delineating Columbus as *pious Aeneas*, and they

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Ziolkowski *cit.*; Della Corte *cit.*; and Hofmann (1990) and forthcoming *citt.*

must be part of the answer. But the remainder of this paper will explore two additional mutually supportive explanations; these are also worth pursuing for themselves since the first will reveal a limitation on the cultural life of Fracastoro's time, while the second will direct closer attention towards some of the ways in which Fracastoro tries to convince us of the validity of his views of the origins and transmission of syphilis.

### III) APOLLONIUS IN THE EARLY RENAISSANCE

Fracastoro himself hints at the first explanation of why the Argonautic theme is so muted in *Syphilis* by drawing for his allusions to Jason and the Argonauts not on the two major accounts which survive from antiquity, those of Apollonius and Valerius Flaccus, but on the beginning of Catullus 64. In resorting to Catullus Fracastoro was not being lazy, for neither Apollonius nor Valerius Flaccus was widely accessible and well-read in Fracastoro's lifetime. The fortune of Apollonius in the renaissance has been discussed by Gianvito Resta in two masterly articles<sup>17</sup>. He explains how, although manuscripts of Apollonius had long been available in Italy, it was only in the last decades of the Quattrocento that Apollonius was 'discovered'. The pattern of cultural assimilation found here is unsurprising. The *Argonautica* of Apollonius is a difficult text, and little help towards understanding it was available in the fifteenth century. Its *editio princeps* came as late as 1496. It is true that the legend of the Golden Fleece was of interest in the fifteenth century<sup>18</sup>, and some fifteenth-century Latin versions of Apollonius exist in manuscript. But these Latin versions (and some imitations) of Apollonius only underline further the sheer difficulty of the Apollonius text. Despite the eminence of their authors, Basinio da Parma, Maffeo Vegio, Andronicus Callistus and Bartolomeo Fonzio, they are inadequate; and none of them reached the printing press in the renaissance.

<sup>17</sup> Gianvito Resta, "Andronico Callisto, Bartolomeo Fonzio e la prima traduzione umanistica di Apollonio Rodio", in *Studi in onore di Anthos Ardizzoni*, ed. Enrico Livrea and G. Aurelio Privitera, *Filologia e Critica* 25 (Roma 1978), II, pp. 1055-1131; "Vegio, Basinio e l'Argonautica di Apollonio Rodio", in *Miscellanea A. Campana*, *Medioevo e Umanesimo* 45 (Padova 1981), II, pp. 639-69. Otherwise undocumented statements on these subjects in this and the next paragraph rely on these two papers.

<sup>18</sup> The foundation of the Burgundian Order of the Golden Fleece in 1430 demonstrates fifteenth-century interest in the Argonaut legend and its hero, and the Order itself was a potent vector for the spread of such interest, since its members came from all over Europe.

The fortune of Valerius Flaccus was slightly different. The *editio princeps* of his *Argonautica* appeared over twenty years before that of Apollonius, at Bologna in 1474. The availability of Valerius Flaccus may, paradoxically, have helped to keep Apollonius in the background: for, while the incunabula of Valerius Flaccus would have kindled interest in the study of Apollonius as his source, its very existence meant that anyone who wished to read a major account of the *Argonautica* might now do so in Latin in a printed book. This in turn possibly dampened demand for a printed Latin translation of Apollonius. But curiously, although Valerius Flaccus went through a number of editions in the half century after 1474, he does not seem to have had a major impact on contemporary humanists and their writings<sup>19</sup>. Fracastoro was born around 1478, i.e. shortly after the appearance of the *editio princeps* of Valerius Flaccus; and when Apollonius was first printed he was around 18. *Syphilis* occupied Fracastoro between 1510 and 1530. Certainly Fracastoro will not have studied Apollonius in his youth (his knowledge of Greek was in any case not profound), and he may well not have read Valerius Flaccus either<sup>20</sup>. This may explain in part why he resorted to Catullus 64 and played down the Argonautic analogy.

#### IV) THE AETIOLOGY OF SYPHILIS

But there is surely more to the muted nature of Fracastoro's references to the Argonauts, particularly compared with his open espousal of Aeneas as a model for Columbus. It is almost as though Fracastoro wished to acknowledge the possibility of a Jason/Columbus equivalence, but to reject it by implication. Could he have had reasons for taking a negative attitude to the Argonaut analogy? One possible reason is worth considering. The Argonauts went to Colchis and brought back the Golden Fleece. Columbus went to the New World and brought back some gold and other precious commodities. But if Fracastoro had espoused the Jason/Columbus equivalence in *Syphilis*, he might have

<sup>19</sup> Resta (1981), *cit.*, p. 649 n. 19 comments on the parallel, earlier failure of Valerius Flaccus to influence greatly Maffeo Vegio. The situation is all the more strange in view of Quintilian's favourable judgement on his contemporary Valerius Flaccus (*Inst. Or.* 10.1.90), which would certainly have been received with respect in the renaissance.

<sup>20</sup> The single coincidence which I have noted between Fracastoro's Argonautic passages and Valerius Flaccus, viz. *Syph.* 3.94 and Val. Flacc. *Argon.* 3.37: *Solisque cubilia* in the same metrical *sedes*, is in fact delusory since Fracastoro's true source was Stat. *Silv.* 3.1.183: *solisque cubilia Gades*.



induced his readers to reflect that Columbus had gone to the Americas and brought back syphilis; and that conclusion would have run counter to Fracastoro's purpose. Fracastoro wanted his readers to conclude that, as well as treasure, Columbus brought back from the New World, not syphilis, but Guaiacum, the 'Holy Wood', the 'Wood of Life', decoctions of which were, in Fracastoro's time, one of the only two available and supposedly effective 'remedies' against syphilis. This is the explicit message of *Syphilis* Book 3, which Fracastoro added to the first two books to crown the long compositional process; and it was no trivial or merely 'literary' portion of what Fracastoro wanted to convey to his readers. Fracastoro's purpose in *Syphilis* was to argue a threefold and connected position about the disease:

(1) Syphilis was not absolutely new, but had existed in previous ages and had returned as part of a cyclic process.

(2) Although syphilis (or a similar disease) had long been endemic in the Americas, it was not brought back from the New World to Europe by Columbus' men. It had already broken out independently in Europe before their return from the Americas.

(3) In origin the disease was airborne, and, even at the time when *Syphilis* was being composed, it could be acquired and transmitted other than sexually.

That these were in 1530 the views, not just of Fracastoro the poet, but also of Fracastoro the doctor, has been explained by Hofmann (1986) and (1987) *citt.* Referring to Fracastoro's own prose manuscript treatise on syphilis which he wrote in the period 1525-1530, the very years in which he was finishing *Syphilis*, Hofmann pointed out that in this work, written with a more professional, i.e. medical, readership in mind, Fracastoro also denied the American origin theory; as far as the infective process was concerned, Fracastoro did go further in his prose work towards recognising that syphilis was normally transmitted sexually, but he still maintained (in several places – hence his position is unmistakable) that in some cases non-sexual infection was possible. Slightly different conclusions were offered, then, in the prose treatise; but on the whole it and *Syphilis* cohere in their attitudes to the disease.

This underlines the seriousness of Fracastoro's polemical stances in *Syphilis*: he was determined to argue the threefold position set out above for reasons significant within his contemporary society. The cyclic view of syphilis relates to the thought-patterns of the time: for natural scien-

tists of the renaissance the idea that a completely new disease could suddenly emerge was difficult to accept. Then again, a positive assessment of the American voyages of discovery and of the products brought back from America to the Old World was under threat if one major product of the New World was syphilis. Finally, and again a point well explained by Hofmann (1986) *cit.*, pp. 176-7, if syphilis was a disease transmitted solely through sexual contact, its prevalence among the higher clergy, nobility, and mercantile classes, who were also the patrons of the new humanist learning, would be a matter of even greater embarrassment than it was anyhow, both socially in general and for the author of a humanist Latin poem on the disease. In any case, the idea that astral conjunctions might create plague conditions through airborne infection was fundamental to medical aetiology at the time<sup>21</sup>.

Fracastoro's first stance, the belief that the disease was not new, is stated powerfully in the first lines of *Syphilis*, where he chose his words even more carefully than in the preface (and beginning of the first book) of his contemporary prose work.

Contrast:

Qui casus rerum varii, quae semina morbum  
**Insuetum**, nec longa ulli per saecula visum  
 Attulerint ...

(*Syphilis* 1.1-3)

with:

quum multi de **nova** hac re morboque scripsissent ... **nova** in re et  
 difficili ... naturam omnem et causas principiaque **novi** morbi ...

(Preface ed. Pellegrini pp. 67-8)

and:

**Novum** et non diu nostro orbe cognitum morbum

(Liber Primus *ad init.*, ed. Pellegrini p. 68).

Confirmation that the difference is significant comes from the 'alternative' opening of *Syphilis* itself, rejected by Fracastoro but preserved in the 1739 edition of his verse works<sup>22</sup>:

<sup>21</sup> Cf. H. Haeser, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Medicin und der epidemischen Krankheiten* (3rd ed., Jena 1882) III, pp. 238-85 and Nutton (citt. n. 3) for accounts of early medical reactions to syphilis.

<sup>22</sup> *Hieronymi Fracastorii Veronensis, Adami Fumani Canonici Veronensis, et Nicolai Archii Comitum Carminum Editio II*, 2 vols (Padua 1739), I, pp. 38-9 of the *Fragmenta*.

Bembe; deus quando medica haud contemnit Apollo,  
 Et **nova** amare solent atque admiranda Camoenae  
 Nunc ego naturae, dulcique accensus amore  
 Musarum, quae fata **novum**, quae semina morbum  
 Attulerint, nostra (continues as *Syphilis* 1.3)

Thus, at the start of his prose work, Fracastoro four times applied to syphilis the potentially misleading epithet *novus*, although what he actually believed — that syphilis was a recurrent phenomenon — emerges in *non diu nostro orbe cognitum morbum*. He similarly twice used *novus* in the rejected opening of *Syphilis*. However his belief is clearly stated in the final version of the *Syphilis* prooemium, where he employed the more precise term *insuetum* and followed it up with *nec longa ulli per saecula visum*, which is a poetic equivalent of *non diu nostro orbe cognitum*. In *Syphilis* the idea of ‘novelty’ does not appear before the vague *novitatis amore* of 1.12. But the looseness of thought in the prose work (and in the first version of the *Syphilis* opening) can be paralleled and illustrated from *Syphilis* 1.182-5 (quoted below), where again *novus* is combined with an unequivocal statement of the cyclic nature of syphilis.

In *Syphilis* Fracastoro next turns to the second of the stances outlined above, regarding the origin of the disease: he emphasises (3-6) that in his day syphilis has affected not just Europe but parts of Asia and Africa. America is not mentioned, and this silence carries an implication about the source of the disease. Lines 7-9 mention remedies for it, and this leads Fracastoro on to his programme for the poem:

... et longe secretas quaerere causas  
 Aera per liquidum, et vasti per sydera Olympi  
 Incipiam ...

(*Syphilis* 1.10-12)

Here the third stance emerges: the disease is implied to be stellar and aerial in transmission rather than infective. The *grandis origo* of the disease is reiterated in 1.23, before Uranie, the Muse of the sky, is invoked with all her heavenly, stellar, and aerial context to reinforce the suggestion:

Tu mihi, quae rerum causas, quae sydera nosis,  
 Et coeli effectus varios, atque aeris oras,  
 Uranie (sic dum puro spatiaris Olympo,  
 Metirisque vagi lucentes aetheris ignes,  
 Concentu tibi divino cita sydera plaudant)

(*Syphilis* 1.24-8)

Fracastoro is diligent in asserting these positions. At 1.32-3 Uranie is invoked in terms which reinforce the first lines of the poem: *Dic, Dea, quae causae* (cf. *causas*, 24) *nobis post saecula tanta / Insolitam peperere luem*. Then, at 1.33ff., Fracastoro raises explicitly the question of whether the disease came from the New World, only to deny it. If Argonautic language and concepts indeed appear in 1.33ff., as has been argued in section II, then it is significant that these lines appear in a negative context, i.e. one of denial that something was brought back from the New World; for in this way Fracastoro is anticipating and negating any possible equivalence between the Golden Fleece and syphilis. The logic of his denial deserves attention. First, Fracastoro considers (1.38-40) what is recounted (*ferunt*, 1.38), namely that the disease is endemic in the Americas. These lines are probably (with Eatough *ad loc.*) “an acknowledgement” that this view is accurate, since at 3.51-2 the American disease is *coelitus illic / Perpetua*. But the reason given at 1.40 for its endemic nature in America is: *Perpetuo coeli vitio*. The reference is probably to climate, but the term *coeli* (like *coelitus*) suggests a celestial origin for the American disease. Then Fracastoro goes on to deny categorically the theory that the European disease had an American origin:

At vero, si rite fidem observata merentur,  
Non ita censendum: nec certe credere par est  
Esse peregrinam nobis, transque aequora vectam  
Contagem ...

(*Syphilis* 1.53-6)

His reasons, which follow, are twofold: those who have had no ‘contact’ (*attactu ... nullius*, 57) have nevertheless become infected with the disease (*attactu* is ambiguous — non-sexual/sexual)<sup>23</sup>; and syphilis spread too rapidly to be anything but airborne (59ff.). Then a third (68ff.) argument completes Fracastoro’s case, and here again, and again significantly, Argonautic language returns in a negative context. Fracastoro argues that the disease did not attack Spain first, but affected the whole of Europe and Africa (and part of Asia) simultaneously.

Book 1 of *Syphilis* continues to emphasise and reemphasise the cyclic recurrence of syphilis and its celestial aetiology. Cf.

<sup>23</sup> Cf., for such ambiguity, *mixtaeque puellae* (*Syph.* 2.112) with Eatough *ad loc.* For the theory, cf. Fracastoro *De Contagione* 2.12.

Quam tamen (aeternum quoniam dilabatur aevum)  
 Non semel in terris visam, sed saepe fuisse,  
 Ducendum est ...

(*Syphilis* 1.103-5)

... Haec scilicet annis  
 Pluribus, et rapidi post multa volumina coeli  
 Eveniunt, Diis fata modis volventibus istis.

(*Syphilis* 1.152-4)

Quae quum perspicias, nihil est, cur tempore certo  
 Admirare novis magnum marcescere morbis  
 Aera, contagesque novas viventibus aegris  
 Sydere sub certo fieri, et per saecula longa.

(*Syphilis* 1.182-5)

In the last passage *novis* and *novas* are immediately qualified by *per saecula longa*, a combination reminiscent of the beginning of Fracastoro's prose treatise on syphilis (see above). The view of syphilis returning in cycles is also combined with the airborne infection theory at *Syphilis* 1.114-15, and further stress on the breadth and magnitude of the infection appears at 1.117ff. There and elsewhere it is argued that this is due to the universality of *aër* (122-9, 247-50). Underlying all Fracastoro's argumentation is a cyclical theory of the universe itself, which appears allegorically at 1.219ff. Finally, Fracastoro's denial of the novelty of syphilis turns into his vision of a future when, after a long period of abeyance, the disease will return and again cause amazement (1.314-18).

The arguments laid out in *Syphilis* 1.1-318 are reinforced, often in subtle ways, throughout the rest of the work. For example, the myth of Ilceus in Book 2 in effect reveals an earlier cycle of syphilitic infection and cure which took place in Syria. Thus the myth strengthens Fracastoro's view that syphilis is not a new, or a uniquely American disease. Again, the emphasis of Book 1 on various ages recurs in a different (and again possibly Argonautic) context at 2.24ff. and (with no Argonautic context) at 3.11-12.

#### V) ASPECTS OF THE UNITY OF *SYPHILIS*

Two final points can be made about Fracastoro's argumentation. The first of them has in essence been covered by Hofmann (1987) *cit.* Eatough<sup>24</sup> held that Book 3 tends to imply an American origin, which

<sup>24</sup> "He had rejected the American origin when he wrote the poem, although inconsistencies are apparent at the conclusion of the poem, since the structure of the third book

Fracastoro in fact rejected. Hofmann (1987) *cit.*, pp. 170-2 argued for consistency on Fracastoro's part, in that he carefully negates in the final section of Book 3 the implication that the disease was brought to Europe by the returning ships of Columbus' first expedition<sup>25</sup>:

Interea, Europae fuerant quae ad cara remissae  
 Littora, jam rursus puppes freta lata remensae  
 Mira ferunt: late (proh fata occulta Deorum)  
 Contagem Europae coelo crebrescere eandem,  
 Attonitasque urbes nullis agitare medelis.

(*Syphilis* 3.382-6)

Since syphilis is said here to have been spreading widely within Europe by the time the second expedition reached the Americas, the implication is that syphilis had already started its spread in Europe before the return of the first expedition from America. The further information which comes in lines 387ff. that the disease was now also rife in the fleet, that is, among the men who had returned to Europe and then come back to America, confirms this implication, since it points to these men having become infected in Europe, not in the Americas. Again, nothing is said about any infection among those Spaniards who had stayed in the Americas all the time. A subtler shift in terminology, which may be intended to strengthen this line of argument further, takes place between 3.385 and 3.388 on the one hand, where the American disease is described as *Contagem ... eandem* and *Illo ... morbo*, and 3.399 on the other, where it is *Assimilem ... labem*, carrying the possible suggestion that it is not quite the same disease which has broken out in Europe. Since Book 3 is devoted to the remedy Guaiacum, obtained from the wood of a New World tree, the endemic nature of syphilis in the New World cannot be concealed; but at 3.51-2 (quoted above) Fracastoro again stressed the celestial aetiology of the American disease.

A second point perhaps worth making in this connection is that, for Fracastoro, celestial aetiology seems to have shaded unproblematically into another type of causation, namely offences against God (the gods), who were, after all, inhabitants of heaven. At *Syphilis* 3.263ff. Fracastoro suggests that the Amerindians' disease can be traced back to Atlantis, where syphilis started with sins against the gods: hence the

points to an American origin and the obvious conclusion is clumsily avoided" (*cit.*, p. 16). Similar remarks appear on *Syph.* 3.384, but see below, n. 25.

<sup>25</sup> This point is also made independently by Nutton (1990), p. 202 n. 18, and it had already been taken by Eatough (1984) on *Syph.* 3.384, although Eatough still felt that "Fr. leaves the history of the disease's progress vague" and that this account "makes havoc of the structure of this book".

American disease is *Divum offensis et Apollinis ira / De coelo demissa* (3.284-5). Similarly the infection of the Spaniards was traced by Fracastoro to an offence against Apollo committed in the New World, their shooting of parrots (3.151ff.), just as in Book 2 Ilceus was struck down with syphilis because he had killed a stag sacred to Diana (2.312-21). Even the unfortunate youth of Verona whose syphilis is described at 1.397ff. was, so Fracastoro says, perhaps infected because some maiden scorned by him had called on the gods for vengeance (1.395-6).

## VI) CONCLUSIONS

In *Syphilis* Fracastoro alludes to the Argonauts and to their expedition. To do so he draws neither on Apollonius nor on Valerius Flaccus but rather on Catullus 64, and mainly on ll. 1-30. This reflects the relative lack of impact made by Apollonius and Valerius Flaccus in the early renaissance. It also shows Fracastoro favouring among ancient poets his fellow-townsmen, Catullus of Verona; and Catullus (or his shade) actually appears as a character in *Syphilis* (1.462-4), his function being to 'summon', in a local Veronese context, Marcantonio della Torre, a young man, like Catullus himself, of poetic talents and dead before his time, and: *patrios mulcere nova dulcedine lucos*. But most significantly, Fracastoro shows in his allusions to the Argonaut theme a caution aimed at evading the unfortunate implication which the legend might otherwise have introduced into *Syphilis*, i.e. that the disease had come from America. Analysis of Fracastoro's Argonautic allusions in their contexts brings into sharper focus his determination to convince his readers of the correctness of his views of the cyclic nature, the non-American origin and the celestial aetiology of syphilis, and to maintain consistency in his account of these matters in *Syphilis*.

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P. TUYNMAN

THE LEGACY OF JANUS SECUNDUS:  
THE BODLEIAN MS OF HIS COLLECTED POEMS\*

Janus Secundus (1511-1536) became known and famous with the publication of his collected poems, though the first edition did not appear until after his death. Divided into ten books, Janus's *Opera* were published by Borculous in Utrecht in 1541 (reprint Nieuwkoop 1969). In all subsequent editions the text of the poems follows that of this posthumous first edition, with the exception of a few details. Despite a change in the order of the books and a number of additions, this also applies to the authoritative Leiden edition by the seventeenth-century humanist, philologist and historian Petrus Scriverius (1575-1660), of which the second impression of 1631 is the best known. The first and at the same time last annotated edition was that published by Petrus Bosscha in 1821<sup>1</sup>. Apart from only a few minor deviations, Bosscha followed Scriverius's 1631 edition, but at the same time he collated it with the text of the 1541 edition and recorded the variants noted by Burman (1713-1778) and Petrus Francius (1645-1704), about which more below.

A manuscript of collected poems by Secundus was first brought to the attention of modern scholars in 1977 by P.M.M. Geurts. This was the complete folio manuscript in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, which was used as printer's copy for the edition printed by Borculous in 1541<sup>2</sup>. The manuscript had lurked in the Bodleian from 1756 until it was described in the catalogue printed in 1895<sup>3</sup>. Not all the various parts of the manu-

\* This article translated by H. S. Lake, Amsterdam/Bussum.

<sup>1</sup> Ioannes Nicolaius Secundus, *Opera omnia*, ... cum notis adhuc ineditis Petri Burmanni Secundi denuo edita cura Petri Bosscha, 2 vols (Leiden 1821). In the present article I retain Bosscha's numbering of the poems.

<sup>2</sup> See P.M.M. Geurts, *De Utrechtse kanunnik Philippus Morus* (Nieuwkoop 1977), n. 194a on pp. 117-118.

<sup>3</sup> Ms. Rawl. G 154: F. Madan, *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford*, III (Oxford 1895), (No. 14878); see also Vol. VII, *Index* (Oxford 1953), under Secundus (Johannes).



script date from the same time. For example, some parts were made earlier as substantive entities, such as the calligraphic *Basia* and *Regina Pecunia*. It was certainly not before the first half of the eighteenth century that what had until then been loose quires and sections were bound together, but as copy the pages had all been numbered consecutively: though with some duplicates of 1-279. In the modern foliation these are fols. 1<sup>r</sup>-143<sup>r</sup>.

The most important question that now had to be answered was whether, and if so to what extent, this manuscript was actually by the poet himself, and, in so far as it was not, whether it contained clues which might cause us to doubt the reliability of the text in the posthumous edition of 1541. This was the question which prompted my investigation of the Bodleian manuscript, henceforth referred to as *MS B*, the first report of which is my contribution to the most important study of Secundus's poetry to have appeared so far: J.P. Guépin, *De kunst van Janus Secundus*, Amsterdam 1991, hereafter abbreviated as *G-T*.<sup>4</sup>

The present article complements that report. In *G-T* we find a description of the genesis and subsequent vicissitudes of *MS B*, an identification, illustrated with photographs, of the five different hands of the three persons who wrote practically the entire text, and an associated analysis of the codicological structure, with diagrams and tables clarifying the beginnings and ends of gatherings, locations of insertions, and so on.

### Structure of this article

In the first part of this article I summarize a number of conclusions drawn from my codicological research. To save space here, for the complete reasoning behind these conclusions the reader is referred to *G-T*. In the second part the making of *MS B* is exemplified in a detailed discussion of the illustrated page 82 (fol. 42<sup>v</sup>), which is the beginning of *Elegy* III.14, written to Joannes Stratius. This page gives an impression of the additions, crossings-out and corrections which occur principally in particular parts of the elegies. The origins of these textual alterations are traced through a comparison with the variants which have survived from earlier autographs of this elegy. We look as it were over the shoulder of

<sup>4</sup> My article on "De handschriften en overige bronnen" (The Manuscripts and other sources) will be found on pp. 201-267 of Guépin's 615-page fundamental study of neo-Latin poetry at its best, with the text (and translation) of the *Basia* and 42 other illustrative poems, and with an updated biography of Secundus (pp. 271-298).

the poet in the process of writing out his text on this page as copy for publication. We then see his slightly older brother Marius take the pen in his hand in his role as posthumous editor to make the definitive text of copy manuscript B ready for the printer. The third part of this article, finally, deals with the question of whether there are traces in the notes of Petrus Francius or others of a second manuscript of collected poems by Secundus alongside MS B.

### I. THE BODLEIAN MANUSCRIPT

Begun by Secundus himself, this manuscript reflects the tragic ending of the all too brief life of the poet (1511-1536). The malaria which he had contracted in 1534 in Spain, the country he disliked so much, and which in 1535 forced him to give up his last post there and return home, finally laid him low in 1536 when he was preparing, of necessity, to leave Mechlin for a new post in Spain (see G-T 290 ff.). We can see from the manuscript how Secundus, prematurely but fearing that he was finally about to succumb to his chronic illness, set about arranging his affairs by preparing his collected work for publication (see G-T 261-2 and 296). In what I have called his Julia hand he first wrote out in three folio quires (now the first, second and fourth) his “libellus de Julia conscriptus” — in 1534 not yet complete — as the first book of elegies “cui titulus Julia”, followed by eight elegies of a second book.

It was some considerable time before he added to this start in a hand which at first sight looks different and which I have accordingly called his second hand. In it he wrote a further ten elegies, most of the next book *Funera* and the beginning of the book of *Epigrammata* (see G-T 244, 260-1 and 295). Where the poet himself wielded the pen, even though he wrote his poems out neatly and, for the compositors' benefit, used a clear, standardized script, he naturally continued to hone and polish, afterwards while reading through and sometimes, indeed, in the very act of writing, as the example from the Stratus elegy will shortly show. This is in contrast to the parts of MS B that were later written out by Marius and the third scribe, in which corrections occur no more than sporadically.

Secundus had only just made a start on splitting his second book of elegies into a book II, with “elegiae amatoriae”, and a book III, with the rest (G-T 256), when his work was abruptly curtailed. It was only half completed. Though he never recovered from his exhausting illness,

death, when it came on 25 September 1536, nevertheless caught him unawares. In an effort to overcome his grief his brother Marius promptly took over the manuscripts and notes that Secundus had left behind in the parental home and threw himself into the task of carrying out the plans for publication with the greatest possible expedition. His elder brother Grudius, who lived in The Hague, had by 24 October already sent to Mechlin such manuscripts by Secundus as were in his possession (see his letter in G-T 188-91).

Only a year later Grudius was again involved in the publication. On 5 November 1537 he returned, with a number of comments (see his letter in G-T 192-7), the copy manuscript which had been sent to him complete and ready to print (except for one poem which was included later). In that year Marius, still living in Mechlin, finished converting the elegies into three books by switching them round and copying additional poems into books II and III. The job had involved re-copying a series of poems which had already been written out by Secundus (see G-T 246 ff. on the quire structure and Marius's insertions in these books). Secundus himself had already prepared the *Basia* and the *Reginae Pecuniae Regia* as separate manuscripts in a calligraphic hand. Marius completed the rest, except for the last book, the *Sylvae*, which he had copied by a helper who will be discussed later (see G-T 245 and 261). All in all, well-nigh half of MS B in its definitive form is autographic. The almost Romanesque tale of how Marius finally, in 1540, came to the publisher van Borculo (Borculous) through the mysterious indiscretion of the barber from Cholm, near Pskov, is related in G-T 206 (and see n. 1 to 210).

Marius sought the latest and best redactions by comparing all the manuscripts, drafts, notes and copies that he had. Doubtless there are still items from the bulk of his material that we have yet to rediscover, but we already know of one precious jewel: this is a couple of leaves with notes by Secundus himself of what he still wanted to change, or was merely contemplating changing, in the copy that he had already written out (see G-T 236-7, 244, 249-51, and Guépin's discussion thereof on pp. 387-91). In MS B we can see how conscientiously Marius followed these notes. An illustration of an example of this is included in G-T facing the corresponding notes themselves (plates 5 and 6). These few loose leaves are now bound in at the back of MS B, following the blank folio 143<sup>v</sup>-145<sup>r</sup>.

Naturally Marius also made the occasional emendation, just as Scriverius did in his edition and Bosscha after him, where they noticed a

shortcoming in metre or Latinity. Grudius too made a number of changes to the manuscript in the process of his one-off inspection ... some of which Marius then proceeded to undo. Going by the places which he himself indicates in his letter to Marius of 5 November 1537, Grudius's pen is generally easily recognized in MS B (see G-T 192 and 245). Marius's own emendations are of course indistinguishable from the improvements which he took from more recent autographs or notes made by Secundus. Indeed, he may have made corrections of both kinds as he was copying from his base text, so that there is no sign that anything has been changed at all. Then again, he may also have made corrections of both kinds afterwards in MS B, either in what he himself had copied or in the parts that had been written out by Secundus.

There are only a few cases in which we have any kind of material that can act as a control, and then we can see how expertly and painstakingly, how conscientiously and with what dedication Marius went about his task. Secundus is unlikely ever to have a more dependable, a better editor than Marius. We too can be easy in our minds about relying on his work. The following example from the Stratius elegy will illustrate something of this.

## II. THE STRATIUS ELEGY IN MS B

This example is taken from the elegy to Stratius, No. 14 of book III, pages 82-4 (fols. 42<sup>v</sup>-43<sup>v</sup>) in MS B. The first page with ll. 1-18 is written in Secundus's second text hand, the rest has been copied by Marius on a diploma inserted by him. The reason why Marius replaced four pages of poems already written out by Secundus himself is explained in G-T 257-9. Illustrated here is p. 82, on which there are a number of interesting alterations and additions. It is these, in the context of what we know about earlier versions of the elegy, that are the subject of this second part of the present article.

### § 1. Variants from earlier autographs: Dousa and Burman

The humanist Janus Dousa *pater* (1545-1604) was co-founder and curator of the university of Leiden, a neo-Latin poet and a great admirer of Janus Secundus. In a copy of the 1541 edition with interleaved blank pages, now in Leiden University Library, he made notes on, among other things, a number of Secundus manuscripts. These included a draft autograph of *Elegy* III.14 which he had been given by Philibert van

Borsselen and which differed in several respects from the printed text. (See G-T 212-14 with n. 4.)

To begin with, Dousa took over an autobiographical subscription with its dating, which was naturally absent in 1541 and hence also from the copy manuscript B, and two successive distichs after l. 46 which are likewise absent from B and the 1541 edition: they had been crossed out in this loose manuscript, as Dousa noted: “*legebantur in archetypo, sed cum litura*”. After l. 18 another distich has been written in with the same comment, but in my view this is a note made by the person who owned Dousa’s 1541 copy after his death: Petrus Scriverius, whose hand is unmistakably in evidence elsewhere in the book. I have found the *g* and *h* as they appear in this note in the writing of Scriverius but not in that of Dousa. This means that Scriverius must also have had van Borsselen’s manuscript. I call it a draft, though it is possible that Secundus only downgraded it to that status when he crossed out the six lines to which I refer. It was doubtless a copy for his own archives.

Alongside these three lengthier notes there are in Dousa’s copy of the 1541 edition a number of other notes in the margin, at least one of which is in Scriverius’s hand (*languidiorque* as a variant of the *languidiorve* printed in the 1541 edition from l. 26 in MS B). The writing of the other marginal notes is not so readily identifiable and since in this context it does not matter whether they were made by Dousa or Scriverius I shall not attempt an identification here. In the first place there are the corrections, recorded here in pen, which had already appeared in the list of *Errata* at the back of the 1541 edition. There then follow a number of variants, of which the ones relating to ll. 1-18 on the first page of the printed edition are not followed by the comment “MS.” whereas the five on the two subsequent pages with the continuation of the text from line 19 are. Of these five we find three as the original, subsequently altered, reading in MS B, but two we do not. Thus “MS.” here cannot mean MS B, but was presumably used for the sake of brevity in the margin to refer to what in the three longer notes is termed the “archetypum” or “autographum”: the loose draft that Dousa had been given by van Borsselen.

Apart from this draft, there are also traces of a second manuscript. Petrus Burmannus *secundus* (1713-1778), who was preparing an edition of Secundus, likewise owned a separate manuscript of the Stratus elegy, which (according to Bosscha) he called “*ipsius Iani Secundi scheda autographa*”. From this he noted the variants in his copy, with interleaved blank pages, of the second impression of Scriverius’s edition

(1631). This copy was subsequently in Bosscha's possession, and in his edition of Secundus Bosscha passes on Burman's notes. Some of the Burman variants correspond to those in Dousa's copy of 1541, others do not. Burman, then, had a manuscript which was not the one Dousa had. I suspect that it was the copy that was sent or given to Stratius. This means that we have the variants from two different preliminary states of the redaction in copy manuscript B.

## § 2. The additions on p. 82 of MS B

Let us now turn to what we can see in the illustration of page 82 of MS B. We begin with the line above the start of the Stratius elegy and below the last line of the preceding *Eleg.* 13, of which Dousa had also seen an autograph (see G-T 213). In a hand which I have yet to identify we see the subscription that Dousa had also come across in "the original" ("in archetypo"), "adscriptum ... Poetae ipsius manu", viz.: "In suburbano palentino sub finem Julii 1534". There is no reason to suppose that Dousa took this note over from MS B, since he used exactly the same words to record four other subscriptions which do not occur in MS B. Conversely, it is not absolutely certain that the subscription in B came from Dousa's source, since in Dousa's 1541 copy there is no other note to this poem, whereas in B the same hand (which does not occur elsewhere) has written in a number of other readings for this elegy, including, indeed, four whole lines on p. 80 which I shall discuss later. None of these additions to *Eleg.* 13 in B appears in the 1541 printed edition: they were clearly noted down during a subsequent collation, although, as we shall see, this was before MS B came into Francius's possession.

The second addition to page 82 as illustrated here to which we must turn our attention is the two lines 9 and 10 written transversely in the margin. They are in the same hand as the text, as may be seen in the "flag" to the final *e* and in the shape, but particularly in the positioning, of the abbreviation mark on the descender of the *q* in *-que* in the second line. (What looks like a stroke above this *-que* is actually the ink showing through from a question mark on page 81). Both features, flag and abbreviation, can be seen in the text itself in l. 3 *gentique* and *Latinae*, in l. 6 *glacie*, l. 7 *Quaeque*, and so on. It is these two peculiarities which enable us through the whole of MS B most easily to distinguish the hand of Secundus from that of Marius. The identification of the two hands in

the Bodleian manuscript is the subject of my third chapter in G-T, pp. 227-44.

In the standardized formal handwriting that both brothers use in the copy manuscript, incidentally, it is not so much the letter forms as their unconscious mannerisms that betray each individual penman. In the addition in the margin of this page 82 there are two more examples of this which I cannot allow to pass unmentioned. The first of these is the insertion mark: two crossed strokes of unequal length, below l. 8 in the text and before l. 9 in the margin. This is the mark used by Secundus and, three out of five times, by Marius's helper, whose insertions relate only to text written by Marius or by himself. Secundus's four insertions are of course found only where he himself wrote the text, viz. on pages 15, 33, 73 and this one on p. 82. Marius's insertion mark has two transverse strokes and, in five of the eight, also two verticals, making a double cross as will be seen in plate 6 in G-T: p. 7 (fol. 4<sup>r</sup>) of MS B, where Marius wrote in the margin to *Eleg.* I.3 four substitute lines which Secundus had noted down elsewhere. (The photo facing it, plate 5, shows Secundus's note from which Marius took the new lines.)

However, the difference between the marks used by Secundus and Marius is only really important because it goes hand in hand with a second difference in the way they wrote. Secundus writes transverse marginal lines "inwards", i.e. with the first line at the outermost edge of the paper and the next below it, closer to the main text; Marius wrote "outwards", i.e. with the first line up against the main text. Both brothers do this on both left-hand and right-hand pages. Although at this time writing was done with a quill held with the hand above, rather than resting on, the paper, there is a characteristic difference between someone who is inclined to reach across the text that has already been written and someone who turns the sheet away from them<sup>5</sup>.

I now come to the point that I wish to illustrate with this example from the Stratus elegy. Because in Dousa's interleaved copy of the 1541 edi-

<sup>5</sup> Secundus's letters to his brother Everard of 21 August and 10 December 1534 (in the Royal Library, The Hague, and in the British Library) appear to be the exceptions that prove the rule, but the difference is that the postscripts in the margin there were added before the ink of the main text had had time to dry — in other words, when there was still a risk of smudging it with a sleeve if the writer reached over the text. The first letter is not listed by Dekker (see n. 6 below), the second (neatly written) he illustrates on p. 240; see there also Secundus's "flags" on the final *e*'s and his abbreviation of *-que*. On both letters, see G-T 237 and 288-289 with n. 24.

tion neither Dousa nor Scriverius made any note regarding these lines 9-10 written in the margin of MS B, whereas they took over even crossed-out distichs from the loose draft manuscript, we must assume that in the draft those lines simply appeared in the text, and that Secundus had originally left them out by accident when making his fair copy, in MS B. In contrast to Marius, this is something that Secundus does on more than one occasion: see G-T 251. Evidently he wrote out whole passages from his own poems more from memory than by copying directly from his original. Apart from mistakes like this one, or deviations from his original text which he later rectified (as in l. 13, about which more below), this also explains, in particular, why in his copies there are so many previously altered readings which at first reappear and later have the same change made again, either by himself (see e.g. G-T 223) or by Marius when he compared what he had copied from one manuscript with another autograph in which he found a better reading (cf. G-T 260). Some specimens of another class of copying errors made by Secundus, mistakes caused by automatism and nonchalance, are noted in G-T 219 (on *Basium* 8) and 223-4 (on the autograph account of his journey of 1532).

These lines 9-10 appear not only in the Dousa manuscript but also in the manuscript of the Stratus elegy seen by Burman. He, indeed, recorded a variant in l. 10: *densas* instead of *largas*. This is firm evidence that the lines added in the margin are not only — of course — authentic, since they are in Secundus's own hand, but also that they belonged to the preliminary states of the redaction written out in MS B. The same applies to the concluding chronogrammatic distich which Secundus inserted in the margin of page 73 in his elegy to the so-called *Paix des Dames*, the Treaty of Cambrai of 1529, the text of which Secundus wrote out in his "Julia" hand (for the place of this *Eleg.* III.8 in MS B see G-T 240-1)<sup>6</sup>. Because, exceptionally, we happen to have earlier redactions of these two elegies, III.8 and 14, we also know for certain that in two of the four cases in which Secundus added lines in the margins of MS B, these had previously been part of his text.

### §3. Other additions in MS B

Things are no different where Marius added verses in the margin. In one instance, Secundus himself had rendered the text so unclear by his

<sup>6</sup> That the chronogram ended the poem as early as 1530 has been shown in A.M.M. Dekker, *Janus Secundus* (Nieuwkoop 1986), pp. 125-128.



repeated alterations to one line that Marius again wrote out the entire original distich for the benefit of the typesetter: MS page 19. This is not, therefore, a true insertion. In five cases, on pages 7, 12, 16 and 29, the lines which Marius replaced or added in the margin of MS B are those which Secundus himself had earlier noted down on the couple of loose leaves that have now been bound in at the end of MS B (as illustrations of this, see the photographs in G-T, plates 5 and 6, to which I referred earlier). Marius also writes two long passages in the margin to the lament on the death of their father: these had evidently been added later by Secundus; see G-T 205, 274 and 296-7. The ninth and last case is again not a genuine insertion: it is the four final lines of *Fun.* 24 for which there was no room on the last page of the last *Funera* quire and which Marius had therefore simply placed in the margin.

And then, finally, there is what was written in the margin by Marius's helper, who finished the copying and carried out the final checks. On two occasions he added an epigram that had turned up later (Nos. 57, 75), once it is an epigram that has been moved (No. 51) and twice the texts concerned are distichs which had evidently been discovered to be missing when the final collations were carried out on what Marius himself had copied earlier.

So we have now identified and traced all eighteen of the most obvious changes in the 143 folios of MS B. None of them raises the question of whether they actually came from the poet's own quiver. Over half, ten in all, are concentrated in the Elegies, i.e. in the first 47 folios. But within those 47, they appear exclusively on the 35 leaves that were written by Secundus himself, and four of the ten are in *Elegy* I.7, in which Secundus had already made two changes in 1531 in a letter to Clericus (see G-T 186-7), and in which in MS B he finally scrapped another two lines.

Even where it is not, as in the Stratus elegy, Secundus himself but Marius who added verses and where on the face of it this might create the impression that all sorts of alterations had been made to Secundus's poetry when the copy was being prepared for the printer, we find that in reality it is all merely a matter of emending the text to take account of Secundus's own last and best redactions. In other places, to mention the next class of major changes, whole lines have been replaced (fewer than 20 out of a total of over 6,500 lines, and at least six of these were replaced by Secundus himself), and on ten pages lines have been crossed out, generally distichs. The Stratus elegy also provides a typical example of this which will be discussed in a moment. First, however, the change of a word in l. 13.

## § 4. Other changes on page 82

As may be clearly seen in the illustration, at the end of l. 13 *undas* has been replaced by *amneis*. What may not be quite so clearly visible in the photograph is that this was done not when the poem was first written out but later, with either a different pen or a newly sharpened one, so that the correction stands out from the rest of the text. The letter forms in this one word *amneis* do not allow us to state with certainty who wrote it, and I shall spare the reader the arguments for my identification of this correction hand, which also appears elsewhere. The point at issue here is this: neither Dousa nor Scriverius refers to an alternative in van Borssele's manuscript to the *amneis* of the 1541 printed text, so the manuscript must have had *amneis*. But Burman noted *undas* as the reading in his manuscript. Whoever substituted *amneis* for *undas* in MS B, the two readings are thus both documented from an earlier autograph by Secundus himself.

I now come to l. 15. Here we see the poet at work. The line begins with *Perplexis juvenem*, but the second word has been crossed out. Here, however, the deletion was made before the line had been finished, not afterwards as in the case of l. 13. Nor has anything been replaced between the lines: the text runs on in the same line after the deleted word. This is the kind of correction encountered mainly when an author himself is wielding the pen, as here. While writing the text out neatly the poet changed his mind and changed the line *as he wrote*. What might have followed *juvenem* had it been allowed to stand? We should have been able to do no more than guess, were it not for the fact that in both Dousa's copy of the 1541 text and in Burman's notes the original redaction has survived: *Perplexis iuvenem Dryades abducite silvis*. The crossed-out *juvenem* is thus documented as the earlier, authentic reading, and was thus not a copying mistake. It was, nevertheless, a mistake. After *juvenem*, or possibly not until after he had written *Dryades*, the poet became aware of the metrical error remarked upon by Bosscha: the last syllable of the Greek *Dryades* is normally short. Accordingly Secundus rewrote the line so that this syllable falls *before* the caesura and is also made long by its position: *Perplexis Dryades fugitivum inducite silvis*.

Finally the distich that has been crossed out at the bottom of the page. First it stands there in the text hand, i.e. Secundus's second hand, heavily crossed out, but it is possible by using the points, the ascenders and

descenders and loops which project above and below the black, to reconstruct exactly how the line originally ran: *Fratribus ut geminis et vatibus ille fruatur / Detur ut ijs uno Rhetore posse frui*. The deletion is also by Secundus himself. Possibly on reflection he decided that the perhaps somewhat unbalanced contrast between the poets, the *vates*, who remained behind in Spain, namely Grudius and himself, and the *rhetor* van der Straten (Stratius), returning to the Low Countries, was not quite appropriate? Be that as it may, he deleted the lines, here in MS B, but naturally enough he did not bother to delete them in his base text. Why should he? Nor did he put something similar in their place, on the next page simply beginning with the rest of the text, which gave a different twist to the poem. When after Secundus's death Marius embarked on the job of editing the copy, the effect of this was that he had to replace precisely this next page and three subsequent pages, by a newly inserted diploma (pp. 83-6, ff. 43-4). The reason for this had nothing to do with the elegy to Stratius: it was the need to move what subsequently became *Elegy* II.8. All this is explained in detail and with diagrams in G-T, pp. 252-259.

So Marius copied the rest of the poem to Stratius just as he found it written out by Secundus in MS B. Later, when he started comparing what he had written with such manuscripts as his brother had left behind him, he found the base text that Secundus had used — and there he found, after line 18, the two lines with which we are now familiar. Doubtless he assumed that Secundus had omitted them accidentally, so included them in the copy MS B at the bottom of page 82, where there was still room. In doing so he made a mistake — something that did not happen often — by writing *fratribus* twice in the hexameter; this he then corrected between the lines to *vatibus*. Here his hand can best be recognized from the fact that none of the three final *e*'s has the "flag" that is almost always present in Secundus's writing, as in the last line above the deletion.

Apart from the manuscript that Secundus took as his base text, however, Marius also found others, such as Burman's, in which these lines did not occur, or the draft that Dousa was later given by van Borssele. There the distich reappeared, "*sed cum litura*" ("but crossed out"). Scriverius noted this in Dousa's copy of the 1541 text, copying it with *his* instead of *ijs*. But this was probably a misreading: he may have thought that the loop projecting below the crossing-out was that of an *h* as he would have known it from his own day, but which was not a kind

of *h* used by Secundus. Either in this draft or in some other manuscript Marius saw that Secundus had already rejected these lines once, or perhaps when he went through the text again more carefully he noticed that these were the same lines that Secundus had rendered almost illegible in MS B. In any event, he must have arrived at the conclusion that Secundus's final decision had been to omit them, so he again crossed out the distich that he had at first added.

A similar kind of case is the following. In the continuation of the text of the elegy from line 19 onwards as copied out by Marius the four lines 47-50, which Scriverius and later Bosscha both include in their printed editions, are missing. In other words, Secundus had left them out, but even when Marius later compared his text with other manuscripts he evidently either did not find them or found them crossed out. Scriverius knew them from the draft in Dousa's possession, but there they are indeed deleted, as Dousa noted ("cum litura"). In Burman's manuscript they were probably absent, though Burman's note as reproduced by Bosscha leaves room for doubt on this point, since it can be interpreted as meaning that the lines were present in the manuscript but that they had been deleted, or alternatively that, compared with Scriverius's text of 1631, which Burman was using, they had been "cancelled", i.e. were absent. In any event, both older autographs support Marius's decision not to include ll. 47-50.

## § 5. Conclusion

It seems clear that by comparing the drafts, notes and fair copies done by his brother, Marius aimed to establish what had been Secundus's final wishes and his best text. So he would doubtless have been pleased to see that in l. 17, before the distich crossed out at the bottom of the page, Secundus had deviated from both Dousa's and Burman's manuscript and had replaced *vinclis* with *nodis*, which, as Burman noted, took the verse closer to Tibullus I 8.5. This in turn shows once again how much Secundus continued to make changes and improvements to his work right up to and including the moment of writing out as printer's copy — as we saw in l. 15<sup>7</sup>.

What this means is that if any other Secundus autographs turn up of parts which found their way into MS B through the agency of Marius or

<sup>7</sup> On Secundus's changes while searching for the best phrasing, see G-T 215-26 and Guépin's chapter "Vijlen", 385-391, including 386-387 on l. 30 in the Stratus elegy.

his helper, if variant readings occur in these there is no reason whatsoever to give them precedence over Marius's copy. Marius — of this we can be perfectly confident — stuck carefully to the most recent and most reliable text that he could find. That is what this example of the beginning of the elegy to Stratius, a single page for which we happen to have material with which it may be compared for control purposes, clearly shows.

Let me summarize. Page 82 proves that changes were made to MS B not only after its original completion but also *while it was being copied*, i.e. by Secundus himself. For the rest, every word that appears on page 82, by whichever of the three scribes it was written, is documented as being authentic Secundus: the subscription under the preceding elegy No. 13; the lines added in the margin; both the first and the second reading in l. 13; both the started but unfinished and the final redaction of l. 15; and both the lines written twice at the bottom on the one hand and their deletion on the other. In this case it has been possible to establish this thanks to the happy coincidence that the variants in two earlier autographs have survived. As a result, we have a clear picture of the *modus operandi* both of Secundus himself in drafting a redaction intended for the printer and of his posthumous editor, Marius, who conscientiously collated the various manuscripts he had gathered together. We may take it as certain that, even where we have no control material, the poet and his editor in MS B, and hence the printed edition of 1541, delivered the text with which Secundus, too young, too prematurely, yet within sight of an early death, wished to present himself to his contemporaries and to posterity.

### III. WAS THERE A SECOND MANUSCRIPT BESIDES B?

Are there, in the history of the manuscript tradition of Secundus's poetry, traces of a second manuscript of collected verse alongside MS B, both of them once in the possession of Petrus Francius (1645-1704)? This question was raised by Secundus's last editor, Petrus Bosscha (1789-1871), and answered in the negative by me in G-T 209 on grounds which I indicated there only in brief. I shall state here, as concisely as possible, the salient facts.

#### § 1. The "libellus fratris"

Less than a month after Secundus's death, on 24 October 1536, Grudius, who lived in The Hague, wrote to Marius as follows:

"Dear brother, you write that you now lack only a few of our brother's poems, the titles — or rather, a list— of which you have in his own hand. Here is what I think of it. The six-line poem to Alciati: I think it is the one that begins: "Aureus hic Phoebus" etc. [*Epigr.* I.23] and it is in our brother's collection [*in libello fratris*]. I think the two elegies to Neaera are the ones *about* Neaera, which are in the second book of Elegies [*Eleg.* II.5 and 8; for the complete text of this letter see G-T 188-91]."

It is clear from this letter that Marius had started his editing work in Mechlin and was in the process of going through Secundus's notes and papers. By now Grudius had already sent him all the manuscripts he had, and was now answering some remaining queries. There is only one "*libellus*", since evidently no qualification of the term was necessary. As the poems concerned were still unprinted, it would have been a manuscript, unbound, of course, consisting of one or more loose quires. In fact the word *libellus* itself tells us nothing about the material shape or size of this collection of poems (cf. also G-T 204 on the "Julia-libellus" and e.g. *Epigr.* I.24 on the "Basia-libellus"). What we have in MS B is a collection of Secundus's poems begun by himself, so it is almost self-evident that B must have been this one *libellus* left by Secundus when he died.

Although a manuscript collection like this might in principle also contain loose leaves and diplomas, the content of Secundus's *libellus* was arranged in order: in any event, Grudius's letter shows that the elegies had already been divided into two books. In the course of my analysis of MS B it has become apparent that the elegies in it were indeed originally divided over only two books and that Secundus had indicated, but not yet implemented, plans to redistribute them over three books. This was done by Marius. (See G-T 252-7 with the diagram on 255.) This is an additional pointer to the "*libellus fratris*" being those parts written out by Secundus to which Marius subsequently added to make the complete copy manuscript MS B.

The Alciati epigram I.23 to which Grudius refers is now in MS B in Marius's hand, but Grudius must have seen it there when it was still autographic. How can this be? In MS B the beginning of the book of *Epigrammata* was written by Secundus, but he ends at p. 130, after which Marius starts a new quire in which, at the top of p. 132, we find the Alciati epigram. The situation here thus parallels that of the elegy to Stratius, though it is not yet clear to me exactly why Marius had to

replace the leaves, including the Alciati epigram, that Secundus had already written out after p. 130. However, it is a fact that precisely in this last part of the *Epigrams* all sorts of things have been inserted at the last minute, even after Marius had given the whole text consecutive pagination. One such item is an inserted diploma (pp. 141-4) in the hand of Marius's helper (whom I have yet to identify), one result of which is that page numbers 148-53 now occur twice over. What is certain here is that Secundus had already written out more text after p. 130. The page ends in the middle of a poem, at l. 12 of *Epigr.* 19, after which p. 131 continues in Marius's hand with the last two lines of that epigram.

There can be no doubt that MS B, which was started by Secundus, is the "*libellus fratris*" that he left as the sole collection of his work. Everything else that we can glean about the *libellus* from Grudius's letter points in the same direction.

## § 2. Dousa (1545-1604) and Scriverius (1575-1660)

As described in G-T 212-14, Dousa had seen autographs of a letter to Clericus (G-T 180-7), of a single elegy from book I with a note to Marius below it, i.e. likewise a loose manuscript, and of three successive elegies from book II which may have constituted a single manuscript, of a single elegy from book III, and of *Epist.* I.12. He also had the separate van Borsselen manuscript of the Stratius elegy, and he had MS B itself. There is no clue to any other manuscript having been in his possession.

That Dousa possessed MS B is incontrovertibly proved by the simple fact that in his interleaved copy of the 1541 printed edition he also copied out the poem *Ad Grammaticos* that Grudius had written after Secundus's death and on 24 October 1536 sent to Marius (see G-T 190 and cf. 230). In the final phase of preparing the copy manuscript for the press, this was accidentally written out, along with some epigrams by Secundus that had turned up at the last minute, on the diploma to which I referred earlier which was subsequently inserted into MS B in the hand of the copyist who helped Marius finish the job and who may be distinguished from the "*tres Fratres Belgae*" — Grudius, Marius and Secundus — by the spelling *quom* for *cum* (see G-T 261). Naturally, Marius at once noticed the mistake and crossed out Grudius's poem (see G-T 245), which is why it was not printed in 1541. Dousa, who was of course ignorant of all this and doubtless assumed the verse had been deleted for reasons of propriety, took it over in the place in which it stands in B, even down to the

deviant *quom*-spelling in l. 7 (G-T 214). Scriverius then proceeded to include it in his edition as *Epigr.* 58. Clearly, Dousa cannot have seen this poem in any other Secundus manuscript anyway, but he certainly could not have seen it in an autograph by Secundus, for the simple and obvious reason that it was not written until after Secundus's death.

Apart from notes from the manuscripts of the separate poems referred to above, everything else that Dousa and the later possessor of his copy of the 1541 edition, Scriverius, noted down in it, agrees precisely with MS B. That Scriverius had MS B in his possession was demonstrated in 1977 by Geurts<sup>8</sup>. Indeed, Scriverius allowed the part of it containing the *Funera* 25-9, left unprinted in 1541, to be used, after it had been furnished with his typesetting instructions in Dutch, as printer's copy for his first Secundus edition of 1619. There is no indication that Scriverius ever saw any other manuscript collection than B.

Here I must remark on the way in which MS B and other manuscripts were referred to by Dousa. He uses two terms: *archetypum* and *autographum*. In the *Latijnsch-Nederlandsch Woordenboek der XVIIe Eeuw* that was published in 1889 by E. Spanoghe, the *Synonymia Latino-Teutonica* (ex *Etymologico C. Kiliani deprompta*), which is the reverse of Kilian's Dutch-Latin *Etymologicum* of Dousa's day, *archetypon*, *archetypus* is given as "veur-beeld, originael" ("the example, the original"), *autographum* as "eigen handschrift" ("own handwriting"). And in the (*Novum*) *Dictionarium tetraglotton*, for example, we find for *archetypus*: "Het oorspronckelijke daer men yet uytſchrijft, eerste voorbeeld" ("the original from which something is copied down, first example"). There is, then, nothing at all abnormal about Dousa's using both terms indiscriminately when referring to the same manuscript as he copied it into his interleaved copy of the 1541 edition, and for example when referring to Secundus's letter to Clericus writes: "ex ipsius Auctoris authographo [*sic*] transscripta", while in a note in the margin half-way through the text he writes: "in archetypo legebatur" (see the edition of this letter in G-T 180 and 184). We find the same thing at the *Eleg.* III.14 addressed to Stratus. First Dousa uses *autographum*, then in his note after l. 46 *archetypum* for the same loose manuscript<sup>9</sup>.

<sup>8</sup> P.M.M. Geurts, *De Utrechtse kanunnik Philippus Morus* (Nieuwkoop 1977), p. 118.

<sup>9</sup> As I have already observed, the same draft manuscript is also referred to as "*archetypum*" by Scriverius in his note after l. 18. In G-T 214, incidentally, the notes reading "*nota autographum*" to *Epist.* I.12.81 are erroneously attributed to Dousa both in Dousa's 1541 edition and in MS B. Both are by Scriverius.



Because Dousa refers to MS B only as *archetypum* (see G-T 214) we do not know for certain whether he considered that manuscript wholly or only partially autographic. In his note opposite the first elegy in B Scriverius ascribed the additions and emendations in it to Marius — or Grudius, as he added later. The text itself, then, he believed to be an autograph. Not surprisingly, Scriverius's reputation as an editor led subsequent owners to adopt the same view, though he himself, as a true scholar, would almost certainly only have regarded this as holding good for the first part, written in what I have termed Secundus's "Julia" hand. In the case of other pieces he was less sure of himself. Of *Funera* 25-9, which were not printed in 1541 and of which only Nos. 27 and 28 were written in Secundus's "second hand", the rest having been copied by Marius, he accordingly says that he is printing "ex ipso (nisi fallor) Auctoris Archetypo" (1631 edition, p. 195)<sup>10</sup>.

### §3. Petrus Francius (1645-1704)

Francius, a predecessor of Burman's as professor of eloquence in Amsterdam, was like him an active promotor of Latin verse writing and — how could it be otherwise? — a great admirer of Secundus. Bosscha, on p. LII of vol. I of his edition, says that his copy of the third impression of the Scriverius edition, which came out in 1651, was the copy that Francius "passim correxit", "sive id e solo fecerit MS. autographo, quod ex auctione librorum Scriverii ad se pervenisse notavit ipse, sive ex MS. Codice Poëmatum Secundi, quem a Corn. Gorio sibi dono datum celebrat." This last was in his *Poemata ed. altera*, 1698, *Eleg.* III.12 "De Johanne Secundo. *Cum Mss. ejus Poëmata dono mihi dedisset Cornelius Gorius*".

In that poem Francius addressed himself to the words in the manuscript:

"Vosne suo finxit calamo, digitisque politis  
Janus ... ?" etc.

In other words, he took it for an autograph and it was evidently a manuscript of all the poems ("ejus Poëmata"), even though he mentions only

<sup>10</sup> The calligraphic hand of the substantive parts of MS B with the *Basia* and the *Regina Pecunia* he attributed (noting hesitantly in the case of the *Basia* "nisi fallor" — "if I am not mistaken") to Philippus Morus; erroneously, as Geurts proved (pp. 117-118; see n. 8 above).

the two prominent names *Julia* and *Neaera*. He also addresses the manuscript:

“Care liber, nostros tandem visure penates,  
O desideriiis usque cupite meis!”

Thus despite the plural MSS. in the heading this was clearly a single entity. All this fits in entirely with MS B, which was then still a collection of loose quires and substantive elements such as the *Basia* (*Neaera*) and the *Regina Pecunia*, but constituted a single unit as consecutively paginated copy for the *Opera* of 1541.

This poem, and with it the gift by van Goor, undoubtedly dates from after 1682<sup>11</sup>. It shows that Francius had not previously possessed a manuscript of Secundus's poems. If he subsequently acquired a second manuscript collection, and if he did so, as Bosscha writes, “ex auctione librorum Scriverii”, why then did he collate his 1651 copy only with that second manuscript, as he observed in that edition, without even mentioning the venerable autograph that he had earlier received from Gorius? And where *was* that autograph?

In the auction of Francius's library after his death there is only one Secundus manuscript, described as “J. Secundi poemata ipsius Auctoris mss” and as being in folio<sup>12</sup>. This sounds like MS B, which because of Scriverius's note at the front was regarded as an autograph, and it also sounds like the Gorius manuscript. Francius's copy of the 1651 edition, too, was auctioned in 1705: “J. Secundi opera ... collata ad mss. P. Scriverii”<sup>13</sup>. At the front of that little book, as Bosscha tells us, there was Francius's own note “Collat. ad MS. P. Scriverii”. Francius's collational notes cover the whole of Secundus's oeuvre. The Scriverius manuscript to which he refers was therefore a copy of the collected works. And Scriverius had only one such manuscript: MS B.

Elsewhere Francius had made the note quoted by Bosscha: that the manuscript in question “ex auctione librorum Scriverii ad se pervenisse”, “came from the Scriverius auction”. This was true, but Francius had not bought it there. When the manuscripts, the sale of which at the first — scandalously badly prepared — Scriverius auction in April

<sup>11</sup> P.C. Molhuysen, “Jan van der Does, Nederduitsche gedichten”, *De Navorscher* 51 (1901), p. 261.

<sup>12</sup> *Catalogus selectissimorum librorum ... Petri Francii ...* (Amstelaedami 1704), p. 159, No. 560. The auction was held by Wetsteen in April 1705.

<sup>13</sup> *Catalogue of 1704*, p. 167, No. 439.

1663 had been postponed, came under the hammer at the second auction in August, Francius had been a student in Leiden for only a year and he was only just eighteen<sup>14</sup>. My reconstruction of how the merchant van Goor acquired MS B through his marriage to a distant cousin of Scriverius's will be found in G-T 208-9 with n. 6. The family relationship is yet another clue confirming the identity of van Goor's manuscript with that of Scriverius.

So at the beginning of his copy of the 1651 text Francius noted that he had compared the text of it with the manuscript that had once belonged to Scriverius. This cannot have been any other manuscript than B, and this is confirmed by the readings Francius had noted. Or rather: by what Bosscha tells us of them, since the book itself, as far as I know, has not yet resurfaced. It had earlier been in the possession of Petrus Burmannus (1713-1778), who was preparing an edition of *Secundus* and used Francius's notes in his annotations to the poems. These annotations, so far as I am aware, have also failed to survive, but they too were available to Bosscha and he quotes them (though we do not know if these are word-for-word quotations). All in all, then, we know Francius's notes partly from Bosscha's direct reproduction of them, and partly from his version of Burman's annotations.

At the same time it has to be remembered that the 1651 edition is a small book in duodecimo, with very little room in the narrow margins for notes, and that for his own purposes Francius, as an admiring reader and fellow poet of *Secundus*'s, could note variant readings without needing to add any kind of comment. When Burman and Bosscha incorporated these readings into their notes they naturally presented them as having come from Francius's "MS.", on the basis of Francius's remark at the front of the book. Yet despite this they sometimes doubted whether these were really manuscript readings. This proves that Francius did not use some kind of marker, such as "MS.". The uncertainty on the part of Burman and Bosscha also means that we in turn are bound to have doubts when they "automatically" state that a Francius variant comes from his manuscript.

<sup>14</sup> For this second auction, likewise held in Amsterdam, the amateurish list of manuscripts that had already been printed in the first catalogue was reprinted for the second, which was entitled "*Libri appendiciarii bibliothecae Scriverianae*". The reprint contained a number of unforgivably careless mistakes: No. 34, "*Ioan. secundi carmina*" now became "*Ioan. Egmondensis carmina*" due to contamination by the "*Annales Egmondensis monasterii*" below it (No. 35). This illustrates the incompetence of the auctioneer engaged by the unlettered heirs for the sale of a unique collection which included, for example, the *Codex Arcerianus* of the *Agrimensores*.

In the case of four readings Burman and Bosscha expressly indicate their uncertainty: “Certe in Cod. MS.”, “procul dubio e Cod. MS.”, “forsitan e MS.”, “ex autographo, ut opinor”. Of these four, three are in MS B; only the last is absent. Of all Francius’s readings, a total of three are found not to occur in B, and Bosscha expresses doubts on only one of these. The conclusion from this can only be that in his notes Francius himself nowhere mentioned the MS as his source and that amongst the variants he also noted a number of emendations, as was common at the time, certainly amongst readers who themselves wrote verse in Latin, if the reading they proposed was one that they regarded as better Latin, or one that had occurred to them as they recognized a classical parallel. Burman’s and Bosscha’s notes testify abundantly to this dialogue with Secundus’s text, Dousa recorded a number of such emendations in his copy of the 1541 edition (“*malim ...*”), and Scriverius tacitly inserted several of them in his edition — some of which Burman and Bosscha then proceeded to reject, some of which they do not. I shall return in a moment to Francius’s own three emendations.

The other readings recorded by Francius are all to be found in MS B. There are no more than 17 in all, which is no surprise in view of the fact that Scriverius’s edition, with which he compared the manuscript, is based on that published by Borculous in 1541, the copy for which had been the same manuscript. Francius’s collation, moreover, served no philological purpose: he was not concerned with producing a new edition. Indeed, he probably did not even have a copy of the Borculous edition, since if he had compared the manuscript with that instead of the unauthorized reprint of 1651 of Scriverius’s second edition he would immediately have found nine of his readings in print: in these cases Scriverius’s text, due either to emendation or to printer’s errors, deviates from the 1541 edition and hence also from MS B.<sup>15</sup> The remaining eight are: another (incorrect) emendation by Scriverius in *Funus* 26, which had not been printed in 1541; three understandable typesetting errors from 1541 which Scriverius had not corrected; one duplicate and two deleted readings in MS B, the replacement of one of which, that in two lines in *Eleg.* II.1, Francius

<sup>15</sup> Scriverius himself indicated two differences in the *Animadvertenda* at the back of his edition of 1631, but in 1651 these were omitted; even a typesetting error he had marked was not corrected. This was not Scriverius’s fault, however. A reprint of this kind, of a book whose publisher was unprotected by a privilege from copying by competitors, could be freely marketed by anyone, there was no such thing as copyright, and Scriverius, who was now 75 years old and blind, would almost certainly have had no involvement with the reprint. See P. Tuynman, “Petrus Scriverius 12 January 1576 - 30 April 1660”, *Quaerendo* 7 (1977), p. 6.

ascribed to Marius (on the basis of Scriverius's note at the front of the manuscript); and finally the four lines, written into the margin of p. 80 of MS B after 1541, that were added to *Eleg.* III.13, mentioned at the start of my discussion of the Stratus elegy that follows it, *Eleg.* III.14.

It is beyond the scope of the present article, quite apart from being completely unnecessary, to list everything in Francius's notes that points unambiguously to MS B as his source, or which could not possibly have come from any other manuscript, but there is one point that I wish to mention here: the four lines added to *Eleg.* III.13 after l. 12, which are found nowhere else. It is precisely what Francius was unable to read in the third of these lines that betrays his source. The two distichs in MS B are not written sideways but have been squeezed into the left-hand margin. As a result, he missed the contraction of *patris*, which made him miss *aetherei*, so that the meaning escaped him and he also missed *mensis* with its abbreviation in "Nec patris aetherei malit discumbere mensis". The essence of Bosscha's conjecture on the basis of *Basium* 4.13 was thus a bull's-eye, with *gratis Divûm ... mensis*.

#### § 4. Gerard van Papenbroeck (1673-1743)

Gerard van Papenbroeck, a merchant collector who lived in Amsterdam, acquired Dousa's interleaved copy of the 1541 edition at a date and in a manner that are unknown to me. One day while visiting Francius he was allowed to look at his Secundus manuscript. He made notes of six readings from this in his Dousa copy. However, these are not his quick, on-the-spot notes: not until he had returned home did he write them in, deliberately and in the neat way that was characteristic of him, testifying to his respect for the literary scholars whose letters and manuscripts he collected. And in each case he solemnly wrote, in full: "in autographo", or "in autographo Secundi". However, here he was overreaching himself, as we shall see. It goes without saying that all six Papenbroeck readings are also included in the notes of Francius recorded by Bosscha.

At the front of Dousa's interleaved Borculous edition we read, in Papenbroeck's firm, neat handwriting: "Fuit olim hic liber IANI DOVZAE NORDOVICIS, qui pleraque Basia Belgice vertit, et plurima in hoc notavit ex autographo SECVNDI. - Vidi hoc autographum postea apud PETRVM FRANCIVM et quae hinc inde a me notata sunt, ex eo transcripsi.-" "*Hinc inde*"? Presumably he meant "here and there". We cannot ask too much of his Latinity: he was no scholar. But we do owe

it to his carefulness that many precious manuscripts have been preserved and are still available to us today.

So Papenbroeck observed that Francius's manuscript contained the poems that had not been printed in 1541 and which Dousa had taken over from it. He therefore rightly identified Dousa's and Francius's manuscripts as being one and the same, and on the authority of his host, if not directly on the basis of Scriverius's note at the front, he took it to be an autograph. But during that visit would he really have collated at least the manuscript of all three books of elegies and the *Basia*, so as to dig up his six readings from it? Impossible. Obviously the much older professor also gave the young collector his copy of the 1651 edition with his own collation to look at as a guide to the manuscript, and it was from this that Papenbroeck made his notes. So it was that out of the dozens of deleted readings in MS B he 'selected' only the one which Francius had, exceptionally, noted for *Eleg.* II.1.34 (with 42), and he then proceeded to record it in words that look suspiciously like Francius's note as quoted by Bosscha.

The combination of that deleted reading and the "definitive" change to it made by Marius is one of the proofs that Francius showed Papenbroeck no Secundus manuscript other than the one he had collated himself, and that that one manuscript cannot have been any other than MS B. And yet amongst Papenbroeck's six readings there is also one of Francius's three that do not appear in B: *discere* instead of *dicere* in *Eleg.* I.2.87, with Papenbroeck's comment "in autographo". That particular variant, then, he could only have taken from Francius's notes in his copy of the 1651 edition, and his comment was just as automatic as Burman's statement "ex MS.", which he, as Bosscha records, set next to it.<sup>16</sup>

The conclusion to be drawn from all this is clear: the whole of Papenbroeck's testimony is second-hand. The only thing it has to tell us is that Francius had no more than one manuscript to show his visitor. But even that is something we already knew.

## § 5. Francius's three emendations

In itself, of course, it is evident that three variants do not make a manuscript: certainly not variants like these. This means that, since we are now in a position to check things against MS B, there is no longer even

<sup>16</sup> The comedy of errors that reveals the conflict between Papenbroeck's and Francius's presentation of the variant at *Basium* 19.2 is something I am keeping for a longer publication. However, there again we have evidence that the manuscript seen by Papenbroeck was MS B.

the slightest reason to allow for the possibility, as Bosscha does, that Francius may have possessed a second Secundus manuscript. Nevertheless I shall end by looking briefly at all three Francius variants.

In the first case Bosscha's admiration prevailed over his doubt, and he even adopted Francius's reading [*ferventes*] *Afros* instead of *agros* (i.e. Spain) in *Epist.* I.10.72 in the text:

"Verum non dubitavimus exquisitam hanc dare lectionem, quam ex autographo, *ut opinor*, suo exemplari adscripserat Pet. Francius. Sunt autem Hispani moribus et ingenio, et vero origine tales, quos haud absurde Africis populis adnumeres."

To someone who thought of the Spaniards in these terms this emendation, achieved by the alteration of a single letter, is a find indeed, and certainly it would have been a pity if Francius had not noted this idea as it occurred to him as he read.

The second is [*corpora de tumulis*] *recidiva* instead of *rediviva* in *Eleg.* III.4.10 — "quae voces saepius sunt confusae", says Bosscha, referring the reader to commentaries to a passage in Sedulius and to Silius Italicus I.106. This is just the kind of situation in which a Latin poet like Francius would have been unable to resist noting the "alternative form" alongside the text as he read it. This too, then, is far from being a variant which forces us to believe in the existence of a second manuscript in Francius's possession.<sup>17</sup>

The same applies *a fortiori* to the third and last reading. This occurs in *Eleg.* I.2.87: "Nil tibi sit terrae tractus aut dicere coeli", which is modelled, according to Bosscha's (word-for-word?) quotation of Burman's note, on Propertius III.2.41 (Burm.; = III.3.41 or IV.2.41). "Deinde *tractus aut discere coeli* ex MS. correxit P. Francius", Burman continues, although, he adds, *dicere* may have come from Prop. II.25.28 (= II.34.28 or III.32.28), where however some MSS have *discere*, as in III.3.47 (= III.5.25 or IV.4.25: *perdiscere*), etc. etc. In short this, like the previous one, is another place which as it were automatically suggested *discere* alongside *dicere*. In fact Bosscha continues the discussion even further by pointing out that whereas Burman appears here to prefer *discere*, in an addendum to his Lotichius edition "expresse dicit, male a Francio correctum esse *discere*, legendumque omnino *dicere*". To which Bosscha adds: "At procul dubio ipse Ianus scripsit *dicere* quod apparet e v. 91 *Seu cantare*." As with *rediviva*, here Francius noted, for his own

<sup>17</sup> Cf. A.M.M. Dekker, *Janus Secundus* (Nieuwkoop 1986), p. 153.

use, the alternative for *dicere* that the classical example offers the Latin poet.

In a similar case, in *Eleg.* I.3, perhaps we ought really, therefore, to give an explanation for the fact that although at *sed torreat* in l. 31 Francius noted *et* as the reading in MS B (and the 1541 edition), instead of Scriverius's *sed*, he did not note *torquet* as an emendation in l. 13, which in Scriverius and in 1541 reads: *Eheu, quam mea me coeca face Iulia torret*. This is despite the fact that in MS B, which he was looking at, the original reading was indeed *torquet*, subsequently changed to *torret*. The only possible explanation is that Francius failed to recognize Tibullus I.4.81 as the model here, unlike Burman, who without knowing about the change in MS B immediately asked why Secundus had *torret* instead of Tibullus's *torquet*. In fact Burman defended *torret* by reference to passages in Horace and Propertius, and on contextual grounds. Meanwhile he would prefer, despite Tibullus, to substitute for *Eheu* the better *Heu, heu*: which is what Bosscha does. It is this almost what I might term collaborative way of dealing with texts that must be seen as the background against which Francius's notes must be judged.

#### CONCLUSION

The conclusion of this article can be brief. There was no other manuscript collection of Secundus's poetry than B, and in its final redaction B offers the most recent and best readings of Secundus, bar a few details, regardless of the hand in which that final redaction was carried out and whether this was a matter of alteration or not. The final redaction is printed in the Borculous edition of 1541. Even if there are one or two rare instances in which details of that edition are open to improvement, in it Secundus's oeuvre has nevertheless been handed down to us in an authentic and reliable text. Whatever variant readings may yet be discovered in whatever source, as an editor Marius unquestionably had more, more recent and better text material. He arrived at his final version of the text on the basis of a careful comparison of that material, and with a greater and more intimate knowledge of it than we shall ever have. *His* work cannot be improved upon.

Courbetstraat 25<sup>III</sup>

NL-1077 ZS Amsterdam.



82

10. SEC. HAG.

Scindeñm comites, non grauat ira deum.  
 In subarcano palatio sub fine Iulij 1889

Elegia xiiii Ad Joannem  
Stratium

Quo tam precipiti rapitur inhi Stratus aura?  
Et tantum visam deserit fœderem?

*Barbara num Tellus, gentiq; aliena Latina?  
Facundum Ausonio non caput ore virum?*

Q. uo fugis, ab demens, medys aquilonib; anni;  
omnis eum glariū mortua terpet aqua.

& lumina non metuis minibus crescentia? quæq;  
sparsa Pyrenæi mixtæ alta iugis?

Nymphas quas Tagus, et magnus venerat Albis,  
Quas Ganga, & Siccis ripa vetusta colit,

Cogite torrentes. Laxis de fontibz ~~inde~~ amneis,  
quadraptem preceps qua fertur illic gradu.

¶ ~~exple~~ ~~is~~ ~~strenum~~ dyados fugitivum indecitur sylvis,  
Hescens ut reprobet, qua fugiebat, iter.

¶ qz hederæ nexis reliquatæ brachia nodis  
Erronem, nostri sustine liminibus.

~~It is not a good idea to use a pencil for the first sketch.~~~~Don't forget to write to me~~

~~variegatus~~  
~~variegatus ut pinnis et frutibus albe gustu~~

~~Detur ut us uno rhyetore possit frui.~~

Bodleian MS Rawl. G. 154, p. 82 (fol. 42v)

Bodleian MS Rawl. G 154, p. 82 (fol. 42v).

*Namque hinc videtur quid sit  
quod dicitur quod dicitur quod*

Bodleian MS Rawl. G 154, p. 82 (fol. 42<sup>v</sup>).

Jozef IJSEWIJN.

PETRUS NANNIUS AND ACHILLES STATIUS.

At the age of about twenty-three the Portuguese humanist Achilles Statius (b. 12 June 1524) set out on a long *peregrinatio academica* which was to end in 1555 or thereabouts when he settled in Rome for the rest of his life.<sup>1</sup> He died in his Roman house on 28 september 1581.

Before he went to Italy Statius visited at least two Northern Universities, Louvain in Brabant and Paris in France. One may guess that he sailed from Lisbon to Bruges or to Antwerp and from there made his way to Louvain. Be this as it may, we know that he was in Brabant in 1547. In that year he had a slim volume of poetry and prose (*Sylvulae duae*) printed at Louvain. Two years later he was in Paris where he saw a new and augmented edition of his *primitiae* through the press: *Sylvae aliquot una cum duobus hymnis Callimachi eodem carminis genere ab eo Latine redditis*.

This second edition contains an *Encomium Petri Nannii Alcmariani*, viz. a poem in praise of Petrus Nannius from Alkmaar (Holland), from 1539 onwards Professor of Latin and one of the luminaries of the *Collegium Trilingue Lovaniense*.<sup>2</sup>

Although the poem mainly consists of a lavish praise of Nannius as a Latin writer and poet, the last part of it (v. 60ff.) provides us with unrecorded information about both Nannius and Statius. In fact, from these verses we may safely conclude that the Portuguese humanist attended Nannius's courses at the *Collegium Trilingue* in the years 1547-48. Statius remained deeply impressed by a lively course on the

<sup>1</sup> See A. da Costa Ramalho, "Notas sobre a formação de Aquiles Estaço", in Id., *Estudos sobre o século XVI* (Paris 1980), pp. 293-310; J. IJsewijn, "Achilles Statius, a Portuguese Latin Poet in Late 16th-Century Rome", in *Humanismo Português na época dos descobrimentos. Congresso internacional, Coimbra 9 a 12 de Outubro de 1991. Actas* (Coimbra, 1993), pp. 109-123.

<sup>2</sup> A. Polet, *Une gloire de l'humanisme belge, Petrus Nannius, 1500-1557*. *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 5 (Louvain, 1936); D. Sacré, "Nannius' Somnia", in R. De Smet (ed.), *La Satire humaniste* (Brussel, 1994), pp. 77-93.

struggle between Aeneas and Turnus, that is, on book XII of Virgil's *Eneid*.

We already knew that Virgil was a favourite author of the Dutch humanist: in 1537 Nannius taught a course on the *Georgics*; in 1544 on *Eneid* IV and a year later on book VI; in 1557 he explained the *Eclogues*; finally, there were courses on *Eneid* I-IV in unspecified years before 1548.<sup>3</sup> A course on *Eneid* XII fits perfectly well into this picture.

Until now we ignored the subject of Nannius's courses in the years 1547 and 1548. Since Statius's poem is not yet included in the 1547 volume, it seems likely that the course on Aeneas and Turnus was being taught in the academic year 1547-48 (beginning in October 1547).

There is another trace of Statius's stay at the *Collegium Trilingue*, viz. the preliminary poems to John Christopherson's Latin translation of four books of Philon of Alexandria.<sup>4</sup> The Englishman Christopherson matriculated in Louvain on 20 July 1547 — more or less at the time Statius arrived there too — and spent several years in Brabant working at his translation based on a Greek text he had seen in Venice.<sup>5</sup> His Philon came from the press of the Antwerp printer Ioannes Verwithaghen in 1553 with a preface dated at Louvain, 19 February 1553 ("Lovanii, XI Cal. Martii Anno 1553"). Two poems precede the preface, a short one in elegiac distichs by Petrus Nannius and a longer one in hendecasyllables by Statius, which begins with a summary of the contents of the book and ends with lavish praise. Unfortunately Statius's poem does not bear a date and his whereabouts in 1553 are unknown, except for the fact that on 29 July 1553 he had not yet undertaken his journey to Italy.<sup>6</sup> Therefore, it is possible that he returned to Louvain from Paris in the early fifties and contributed at that time the poem to Christopherson's translation.

Almost a quarter of a century later the English humanist Gabriel Harvey (b. 1550? - d. 1631) in a letter to his friend Thomas Hatcher about

<sup>3</sup> See Polet, o. c., pp. 15-16.

<sup>4</sup> *Philonis Iudaei, scriptoris eloquentissimi gravissimique libri quatuor, quorum primus est De Mundi Fabricatione, quae est a Moyse descripta; secundus De Decem Praeceptis, quae capita legum sunt; Tertius, De Magistratu seu Principe deligendo; quarto De Officio Iudicis, iam primum de Graeco in Latinum conversi, Ioanne Christophorsoni Anglo interprete. Antverpiae, Excudebat Ioannes Vervvithagen, typographus iuratus et a Caes<area> Maiest<ate> admissus. Anno 1553.* We used the copy in the library of U.F.S.I.A., Antwerp (shelf-mark P 13.153).

<sup>5</sup> H. de Vocht, *History...of the Collegium Trilingue Lovaniense 1517-1550*, Part IV, *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 13 (Louvain 1955), p. 281.

<sup>6</sup> See J. IJsewijn (as above, note 1), p. 111.

some omissions in his *Ciceronianus* (London, 1577) refers to Christopherson's publication and quotes two lines from Nannius's epigram:

"Christophorsonum non modo nostri populares et Graece Latineque pereruditum, sed exteri etiam permulti, in iisque Petrus Nannius et Achilles Statius, disertissimi illi quidem homines atque doctissimi, ut disertissimum doctissimumque virum celebrarunt. Ac Nannius quidem Philonem, credo, eius obiiceret, et carmen illud crebro insusurraret suum:

Nunc Ciceronizat Latio sermone disertus  
Seque ex Hebraeo Romuliden esse stupet"<sup>7</sup>

\* \* \*

Hereunder I republish the text of Statius's poems (and of Nannius's epigram) which have become extremely rare, especially the first one.<sup>8</sup> Except for the punctuation nothing has been changed from the original editions.

# I

## Achillis Statii Lusitani

*Sylvae aliquot una cum duobus hymnis Callimachi  
eodem carminis genere ab eo Latine redditis.  
(Parisiis, apud Thomam Richardum, 1549).*

## Encomium Petri Nannii Alcmariani.

- f. 12<sup>r</sup>      Plenius erumpat medio qui vertice sacri  
Montis, ad illustres fons ille beatior usus  
Eloquii manat, doctisque exuberat undis.  
Hoc fruar ut solus, vatum vos undique totas  
5      (Nunc fas est) arcete, Deae, de gurgite turbas,  
Ac differte sitim, dilapsaque flumina nusquam

<sup>7</sup> Gabriel Harvey's *Marginalia*, Collected and Edited by G. C. Moore Smith (Stratford-upon-Avon, 1913), pp. 217-218 and 301 (Note to p. 218). I thank Hugo Tucker and Ingrid Desmet, who provided me with a copy of this text. H. de Vocht, *o. c. i.*, p. 293 also quotes the text but erroneously states that Harvey inserted it in his *Ciceronianus* [edited and translated by H. S. Wilson and C. A. Forbes, *Gabriel Harvey's Ciceronianus* (Lincoln, Nebraska, 1945). Neither De Vocht nor Pollet [note 2], pp. 78-90 knew Statius's poems.

<sup>8</sup> The only copy of the Paris *Sylvae* I know is in Paris at the Bibliothèque Nationale. I thank Mr. Toon Van Houdt and Prof. J. Trapp who inspected it for me *in situ*.

Ora petant vultusque meos. Vos ducite cursus,  
 Pierides; vos o labris nunquam invida nostris  
 Numina; maiores capto sitientius haustus.

10 Nunc mihi non assueta sitis; nanque uror, et intus  
 Inflammant rapidum maiora incendia pectus.  
 Uror, at hic meriti est iustissimus ignis amoris:  
 Nanque amo quem cuperem multo foelicius unum  
 Pingere, et e nostra spirare benignius arte.

15 At labor hic magnum certe vicisset Apellem,  
 Norit ut hic tacitas solers animare figuras,  
 Utque fluant viva viventia corpora dextra,  
 Atque idem tabula sit foelicissimus omni.  
 Non igitur, non una sitis me torquet, ab una

20 Qui face non uror, geminis ast ignibus intus  
 Ardor agit. Puri fax altera crescit amoris,  
 Altera suscepti curas fax ponderis urget.  
 At sitis haec aliqua sedari nescit ab unda,  
 Aestus et hic aliquo nescit mitescere fonte,

25 Huc licet incerto deflectat Nilus ab ortu,  
 Ac mihi cum multo creber Tagus affluat auro.  
 Hos tantum ardores didicit lenire perenni //

f. 12<sup>v</sup> Fonte Helicon, doctamque sitim scaturigine sacra  
 Mitigat, unde bibunt vates solaeque Sorores.

30 Hunc ego sed totum cupio, quia largius ille  
 Hoc de fonte bibit; quem nunc maioribus opto  
 Decantare modis, coeloque aequare merentem.

Notus enim cui non usquam nitidissimus amnis  
 Eloquii, mens attonitas quo currit in aures

35 Nannius, et plenas hinc inde assurgit ad oras.  
 Cui non ille lepos spirataque pectore virtus,  
 Et non auditi linguae foelicis honores?  
 Scilicet huic mallent plausus sonuisse forenses,  
 Laudassetque magis Romanae curia gentis.

40 Artifici lachrymis namque hic magis imperat ore,  
 Atque voluptatem Cicerone disertius ipso  
 Indulget, meliusque animos pace implet amica.  
 Ut rapit, ut stimulis agitat, penitusque iacentes  
 Excitat, atque animis nunquam facit otia laetis!

45 Idem etiam, posito mutatus fulmine, quantus

- O quantus ruit ad lachrymas, quantoque madentes  
 Alluit imbre genas, et cum suspiria tristis  
 Audiri voluit, gemitusque sonare, sed artis  
 Munere captivi veniunt ad tristia sensus.
- 50 Quale sed o carmen vati furor aureus aedit!  
 Quam tenerum dant plectra sonum, quam dextera foelix  
 Augustum perstringit opus, quo saepe Sorores  
 Convenere novem, saepe admiratus Apollo  
 Assidet, ac primum socio modulamine chordas
- 55 Carpit et ipse suas, sed mox oblitus et ore  
 Suspenso stupet, et digitis non sentit inertem  
 Elabi citharam: "vinci" dixere Sorores. //
- f. 13<sup>r</sup> "Forsitan", ipse Deum ne quid laeuisse viderer,  
 "Quod licuit", dixi, "non vult hic vincere Phoebus."
- 60 Ille ubi sed longum fidibus cum carmine dulces  
 Inseruit numeros, opus interpellat, et ecce  
 Abrumpit totas abrupto carmine mentes.  
 Ast alios nervis alacris mox implicat orsus,  
 Dumque aliena canit vatum monumenta priorum,
- 65 Ipse suam alterno sopitam carmine Musam  
 Tantisper cessare iubet, dum classica pleno  
 Ore canit, glomeratque acies ac praelia miscet,  
 Aeneamque animat rursum, Turnumque superbum,  
 Ut pugnas iterum credas spirare Maronem.
- 70 Quam timui! Me saepe armis vox miscuit illa,  
 Aeneamque ducem dum vultu animoque sequebar,  
 Horrebam, fateor, saecula haec oblitus et annos.  
 Idem etiam simul in Turnum Rutulosque ferebar  
 Percitus, et plagas inde accepique dedique
- 75 Fervidus, atque arsi, donec vox illa furentes  
 Blanda serenavit pugnas, aciesque diremit.  
 Sed quid ago? Nunquam mihi Musa expresserit illud,  
 Facundo quantus descendat spiritus ore;  
 Iamque trahor, liquidasque obstant a faucibus undas
- 80 Pierides, revocantque alios ad flumina vates,  
 Meque fatigatum coepta ad primordia tanti  
 Alliciunt mulcentque Deae, rebusque minorem  
 Abstenuisse iubent posthac maioribus, intra  
 Versarique meae, non ultra tendere vires.

## II

The preliminary poems of Christopherson's *Philon*.

## (a)

*In Ioannem Christophorsonum Anglum,  
Philonis Iudaei praestantissimum interpretem,  
Petri Nannii Alcmariani, professoris Latini Lovanii,  
Ogdoastichon.*

- Cecropio Pharius Philo par similisque Platoni,  
De quo tale frequens crebuit elogium:  
"Anne Platonizet Philo maximus, an Plato contra  
Ipse Philonizet maximus in dubio est."  
5 Nunc Ciceronizat, Latio sermone disertus,  
Seque ex Hebraeo Romulidem esse stupet.  
Christophorosonus decus hoc nostro intulit aevo,  
Cui patria irriguo est Anglica terra sinu.

## (b)

*Achillis Statii Lusitani  
in Philonem et Ioannem Christophorsonum, eius interpretem.*

- Urbem maximus his Philo libellis  
Praeclaram statuit; piis eandem  
Munit legibus. Inde et hos, suo qui  
Rem pro munere publicam administrent  
5 Et, sub quo omnia, principem; locoque  
Partes iudicis ultimo figurat,  
Ipsumque instruit, addocetque leges.  
Hoc vir maximus hos Philo libellos  
Filo texuit, ut legens notabis.  
10 Sed pulchre loquitur venustus auctor,  
Iudaeusque licet Philo, Pelasga  
Sic lingua sonat, Atticoque melle  
Condit singula, quemlibet Pelasgum ut  
f. a2<sup>v</sup> Et neges magis Atticas Athenas.<sup>9</sup>  
15 At quali facie, colore quali

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Cic., *Or.* 23: "[Demosthenes], quo ne Athenas quidem ipsas magis credo fuisse Atticas."

- Christophorsonus elegans nitentes  
Vos et pinxit et imbuit, libelli!  
Grato scilicet atque pervenusto,  
Mutans Attica Romulis labella;  
20 Nec vos ore minus facit decoro  
Esse, atque ore minus loqui rotundo<sup>10</sup>,  
Parnasi veluti iugis prius si  
Rubra et lilia et alba quem tegebant,  
Idem montibus accubans Latinis  
25 Vertens lilia Graeciaeque florem,  
Pestanam induit et rosam Latinam.

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<sup>10</sup> Cf. Hor., *Ars P.* 323-324: "...Grais dedit ore rotundo / Musa loqui."



Daniel ŠKOVIERA

EPISTULARUM LEONARDI STÖCKEL  
SUPPLEMENTUM DUPLEX

Leonardum Stöckel (Bartphae 1510 - 7 VI 1560), virum multis litteris imbutum, partes non ignobiles in historia Slovaciae<sup>1</sup> ecclesiastica, scholastica et litteraria obtinuisse constat. Discipulus erat familiarisque Philippi Melanchthonis et per plus quam viginti annos (1539-1560) Bartphae<sup>2</sup> in urbe patria ludi magistri munere functus est. In sacris autem innovatis promovendis nec non in renatis ingenuarum artium studiis cum sapientia Christiana coniunctis propagandis multum auctoritate valuit, non solum in finibus Slovaciae ad Orientem vergentis, sed etiam in terris finitimis. Cuius rei testimonio sunt imprimis praeclara eius opera theologica et paedagogica cum typis impressa, tum manu scripta. Neque cuiquam de religione, de cultu atque humanitate, de rebus publicis quae tum erant quaerenti licet litteras eius datas acceptasque neglegere, quippe quod commercio illo epistolico horum non pauca illustrentur.

Mihi autem altero decennio ante epistulas Leonardi Stöckel quae superessent omnes edendas curanti<sup>3</sup> iniquitate rerum evenit ut duas in medium proferre non possem. Quas epistolas tunc in promptu eam ob causam non habui, quod ad Bibliothecam Lycei quondam Evangelicorum Augustanae Confessionis Kesmarkinam<sup>4</sup>, ubi nonnulla Stöckeliana antea oblivione obruta et nondum vulgata recondi suspicatus sum, aditus intercludebatur etiam iis, qui in monumenta litterarum pristina perscrutanda praecipue incumbabant. Nec reseratae mihi sunt Bibliothecae Lycei Kesmarkini fores nisi anno illo memorabili 1989 exeunte.

<sup>1</sup> Slovacia illo quidem tempore finibus Hungariae Superioris continebatur.

<sup>2</sup> Urbs slovae Bardejov, germanice Bartfeld appellatur.

<sup>3</sup> D. Škoviera, "Epistulae Leonardi Stöckel", *Graecolatina et Orientalia* VII-VIII (Bratislava 1975-1976), 265-359 (= ELS).

<sup>4</sup> Kesmarkinum oppidum est quod idiomate Slovaco Kežmarok, Germanico Käsmark appellatur.

Erat Kesmarkinum civitas olim libera regia et vetusta sub ipsis radicibus montis Tatrae Altioris sita; quam in urbem Leonardus noster aestate anni 1555 demigravit, ut ludum litterarium per spatium semestre regeret. Cui dein successit Simon Gergelius discipulus, qui ad animum Legum scholae Bartphensis, quas Leonardus instituerat, vitam ludi Kesmarkini accommodabat et fundamenta lycei celeberrimi iaciebat. Neque ergo mirum, si nomen Stöckelianum apud cives scholasticosque Kesmarkinos postea tantum valuit, ut in bibliotheca lycei scripta eius collocata permanserint.

De libro illic asservato, qui uno volumine comprehensa complura contineret opera saeculi XVI<sup>i</sup> sive prelo edita sive manu exarata et ad artem musicam imprimis spectantia, admonitus sum per Franciscum Matúš, historiae musicae professorem in studiorum universitate Šafarikiana Prešoviansi, qui rarum illum librum invenerat<sup>5</sup>. Huic convoluto signatura MS-KZ 139 data est. Inserta sunt tria opuscula Stöckeliana musicologica manu scripta, quorum duo inter se titulo *De musica* congruunt, tertium autem commentariolum succincte compositum *Argumenta de musica canenda et discenda* inscribitur. In eodem volumine et *Arithmetica* Leonardi Stöckel invenies. Posteriori autem tractatui libelli institutorii *De Musica*, sive *De Musica II*, epistula Leonardi nostri praemittitur, quam praefationis vice functam esse patet.

Haud est dubium, quin epistula ad nos apographa pervenerit et mutila. Hoc enim inscriptionis et salutandi formularum omissione necnon brevitate insolita, illud genere scripturae indicatur. Manum tamen epistulam describentem non eandem fuisse ac ea, quae utriusque *De Musica* libelli exemplar apographum confecisset, in aperto est. Magni autem momenti esse hasce litterulas nemo qui legerit negabit, quippe quibus tum Leonardi delectatio ex musica arte (cui virtutes ad mores hominum efformandos maxime aptas auctoritatem Platonis et Aristotelis secutus attribuire non dubitaverit), tum habitus misomusus abominandus quidem viro nostro erudito, sed qui in fautoribus quibusdam Ecclesiae reformandae nimis subinde pullulasse videtur, perspicue ostendatur.

Alteram etiam Leonardi epistulam neglectam ibidem inveni in opere eius, quod *Formulae tractandarum sacrarum concionum per Evangelia communium feriarum totius anni in usum Ecclesiae Christi collectae* inscribitur. Quod opus homileticum si comparabimus cum amplissima

<sup>5</sup> Vide eiusdem viri docti commentationem "De musica Leonardi Stöckelii", *Slovenská hudba* XVII (1991), 360-416.

eiusdem Leonardi *Postilla*<sup>6</sup> minus certe, sed si explicandi via ac ratio spectabitur nescio an non maioris aestimandum est momenti. Est demum editione postuma per officinam typographicam Bartphensem Davidis Gutgesel anno 1578 publici iuris factum<sup>7</sup>. Quamvis dies, quo haec epistula concinnata sit, in tenebris iaceat, tamen anno 1560 ineunte scriptam esse coniectura perspicui potest duplici: primum, quod nulla morbi gravis fit mentio, quo Leonardus in sollemnitate Paschali correptus est et die 7<sup>o</sup> Iunii mortuus: deinde, quia nonnulli huius epistulae praefatoriae loci significanter concordant cum sententiis, quae in epistula eius ad Mathiam Heblerum Transilvanum die 22<sup>o</sup> Ianuarii anno 1560 missa leguntur<sup>8</sup>.

Hanc epistulam sub vitae terminum scriptam quasi legatum quoddam Leonardi spiritale aestimaverim. Per eam enim litteras mentemque veterum Graecorum magna admiratione celebrat, quorum summos viros politicos principibus sui temporis exemplo proponit, studia humaniora necnon sacra reformatam laudibus extollit, item typographicam artem approbat, flagitando tamen ut typis nil nisi scripta diserta et humano generi salutifera vulgentur, democratiam in Ecclesia prorsus reicit, barbariem horret Turcicam, etc. Futura praesagiens quamquam peiora, magistratus politicos nihilominus cohortatur ne quid studiis doctrinae optimis iuventuti civibusque necessariis anteponant.

Ab illa edendi ratione, quam in ceteris *Leonardi Stöckel Epistulis* adhibui, minime recedendum putavi. Itaque in rebus orthographicis nihil mutavi, in interpunctione vero ad consuetudinem recentiorem, quae usu virgularum parcius evasit, paulo propius accessi.

\* \* \*

## Epistula I

[*Bartphae*], 23 I 1559.

...] (1) Quare decreverim redire ad Musicam, ratio in promptu est: quia meum officium est, ut tradam artes liberales. Nemo autem ignorat quin

<sup>6</sup>*Postilla sive enarrationes erotematicae epistolarum et evangeliorum anniversariorum...*(Bartphae, D. Gutgesel, 1596).

<sup>7</sup> Exemplaria libri quattuor ad nos pervenisse constat. Kesmarkinensi exemplari (MS-KZ 6971) cum Vindobonensi (ÖNB 80.T.45) collato, eadem esse comperi. Procul dubio idem iudicandum est de duobus exemplaribus Budapestiniensibus. Cf. *Régi magyarországi nyomtatványok 1473-1600*, vol. I (Budapestini 1971), nr. 406, p. 396.

<sup>8</sup> *ELS*, nr. 49, p. 357.

Musica quoque sit inter artes liberales, id quod probat quoque Terentianus locus: *Fac periculum in literis, palestra, musica*<sup>1</sup>. (2) Deinde me necessitas coegit, quia vidi plerosque et praesertim pueros canere sine quadam certa regula et imperfecte. Non possunt autem hanc artem discere sine praeceptis, sicut etiam in omnibus rebus homo debet humano modo agere omnia et certo iudicio. (3) Tertia causa est, quia video, quantum diabolus instruit in dies homines barbaros, ut per eos conetur delere artes bonas et praesertim Musicam et prorsus ultimam barbariem introducere. (4) Non potest autem satis detestari eorum malitia, qui arguunt haec dona Dei, cum tamen opera diaboli arguenda essent. Tamen hoc unicum iam student isti homines diabolico furore obsessi, ut hanc unicam artem tollant ex Ecclesia Dei. (5) Ut autem mei auditores cauti sint contra hoc periculum, volui per methodicas quaestiones tradere hanc artem.

Leon<ardus> Stöckel  
Anni 1559 23 Ianu<arii>.

## Epistula II

*Ad Michaellem et Franciscum Revai, Bartphae anno 1560 ineunte.*

(1) Magnificis et generosis dominis, d<ominis> Michaeli et Francisco a Rewa, comitibus comitatus Turocensis<sup>1</sup>, dominis et patronis suis plurimum honorandis Leonartus Stöckel S<alutem> P<lurimam> D<icit>.

(2) Saepenumero, cum viderem inter alia mala, quibus haec aetas mundi postrema abundat, infinitam licentiam in editione librorum, magnopere hanc conditionem temporum deploravi<sup>2</sup>. Re ipsa enim comperi plerosque homines, vel iudicio destitutos, vel novarum rerum nimis studiosos, vel aliquo malo genio correptos, sine ulla ratione pessimos saepe scriptores pro optimis amplexos esse. (3) Quorum stultitia non ipsis solum, verumetiam Reipub<licae> atque Ecclesiae maximo detrimento fuit. Nullum enim venenum, nulla pestis /f. 2<sup>o</sup>/ nocentior est quam errare in doctrina, praesertim de Deo, cuius notitiam, qua salus hominum sempiterna continetur, per se ignotam humano generi, tot erroribus implicat Deus tenebrarum, ut saepe in mundo propemodum tota delea-

<sup>1</sup> Ter., *Eun.* 476 sq.: "Fac periculum in litteris, fac in palaestra, in musicis."

<sup>1</sup> De Francisco et Michaeli Revai vide *ELS*, p. 287. "Turocensis" pertinet ad regionem Slovacam, cuius sedi rei administrandae nomen est Sanctus Martinus vel Martinopolis, Slovace (Turčiansky Svätý) Martin, Hungarice autem Turóc-Szent-Márton.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Suet., *Iul.* 20.4: "Cicerone deplorante temporum statum."

tur. (4) Quo magis advigilare decebat eos, quibus gubernacula Rerum-pub<licarum> divinitus sunt commissae, ne veritas mendacio cederet atque ut cum aliae artes omnes, tum maxime religionis doctrina quam integerrime traderetur; curare praeterea ut in eos, qui studia doctrinae falsis et impiis opinionibus depravarent aut negligentius tractarent, graviora supplicia quam in parricidas et sacrilegos constituta essent. (5) Nam si poenam delicto parem esse aequum est, quemadmodum virtuti praemium respondere debet, maxime profecto in corruptores doctrinae est animadvertendum, /f.3<sup>r</sup>/ de quorum scelere, latissime per genus humanum cum maximo eius malo grassante, nihil satis dici potest ad magnitudinem eius declarandam.

(6) Hoc intellexerunt Principes Graeciae, qui cum in Olympico certamine, in quo magnorum artificum opera quinto quoque anno spectata publico honore afficiebantur, ad incitanda praeclara ingenia, Zoilum quendam audirent Homeri vituperatione sibi laudem quaerere, priusquam ad finem orationis suae venisset, communi consensu sycophantam in oculis universae Graeciae de saxo praecipitarunt<sup>3</sup>. Hic illi honos pro merito habitus est, quod virum dignum, quem non Graecia modo, verumetiam totus orbis terrarum ut omnis sapientiae authorem et patrem suum coleret, ignominia afficere non dubitavit./f.3<sup>v</sup>/ (7) Hac potissimum ratione, quod non solum bonos, praesertim doctrinae custodes, in magno precio habuit, verumetiam pro meritorum magnitudine praemiis publicis donavit, malos vero et maxime doctrinae nocentes suppliciorum gravitate coercuit, tantum adepta est Graecia ut ingeniorum omniumque humanarum artium laude caeteris gentibus omnibus anteiret ac propterea summis etiam monarchis terrori esset. (8) Eamque gloriam tantisper retinuit, donec magistratus antiquum morem praetermittentes non de civium virtute augenda et vitiis coercendis solliciti essent, ambitione et avaritia et luxuria corrupti, sed sibi quisque dominandi facultatem quaereret nullam habens rationem, quid quisque disceret aut doceret, imo doctrinam ad res gerendas inutilem esse existimans eamque /f.4<sup>r</sup>/ tantum ad ocium fallendum ab ignavis hominibus exerceri.

(9) Utinam vero huius nostrae aetatis Reges alique gubernatores veterum Graecorum egregiam consuetudinem imitari mallent quam illorum, qui a maioribus suis acceptum morem utilissimum suae cupiditati posthabentes se pariter et Rempublicam perdiderunt. (10) Annis superioribus

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Suda, s. v. Ζοῖλος, ed. A. Adler (Stuttgart 1967), vol. II, p. 512, ll. 13-15. At in *Praefatione in Homerum Melanchthoniana* de Zoilo nihil legitur.

infra hominis pene aetatem nova lux divinitus exorta est, ut una cum aliis artibus literariis et religionis doctrina tanquam ex profundo quodam coeno emergerit. Hoc tanto beneficio Dei pene inde ab usque ab Apostolorum temporibus multa antea saecula caruerunt. Quamobrem merito illud omnes agnoscere debuerunt atque hoc summum bonum ita amplecti, ut omnia potius quam hoc omittere parati essent. (11) Verum quid accidit? /f. 4<sup>v</sup>/ Cum hinc certamina Doctorum, ut fit, exorta essent partim veras sententias Dei beneficio ostensas defendentium atque illustrantium, partim veteres errores sibi quaestuosos asserentium, non ad cognoscendas contentiones gravissimas animum adiunxerunt gubernatores, ut patefacta veritate errorum magistris silentium imponerent, veritatem autem defensam propagari quam latissime studerent. (12) Sed alii se ociosos omnino huius actionis spectatores praeberunt, quasi de lana caprina lis esset; alii vero collatis omnibus viribus veterem barbariem atque impietatem contra veritatis assertores defenderunt tanta crudelitate, ut citius Turcicam impuritatem, qua nihil in mundo fuit detestabilius, quam lucem optimarum artium et coelestis sapientiae passuri esse viderentur. (13) Atque haec /f. 5<sup>r</sup>/ saevitia in paucos antea grassata est, nunc vero in integras nationes exercetur, in quibus libertati, virtuti, quae in gremio libertatis tanquam nutricis fovetur, pietati denique et humanitati universae nullus omnino locus est relictus.

(14) Haec picta sunt in diebus Noë et Loth<sup>4</sup>, cum quibus haec nostra ultima tempora filius Dei comparavit. In illis enim primum per Gigantes<sup>5</sup>, hoc est per potentes, sublata libertate et legum autoritate nihil aliud praeter vim valebat eaque non in malos, sed bonos potissimum exercebatur; quibus oppressis quid aliud restare poterat nisi omnium scelerum colluvies tanta, quantam Deus, quantumvis patiens, ferre nullo modo potuit. (15) Eiusmodi rerum forma nunc certatim a potentibus cuditur. Neque enim ullas leges condunt, sed tyrannicis edictis<sup>6</sup> /f.5<sup>v</sup>/ tanquam fulminibus propositis omnia iura civium evertunt; cumque in malos severe animadvertendum sit, horum maxime opera non modo in bonos et legum studiosos, verumetiam in ipsas leges saeviunt, ne quod supersit praesidium ad cupiditates tyrannicas reprimendas, quibus obsecuti isti cyclopes, aperto ore et faucibus inhiant omnibus rebus

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Lc 17.26sqq.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Cic., *Sen.* 5: "Quid est enim aliud Gigantum modo bellare cum dis, nisi naturae repugnare?"; Ov., *Met.* I 152: "Adfectasse ferunt regnum caeleste Gigantas."

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Cic., *Verr.* V 21: "tyrannicis interdictis."

ad salutem hominum facientibus, ut tanquam voragines et charybdis quaedam omnia commoda Reipub<licae> et Ecclesiae simul absorbeant. Hoc modo suam potentiam stabilire conantur. Qua in re non minus stulte faciunt, quam si quis everso fundamento domum suam stabilem fore arbitretur.

(16) Sed nimis procul ab instituto raptus sum indulgens magnitudini doloris, quem cepi ex consideratione horum temporum, in quibus fatales imperiorum omnium, non dico conversiones, /f. 6/ cuiusmodi saepe antea sensit mundus, sed extremae ruinae et eversiones iam nullam omnino spem nobis relinquunt incolumitatis. Statua Regis Babylonii per Daniele[m] exposita<sup>7</sup> usque ad pedes luteos iam redacta est, qui nullius quidem usus sunt, et tamen habent ferrum admixtum, quo tyranni tenentes imperia non defendunt bonos, sed opprimunt.

(17) Ut igitur ad rem redeam: si Principes rerumpub<licarum> suo fungi officio voluissent, facile cavissent ne tanta esset licentia in officinis librariis exercendis, ut cuilibet sine delectu omnia in vulgus spargendi potestas concederetur cum maximo discentium incommodo, propterea quod plerique, ut fit, pro optimis pessima sunt amplexi videturque hoc donum Dei, quod ad doctrinae propagationem datum est, in summa edendorum librorum /f.6<sup>v</sup>/ facilitate ad eiusdem oppressionem conferri.

(18) Quod autem in aliis mihi displicuit, quorum operam non ita utilem reipub<licae> et Ecclesiae esse animadverti, id profecto multo minus mihiipsi concedebam, qui semper iudicavi nemini hanc potestatem publicandorum scriptorum publicis suffragiis dandam esse, nisi iis, qui in eruditorum numero quam maxime probati essent et quasi lumen caeteris praeirent. (19) Ut enim neque reipub<licae> neque Ecclesiae utilis est Democratia, in qua sine delectu omnibus aequa potestas conceditur, ita neque doctrinae studiis hic status emolumento esse potest, in quo cuilibet docendi, maxime vero libros edendi facultas est.

(20) Quanquam autem in hac sententia nunc quoque me esse profiteor et facile agnosco me nequaquam summis illis viris, quorum vestigia, quantum /f.7/ licet, a longe sequor, annumerandum esse aut dignum iudicandum, cuius lucubrationes publice in manibus hominum versentur, tamen, quae mea est facilitas, crebris multorum precibus tandem adductus sum ut editionem huius libelli non magnopere prohiberem. In quo me bonorum ac piorum virorum censurae ac iudicio libenter submitto. Calumnias vero, quarum omnia plena sunt, nihil moror. (21) Equidem

<sup>7</sup> Dan. 2.32-45.

cum in officinis literariis mos sit usitatus lectiones Euangelicas interpretari, meum officium feci ut auditoribus meis pro meo erga illos studio et facultate in hac parte non deessem; cumque mihi docentium paucitas in Ecclesia maximum dolorem afferret, eo interpretandi genere usus sum, quod sperabam multis incitamento fore ut se ad docendum maturius conferrent /p.7<sup>v</sup>/ ac proposita certa doctrinae forma minus a proposito aberrarent. (22) Hoc igitur duntaxat consilio usus sum ut meam hanc spartam, in quam me Deus collocavit, ornarem et miserae Ecclesiae Christi plurimum laboranti subvenirem, quantum possem. Nescio enim quo pacto ingentes tenebras nostrae posteritati metuo, quarum culpam omnibus modis vitare cupiens nullam occasionem instituendae iuventutis praetermitto. (23) Neque enim illis laboro, qui meis laboribus non indigent. Atque utinam omnes essent eiusmodi ut ego potius ab illis, quam illi a me docendi sint. Non recusarem esse minimus in Ecclesia Dei. Sic enim omnibus aliis praeceptum esset a Deo ut mihi servirem. Quin etiam ostendam rationem, qua omnes id consequantur ut meo ministerio non indigeant. (24) Pro se quisque sedulo incumbat verbo Dei /f.8<sup>r</sup>/ legendo, audiendo, omnibus modis exercendo neque ullo sudore ac labore defatigetur, nihil denique aliud agat neque caetera adiumenta negligat, cuiusmodi sunt eloquentiae studia et verae philosophiae cognitio, quae religioni serviat, non officiat. Haec si fecerit ex animo, coniuncta assidua et ardenti invocatione Dei, facile deinde mea opera carebit.

(25) Porro, cum hi, qui suas lucubrationes publicas faciunt, aliorum auspiciis id agere soleant, quorum patrocinio maxime confidunt, ego hanc editionem meam patriae nostrae potissimum et vobis, Magnificis Dominis, patronis honestorum studiorum et propugnatoribus verae religionis et Confessionis Augustanae, dedicare volui, ut inter cetera etiam hoc testimonium mei erga vos amoris et observantiae extaret. (26) Opto autem atque /f.8<sup>v</sup>/ unice desidero ut hoc lumen doctrinae, quod Deus pro sua immensa bonitate in hac Regione et ditione vestra excitavit, quam maxime sit diuturnum. Quod absque omni dubio futurum est, si vos omnes alias res huic studio posthabebitis, ut doctrina iuventuti ac civibus necessaria conservetur ad posteritatem. (27) Etsi enim vere nunc accidit Ecclesiae Dei, quemadmodum olim capiti eius, cui fit consimilis, ut vulpibus et aviculis<sup>8</sup> sit miserior ac neque foveam neque nidulum certum habitura esse videatur omnibus imperiorum compagibus pene dissolutis,

<sup>8</sup> Vulpibus et aviculis: cf. Mt. 8.20; Lc 9.58.



tamen ibi necesse est Ecclesiam esse, ubi doctrinae studia integra retinentur. Ubi enim congregati sunt duo vel tres, inquit Christus, in nomine meo, ibi sum in medio illorum<sup>9</sup>.

(28) Valet. Bartphae, Anno 1560.

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<sup>9</sup> Mt. 18.20

Marc BIZER

THE GENEALOGY OF POETRY  
ACCORDING TO RONSARD AND JULIUS CAESAR SCALIGER<sup>1</sup>

Bringing critical judgment to bear on the literary works of the past was fundamental to Renaissance writers whose desire to found a new literature depended on choosing suitable authors to imitate. Furthermore, the establishment of a canon was itself an imitative act that reflected admiration for the Hellenistic poet-scholars of Alexandria who had done this systematically for the first time. Perhaps the most famous work of literary criticism to come from the French Renaissance was Julius Caesar Scaliger's *Poetices libri septem*, a practical handbook for students published in 1561, three years after Scaliger's death. Written in Latin, this encyclopedia of poetics seeks, in the fifth book, entitled "Criticus," to prove Latin poetry superior to Greek by showing that Rome's greatest poet, Vergil, surpasses even Homer. In the sixth book, the "Hypercriticus," Scaliger paints a vast fresco of all Latin and Greek poetry from Homer to his day and presents his vision of its evolution.

The vernacular French poet Pierre de Ronsard showed a similar concern with poetic history in several programmatic texts. It is important to consider the influence of Scaliger's work on Ronsard for several reasons. Although Scaliger gave no attention to vernacular poetry in his work, it was obviously pertinent to Ronsard since it evaluated the very works which were serving as models for his verse.<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, Scaliger and Ronsard were not only contemporaries, but good friends, as evidenced by the dedication of Scaliger's *Anacreontica* to Ronsard and his praise of the Pléiade in another poem of Scaliger's

<sup>1</sup> This paper was delivered in a slightly different form at a special session of the 1992 MLA convention, "Genealogy in French Renaissance Texts."

<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, Scaliger's *Poetice* is silent about Ioannes Secundus, the Dutch Neo-Latin poet whose verse, especially the *Basia* were imitated by almost all the members of the Pléiade.

*Poemata*.<sup>3</sup> Scaliger's categorical preference for Vergil over Homer could hardly fail to interest Ronsard, who believed that the scepter of the sovereign poet had come to him in France after passing from Homer to Vergil. Finally, Scaliger's position on the related issue of inspiration versus craftsmanship was crucial to Ronsard's and the Pléiade's identity.

The debate on Homer and Vergil was taken seriously in the Renaissance because at stake was ultimately the crucial question of the sense of the history of literature and of poetry in particular: was it progressive or regressive? If Homer's absolute priority, his originality, made him the supreme poet, then all poetry after him was in decline, and so Renaissance poetry, farthest from the origin except for medieval verse, was particularly decadent. If, however, Vergil was esteemed the greater poet for having refined Homer, the outlook for Renaissance poets could hardly be better: not only was the idea of the intrinsic superiority of the origin refuted, but Vergil's superiority opened the possibility that he could be surpassed by those who came after him, i.e. Renaissance poets.

For Ronsard, unlike Scaliger, the matter was far from being settled once and for all; one can speak of an evolution in Ronsard's attitude toward poetic evolution. Composed early in Ronsard's career, the "Ode a Michel de l'Hospital" has little in common with Scaliger's *Poetice*; Ronsard's ode depicts poetic history as a decline insofar as poetry becomes progressively estranged from divine inspiration and increasingly dependent on craft. He repeats this tableau in his *Abbrégé de l'Art poétique françois* (1565). However, there is an important change in position between the first (1572) and third (1587) preface of the *Franciade* where, after initially siding with Homer as in the past, Ronsard gives greater support to Vergil. At least one critic has demonstrated conclusively the importance of Jacques Peletier du Mans' *Art Poétique François* for Ronsard's attitude toward Vergil;<sup>4</sup> I hope to show that

<sup>3</sup> See the poem "Scripsit haec pro poetis Gallicanis" (I, 204-205) and the dedicatory poem to the *Anacreontica* (I, 472). Julius-Caesar Scaliger, *Iulii Caesaris Scaligeri viri clarissimi poemata in duas partes divisa*, (n.l.: Apud Petrum Santandream, 1591). See also J. Vernon Hall Jr., "Life of Julius Caesar Scaliger (1484-1558)," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 40.2 (1950), p. 140.

<sup>4</sup> See the important article by François Rigolot, "Entre Homère et Virgile: Ronsard Théoricien de l'imitation" (Genève: Librairie Droz, 1987), p. 170. Much of the reflexion here is greatly indebted to Rigolot's incisive analysis of Ronsard's prefaces to the *Franciade*. I have also benefited from David Quint's insightful book on versions of the source, *Origin and Originality in Renaissance Literature* (New Haven: Yale University Press,

Scaliger was also a significant influence here. In addition, from the idea of the supreme poet predicted for Renaissance Latin verse by Scaliger's cyclical vision of poetry, Ronsard could draw the conclusion that this *vates* had to be none other than the vernacular poet Ronsard himself.

In the "Ode à Michel de l'Hospital," Jupiter sends his daughters, the Muses, back to Earth from which Ignorance had chased them. In so doing, Jupiter exposes a theory of the three ages of poetry. The first age of poetry was closest to the gods; indeed, they are called "Divins, d'autant que la nature / Sans art librement exprimoient" (l. 549-550). Thus, inspired only by poetic fury, Musaeus, Orpheus, Hesiod, Linus, and Homer effortlessly sang their natural songs unsullied by human toil. However, this idyllic age is followed by a second, not as fortunate era, "degenerant des premiers" (l. 573), as Jupiter says; its poets are much farther from the divine source of poetic inspiration and must compensate with craft: "Par un art melancolique / Trahissoient avec grand soing / Leurs vers, esloignez bien loing / De la sainte ardeur antique" (l. 575-579). "Humains" and not "saintz" as were the poets of the first group, these poets include Aratus, Theocritus, Apollonius, Lycophron, Sophocles or Euripides, Aristophanes or Menander, as Laumonier notes in his edition. Ronsard does not distinguish here between Alexandrian and classical Athenian poets, and furthermore emphasizes craft by devoting much attention to the Alexandrians who were renowned for their technical virtuosity. It goes without saying that the Roman poets comprising the third group have fallen even farther from the divine origin; they still have some trace of divine inspiration which however "Plus lentement les agitoit" (v. 598). Relying the most of all on art, they owe their survival with posterity to their craft: "Eulx toutesfois pinçant la lyre / Si bien s'assouplirent les doigts, / Qu'encor les fredons de leur voix / Jusqu'aujourd'hui l'on entent bruire" (v. 599-603). This view of progressive decline of poetry through three ages is further reinforced by the evocation of the completely unpoetic period which follows the first three, characterized as it is by the dominance of Ignorance and the absence of the Muses. However, as Jupiter reassures his daughters, the

1983). On the subject of the writing of literary history, see Manfred Fuhrmann, "Die Geschichte der Literaturgeschichtsschreibung von den Anfängen bis zum 19. Jahrhundert", *Der Diskurs der Literatur- und Sprachhistorie*, ed. Bernard Cerquiglini and Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1983), pp. 49-72 and F. Wolfzettel, *Einführung in die französische Literaturgeschichtsschreibung* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1982).

presence of Michel De l'Hospital, "qui defera / Les souldars de l'Ignorance" (v.679-680) promises to usher in a new era of poetry. Although this new era promises to be an improvement with respect to the dark age which preceded it, the ode does not make it clear how it will compare with the first three. Since however this poetic evolution clearly affirms the superiority of inspiration to craftsmanship and equates the passage of time with progressive distancing from the origin of inspiration, one can only suppose that this new age would nevertheless be somewhat inferior to the age of Vergil.

Not long after Ronsard's ode, Julius Caesar Scaliger proposed his own version of the history of poetry. While he is concerned solely with Latin poets in the sixth book of the *Poetice*, as indicated by a subtitle, "Iudicium de aetatibus poeseos latinae," Scaliger does devote some brief commentary to the more general subject of "Aetates & classes poetarum" at the beginning of the first book (p.5). While this margin title leads one to believe that his analysis will cover all of poetry, one discovers that it not only covers primarily Greek verse, but also focuses upon the earliest period which corresponds to Ronsard's age of divine inspiration: Scaliger calls the poets of this period *theopnousoi* precisely because they are animated by divine fury. This divine inspiration is further divided into two types: truly divine inspiration and inspiration originating from wine. Scaliger reports that Hesiod counts himself as purely divinely inspired, to whom "advenit illa divina vis," but adds that Homer is considered by all to belong to this category.<sup>5</sup> The second type of poet is one whom "acuit meri exhalatio": he seems to use craft to a certain extent to produce inspiration, since he draws out the tools of his soul ("educens animae instrumenta") and spirits from the material parts of the body ("spiritus ipsos a partibus corporis materialibus"). Interestingly, Scaliger first mentions Latin poets as examples of this type; he includes Ennius on the basis of Horace's authority and then adds that in the Renaissance Horace himself is included amongst them.<sup>6</sup> Finally, he cites Alcaeus and Aristophanes as Greek poets who are traditionally<sup>7</sup>

<sup>5</sup> "quo in numero seipsum ponit Hesiodus: Homerus autem ponitur ab omnibus" (I, ii, p. 5). All citations taken from the Poetices refer to the facsimile 1561 edition edited by August Buck: Julius Caesar Scaliger, *Poetices libri septem*, ed. August Buck (Stuttgart-Bad Cannstadt: Friedrich Frommann Verlag, 1964).

<sup>6</sup> "Talem ait Ennius Horatius: talem nos Horatium" (I, ii, p. 5). See Horace, *Epist.* I, 19, 7: "Ennius ipse pater numquam nisi potus ad arma / prosiluit dicenda" (v.7-8).

<sup>7</sup> "memoriae proditum est" (I, ii, p. 5).

thought to be part of the group. Both types of inspiration are not equal, however. Inspiration by wine can actually be a subject for reproach, a charge leveled at Alcman.<sup>8</sup> It can even undermine one's own authority, for Sophocles claimed that wine, and not Aeschylus himself, was the author of his tragedies.<sup>9</sup> Being filled with the *afflatus* of the Muses apparently does not compromise one's poetic identity, however.

The *theopnousoi* are also classified according to the ages to which they belong.<sup>10</sup> The first, termed primitive ("priscum, rude, incultum"), left no names unless one considers Apollo himself to have belonged to it.<sup>11</sup> Then comes an illustrious age ("venerandum"), filled with the classic trio of theological and mystical poets Orpheus, Musaeus, and Linus. Unlike Ronsard, Scaliger excludes Homer from the prestigious group, for he makes Homer the author and parent of the third age, to which Hesiod is also assigned. Scaliger's continuum is a cycle involving rise and fall, a rise from crude simplicity to divine perfection and then a fall to a somewhat undefined decadence which characterizes Homer and Hesiod. One curious sentence illustrates Scaliger's position on Homer and the role of artifice in poetry. After evoking the Homeric age, Scaliger comments that if history did not exclude such a possibility, one might think that Musaeus were younger than Homer, for Musaeus is more refined and polished.<sup>12</sup> Not only does Scaliger not give Homer, who is far from the beginning, the benefit of priority or being the origin of poetry;<sup>13</sup> he also makes a disadvantage of what Ronsard praises as the Homeric quality par excellence: "... la nature / Sans art librement exprimoient, / Sans art leur nayve escripture / Par la fureur ilz animoyent:" (vv. 549-552).

<sup>8</sup> "nec caruit ea calumnia" (I, ii, p. 5).

<sup>9</sup> "Vinum, non ipsum, esse illius authorem Tragoediarum" (I, ii, p. 5).

<sup>10</sup> "Ab aetate autem tria genera" (p. 5).

<sup>11</sup> "Vetus illis priscum, rude, incultum: quod sui tantum suspicionem sine nominis memoria reliquit. nisi in eo tanquam principem, Apollinem censeamus" (I, ii, p.5).

<sup>12</sup> "Quanquam si historiae non extarent, putare potueris Musaeum Homero iuniorem: adeo ille cultior & politior est" (I, ii, p. 5). This same remark is repeated at the beginning of Book V: "Arbitror enim ego Musaei stilum longe esse Homericum politioem atque comptioem ..." (V, i, p. 215).

<sup>13</sup> This point of view contrasts markedly with one of Scaliger's "Tumuli," where Homer is equated with the very origin of the Muses: "Non homines, non me Musae peperere: sed a me / Principium Musae patre tulere suum" (*Poemata*, I, 329, vv.5-6). In a humorous poem praising theft, Jean Dorat maintains that Homer was a thief and thus he too borrowed from predecessors: "Orphaeus, Musaeus, fur & Homerus, erant." Jean Dorat, *Ioannis Aurati Lemovicis poetae et interpretis regii Poëmatia* (Paris: Guillaume Linocier, 1586) part II, p. 157.

Although all of these poets are *theopnousoi*, and thus should not have to elaborate their works through craft, Scaliger hints here that craft is indispensable for perfection in poetry. This explains why it is best not to be at the beginning where a poet cannot avoid being primitive; only with time can poetry become polished and refined, two qualities which are essential in Scaliger's poetics. However, a poet should not arrive too late, either, which would mean decadence and decay. In this tripartite schema of an age, it is best to be in the middle and represent its maturity.<sup>14</sup>

Before exposing his analysis of the history of Latin poetry in the sixth book of the *Poetice*, Scaliger first undertakes a critical comparison of Vergil and Homer. However, the aim of both of these books is to develop the faculty of judgment of Renaissance poets so that they can not only choose the suitable classical poets to imitate, but also evaluate their own work severely.<sup>15</sup> This purpose is justified by a reference to the *topoi* which constitute the *raison d'être* of Renaissance humanists: obviously some of those who came before did not need to imitate, but the wrongs of time have made humanists foreigners in their father tongue.<sup>16</sup> At the outset, therefore, Renaissance poetry cannot help but be heir to a decline which it must try to reverse; Scaliger states in fact that the purpose of the sixth book is to determine precisely whether Renaissance poets can surpass their classical predecessors.<sup>17</sup> Considerable doubts obviously exist about the successful outcome of this competition which Scaliger calls "desperato periculo." However, Scaliger does not wait until the sixth

<sup>14</sup> Scaliger ends his discussion of the "aetates & classes Poetarum" by classifying them according to subject, a feature absent from Ronsard's perspective. Orpheus and Amphion are classified as theological poets, the philosophical poets are broken down into poets of Nature (Empedocles, Nicander, Aratus, Lucretius), moral poets (Solon and Tyrtæus), "economical" (Hesiod), and "common" (Phocylides, Theognis, and Pythagoras). Yet a third category is announced which Scaliger promises to introduce soon after: "Tertio loco ponentur ii, de quibus omnibus mox" (I, i, p. 5). Lastly, Scaliger mentions that the preceding three types of classification apply just as well to the female poets, who are also worthy of praise: "Quae autem de nobis dicta sunt, si ad mulieres referantur, nihil mutant. Sua enim illis quoque laus" (I, i, p. 5).

<sup>15</sup> "Iudicium igitur duplex adhibendum est: Primum, quo optima quaeque seligamus ad imitandum: alterum quo ea, quae a nobis confecta fuerint, quasi peregrina perpendamus, atque etiam exagitemus" (V, i, p. 214).

<sup>16</sup> "Ac tametsi non est imitatio necessaria: non enim primi quem sequerentur, habuere: nostrum tamen maximae parti expetenda videtur: qui tempestatum iniuria in lingua patria peregrini sumus" (V, i, p. 214).

<sup>17</sup> "... duo maxima atque ingentia facinora in re literaria aggressi sumus: unum hoc libro, ut Poetarum loca, qui eadem de re scripserint, conferamus: alterum in sequenti, desperato pene periculo, ut quod ab antiquis dictum, an melius dici queat, dispiciamus" (V, i, p. 214).

book before expressing his position in the debate; he states that the critical comparison of Homer and Vergil will determine the judgment to follow in the sixth book.<sup>18</sup> Furthermore, Scaliger lays his cards on the table almost immediately: while he accepts the standard notion that equates Homer with nature itself unfettered by art, Scaliger opts for Vergil who brought the crude art of Homer to the summit of perfection.<sup>19</sup>

It is important to examine in greater detail the principles on which this preference is based, for they constitute the underpinnings of Scaliger's entire poetics and do indeed determine his view of poetic history in the sixth book. The opposition is clear: Homer represents the power of genius, *ingenium* so fecund that he is the source of art rather than its practitioner,<sup>20</sup> while Vergil incarnates consummate craft. However, one should not think that because Scaliger sets Vergil above Homer he necessarily rejects inspiration which was given an important role in the previous discussion of the ages of poetry. Inspiration remains the *sine qua non* of poetic creation, but Scaliger insists that it must be followed by selection and above all, elimination: many things make their way into a poet's heart, but they are not all to be accepted.<sup>21</sup> According to Scaliger, Vergil's virtues are his concision and his exquisite sense of decorum: few succeed like Vergil in augmenting while taking away, and Vergil alone knows how not to write unsuitable things, *non ineptire*.<sup>22</sup> According to Scaliger,<sup>23</sup> Vergil is forever excising in his

<sup>18</sup> "ex quorum [sc. Homeri atque Virgilit] comparatione cuiusmodi iudicium de aliis faciendum sit, constabit facilius" (V, i, p. 214).

<sup>19</sup> "Quare neque mirandum est, si in eo naturae Idea quaedam, non ars extare dicatur ... Virgilius vero artem ab eo rudem acceptam lectionis naturae studiis, atque iudicio ad summum extulit fastigium perfectionis" (V, i, p. 214). In his *De arte poetica*, Marco Girolamo Vida, Scaliger's illustrious predecessor, also made Vergil the supreme model to follow; in addition, Scaliger's treatise shares with Vida's *De arte poetica* the idea that stylistic perfection can be reached by the exercise of *iudicium*. The *De arte poetica* is mentioned in Scaliger's preface, although Scaliger claims to use different means for achieving the same ends ("Nos per viam rectam ad omnia diverticula sub ipsum usque duximus finem"). See Ilse Reineke, *Julius Caesar Scaligers Kritik der neulateinischen Dichter* (München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1988), p. 23.

<sup>20</sup> "Homeri ingenium maximum: arts eiusmodi, ut eam potius invenisse, quam excoluisse videatur" (V, i, p. 214).

<sup>21</sup> "... in Poetae pectus multa sese insinuant: non omnia sunt admittenda" (V, i, p. 214).

<sup>22</sup> "Quodque perpaucis datum est, multa detrahendo fecit auctiorem ... Equidem unum illum censeo scivisse, quid esset, non ineptire" (V, i, p. 214).

<sup>23</sup> About Virgil's elegance: "Quid potuit suavius?" (V, iii, p. 225); "longè elegantius" (p. 225). On Virgil's exemplary concision: "Tot congeries verborum, tot iterationes congegit Poeta noster" (p. 229); "dixit simplicissime" (p. 234); "Quae vides Poeta, nihil



hatred of loquacity,<sup>24</sup> while Homer spouts forth, unable to avoid being *ineptus*. The point of the comparison is that imitation of Homer is to be avoided at all costs, while Vergil, as this vehement Ciceronian says at one point, must be embraced as the example, rule, beginning, and end for the Renaissance poet.<sup>25</sup>

These images that Scaliger's commentary conjures up of Homer as babbling source and Vergil as rigorous editor are exceedingly significant for our critic's vision of what Renaissance poets are and how they should work. The relationship between Vergil and Homer is succinctly depicted in another paragraph where Scaliger points out that Homer receives his subjects directly from nature, which Vergil then corrects as if he were a schoolboy taking dictation. When one has read only this far, the temptation is to conclude that Scaliger cannot avoid giving Vergil the inferior role since by associating Vergil with a schoolboy he implicitly makes Homer the master. This is not the case, however: by adding "tamquam magister" on the next line, Scaliger declares that only because of chronology is Vergil the disciple—by his art he is a greater master than Homer since as a disciple he corrects and improves upon the master.<sup>26</sup> As Scaliger writes immediately after, the duty of Renaissance Latin poets is to improve upon their sources.<sup>27</sup> Even before producing evidence of the performance of contemporary Latin poets, Scaliger uses Vergil to show that it is possible to surpass one's predecessors through careful editing of the flaws in their works; Scaliger quite clearly treats Vergil as a critic of sorts when he says that Vergil seems less to have imitated Homer than to have shown us what Homer

repetivit: sed uno tractu processum fluctuationis aptissime descripsit" (p. 240); "Itaque non est mirum si plerâque mutavit Maro, plurima omisit" (p. 245). The secret of Virgil's art is truly the *verborum suppressio*: "Ob Pallantis interitum Aeneae iram non lacrymis, aut obtutu furioso, aut dentium concussione declaravit Poeta noster, sed verborum suppressione, & animi impetu" (p. 243). Homer on the other hand, besides being diffuse, is guilty of various infractions to decorum; Scaliger's most general reproach concerns Homer's depiction of the gods as immoral creatures: "Nam quae ille de suis diis infamia, infandaque prodidit? Adulteria, incestus, odia inter se" (V, ii, p. 216). Homer is in general *ineptus*: "Homerus autem inepte ibi comparat Hectorem Leoni" (p. 234). For Scaliger, Homer is an anti-model: "Homericam fuge licentiam, & laxum dicendi genus" (p. 245).

<sup>24</sup> "Detestatus est Poeta noster more suo loquacitatem..." (p. 242).

<sup>25</sup> "Verum satis haec putavimus esse ad imitantium utilitatem. cuius exemplum, regula, principium, finis esse debet nobis Maro" (p. 245).

<sup>26</sup> "... a natura proposita Homero argumenta, quasi dictata discipulo emendat Virgilius tanquam magister" (p. 237).

<sup>27</sup> "Fallunt enim Graeci, si alio animo putent nos ab illis accepisse sua, quàm ut meliora faceremus" (p. 237).

should have said.<sup>28</sup> This of course prefigures Scaliger's own critical activity in the sixth book where he allows himself to rewrite such sacred Latin poets as Catullus; such rewriting was not only in accordance with the treatise's pedagogical mission, which was to be a handbook for apprentice versifiers, but it was also a model for the kind of poetic reworking of sources that Renaissance Latin poets were supposed to perform. By insisting that poets be *compositiores*<sup>29</sup> than their predecessors, Scaliger makes originality (priority) a handicap rather than a strength, refutes the notion that poetic history is subject to inexorable decline, and thus overcomes the dilemma of Renaissance poets who might otherwise think they have come too late. Renaissance poets can be better precisely because they have such a long tradition on which to draw and to improve. The best poet, Scaliger intimates, is ultimately a poet-critic like himself.

As suggested earlier, these values constitute the basis for Scaliger's judgment of the ages of Latin poetry, "Iudicium de aetatibus poeseos latinae." Having proven the superiority of Latin to Greek poetry in the fifth book, Scaliger focuses exclusively on the Latin tradition in the sixth. It should come then as no surprise that Vergil has completely displaced Homer. However, the Homeric quality of being extremely close to nature, the source, is too highly valued to be discarded, and is transferred to Vergil: Scaliger now declares at one point that it is Vergil who is almost equivalent to nature herself.<sup>30</sup>

Like Ronsard's tableau, Scaliger's is divided into five ages, yet rather than presenting a progressive decline, it involves cycles of amelioration and deterioration where craft has a much more important role than in Ronsard's vision. Furthermore, although he rejects a four-part division according to the stages of life (V, 1, p. 295), the terms infancy, adolescence, adulthood, old age do play an important role in the evaluation of each period. The classification reads as follows: Livius Andronicus and Ennius represent the *infantia*<sup>31</sup> of Latin poetry, which matures into the period of *adolescentia*, inhabited by Accius, Naevius, and Plautus.

<sup>28</sup> "...ut non tam imitatus Homerum, quàm nos docuisse, quomodo ille ea dicere debuisse, videatur" (p. 219).

<sup>29</sup> "...invidentibus barbaris extorquendam esse nostram gloriae partem curamus, hac ipsa in parte, qua nos compositiores sumus" (p. 215).

<sup>30</sup> "is enim non solum humana superavit ingenia, verumetiam sese quasi parem extulit naturae" (p. 295).

<sup>31</sup> Scaliger uses the term "rudimenta quaedam" (VI, i, p. 295).

Scaliger then changes metaphors, shifting to a floral image of blooming and withering: the *adolescentia* is succeeded by an age of consummate, flowering vigor,<sup>32</sup> transmitted (“transmissum”) from the previous one. This is the age of Terence, Catullus, Tibullus, Horace. Scaliger has not forgotten Vergil, although he takes care to stress that Vergil is an exception even among these illustrious poets: his divine genius represents the climax, the pinnacle of this evolution.<sup>33</sup> Thereafter begins the withering decline with Martial, Juvenal, Silius Italicus and Statius.<sup>34</sup> This situation withers further into an old age, a age of such poets as Serenus, Sidonius Apollinaris, Boethius, and Ausonius. Using the image of the halting steps of old age,<sup>35</sup> Scaliger stresses that evolution has slowed almost to a standstill. What follows can only be worse. True to the ideology of Renaissance humanism, Scaliger evokes briefly an almost unmentionable period, termed *intermortua*, thus signifying the sudden death of poetry.<sup>36</sup> Only after a long time has elapsed (“longo post hosce tempore”) does a Petrarch suddenly (“derepente”) reappear, like a second Tages, the Etruscan divinity (“veluti Tages alter”).<sup>37</sup> Poetry is reborn, *rediviva*; the *nova pueritia* of Petrarch’s and Philelphus’ poetry thus renews the cycle.<sup>38</sup> Finally, although this is not made explicit, the fact that the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Neo-Latin poets Palingenius, Aonius Palearius, Politianus, Cerratus, Vida, Pontanus, Sannazarus, and Fracastorus follow the mention of Petrarch and Philelphus makes them representatives of the *nova adolescentia*. These poets, as Scaliger points out even before beginning his evaluation, surpass many of the Ancients.<sup>39</sup>

The sequence of ages presented for critical judgment is perplexing at first glance. It commences logically enough with the *adolescentia* of classical Latin poetry: a chapter on Plautus and Terence. This is fol-

<sup>32</sup> “consummatum florensque transmissum robur” (p. 295).

<sup>33</sup> “[robur] in Virgilio etiam luculente splendet” (p. 295).

<sup>34</sup> “a quo ad Martialem, Iuvenalem, Silium, Statium devergens, paulatim efflorescit” (p. 295).

<sup>35</sup> “haesit in senii vestigiis cum Sereno, Sidonio, Severino, Ausonio” (p. 295).

<sup>36</sup> p. 295.

<sup>37</sup> “verum longo post hosce tempore, non secus atque intermortua, tandem pene derepente satis magna, veluti Tages alter, extitit” (p. 295).

<sup>38</sup> “Nam tametsi de integro rediviva novam sub Petrarcha pueritiam inchoasse, atque inde Philelphi studio clara admodum incrementa cepisse visa est” (p. 295).

<sup>39</sup> “... quos cum quibus veterum compares, multis, sed non ignobilibus anteponas” (p. 295).

lowed immediately by a great leap to the *poetae "recentiores"* of the Renaissance, beginning with the fifteenth-century poet Marullus and ending with a considerable list of sixteenth-century Neo-Latins, of which Fracastorus is judged to be the most accomplished member. Scaliger then moves progressively back in time, to the *quarta aetas* (Boethius), then to the *tertia* (Martial, Lucan), and finally to the *secunda* (Propertius, Tibullus, Catullus, Horace) to which Scaliger devotes considerable criticism.

The sense of this movement should be clear if one recalls that the purpose of Scaliger's review of Latin poetry is to determine whether classical Latin poetry can be improved upon, a goal announced in the fifth book. Accordingly, he undertakes a parallel comparison of the two cycles age by age to the extent that this is possible for the mostly incomplete modern cycle. Since the *poetae recentiores* follow Plautus and Terence, they are seen as constituting the *adolescentia* of Renaissance Latin poetry. Thereafter he traces the filiation of Renaissance poetry back to the Augustan poets, their original source of authority and imitative material.

Given the mature vigor of the modern cycle implied by *adolescentia*, removed from the decline of old age which it too will experience, the poets of the Renaissance have a promising future ahead of them. Scaliger declares on the basis of the poets examined by him that they can compare favorably with the Ancients; this must be especially true for Scaliger's most highly-rated Renaissance poet, Fracastorus, whose poem "Syphilis, sive de morbo Gallico" Scaliger calls a "Divinum poema."<sup>40</sup> Although Vergil seems almost unreachable high above the finest Roman poets, the fact that Renaissance Latin poetry has not yet found its Neo-Vergil suggests the imminent arrival of the divine Renaissance poet before whose altar another critic will kneel, just as Scaliger does before Vergil's at the end of his sixth book.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>40</sup> "Divinum igitur poema cum sit eius Syphilis ..." (p. 315).

<sup>41</sup> Nevertheless, the shadow of decline may hang over the Renaissance period itself. While introducing the poets of the third age, Scaliger makes the telling observation that since basically all aspects of poetry (subjects, principles, ornaments) had been already used by their predecessors and by Vergil alone, the third-age poets such as Martial, Statius, Lucan were forced to tell old themes in new ways. He does this by invoking the medieval topos, "non nova, sed nove:" "Cum enim a superioribus unoque Virgilio exhausta essent argumenta omnia, ipsae dicendi leges, omnes excussae veneres, coacti sunt nove eadem dicere, ne idem dicere viderentur" (VI, p. 323). Given that for Scaliger the work of the Renaissance Latin poet is essentially stylistic in nature, consisting of rewriting previous texts, it is tempting to see an identification here with the third-age poets. Thus the naïvely optimistic view of Renaissance poetry as strictly parallel to the

In stark contrast with Scaliger's preference for Vergil over Homer, Ronsard declares in the initial 1572 preface to his *Franciade*, "j'ay patronné mon oeuvre ... plustost sur la naïve facilité d'Homere que sur la curieuse diligence de Virgile ..." <sup>42</sup> He therefore remains true to the historical vision of the *Ode à Michel de l'Hospital* which sees the evolution of poetry as a deterioration. However, the factual basis for Ronsard's statement was brought into doubt in the very same edition by Amadis Jamyn, Ronsard's secretary and translator of the *Iliad*, who in his summary of the *Franciade* not only calls it a "laborieux ouvrage" and points out that the opening lines imitate Apollonius of Rhodes, but describes Ronsard's technique as imitative using the famous apian metaphor; these characteristics would suggest Vergil as a model rather than Homer. It would in fact be more accurate to say that the 1572 preface generally claims both as sources of authority; in one place Ronsard describes the poet as "porté de fureur & d'art" (p. 5) and in another praises the *Aeneid* as "divine" (p. 7). Significantly, Homer himself, normally associated with effortless inspiration, is tainted by the idea of *labeur*, for Ronsard speaks of his imitation of "l'artifice & l'argument" of both sovereign poets. <sup>43</sup> Indeed, twelve years earlier, Ronsard had written in the "Elegie à Louis Des Masures," "Entre Homere et Virgille, ainsi qu'un demy dieu / Environné d'esprits, j'ay ma place au meilleur." <sup>44</sup> The emphasis on labor becomes even more pronounced in the very brief 1573 preface where he explains that "... j'ay changé, mué, abregé, alongé beaucoup de lieux de ma Franciade pour la rendre plus parfaite, & luy donner sa derniere main" in order to avoid the fault of much contemporary poetry, namely that they cannot "endurer la lime & parfaicte polissure requise par temps ..." (p. 3). This again tends to place him closer to Vergil than to Homer.

Ronsard's preference for Homer certainly reflects his respect for the original author of epic poetry and his desire to be associated with him; in a certain sense, it is also a way of expressing his originality, a decla-

Golden Age of Latin poetry may well be tempered by the idea that it is tainted by post-Vergilian decline.

<sup>42</sup> Pierre de Ronsard, *La Franciade*, t. XVI des *OEuvres complètes*, ed. Paul Laumonier avec cahier additionnel par Raymond Lebègue et Guy Demerson (Paris: Librairie Nizet, 1983), p. 5. All of my references are to this edition.

<sup>43</sup> following immediately after: "... imitant toutesfois à mon possible de l'un & de l'autre l'artifice & l'argument plus basté sur la vraysemblance que sur la verité" (p. 5).

<sup>44</sup> "Elégie à Louis des Masures," in *OEuvres complètes*, ed. Paul Laumonier, vol. X, v. 123-124.

ration that he is the first to write a classical epic in French. Perhaps most importantly, the insistence on “la naïve facilité d’Homere” represents a claim to the same kind of poetic fury as Homer’s and thus a refusal to accept the idea of a progressive estrangement from divine inspiration which was apparent in his “Ode a Michel de l’Hospital.” However, Ronsard’s position becomes even clearer in the third preface of 1587, which was apparently emended by Ronsard’s biographer Claude Binet after the poet’s death. While Binet’s modifications make it impossible to attribute the ideas expressed to Ronsard with absolute certainty, the passages central to our argument nevertheless develop points which one finds in Ronsard’s earlier writings and which now seem to reflect the influence of Scaliger’s treatise.

Beginning with a famous quotation from Horace’s *Ars poetica* about the necessity of striking out words and smoothing a poem until it passes the nail test, doubtless the source for the comment about “la lime & parfaite polissure” in the preface of 1573, the preface of 1587 makes poetic craft its leitmotiv. Now addressed to the “lecteur apprentif,” this new version is indeed much more of an *Art poétique*, a manual for writing epic poetry, than the first preface where Ronsard spoke especially of his own undertaking. Eclectic imitation is in the forefront: Jamyn’s comment that Ronsard resembles the bee “laquelle tire son proffit de toutes fleurs pour en faire son miel” has been literally incorporated into the 1587 preface where Ronsard writes that the poet is “... un homme, lequel comme une mousche a miel delibe & suce toutes fleurs, puis en fait du miel & son profit selon qu’il vient à propos” (p. 336). This emphasis on poetic craft, on the one hand, and the presence of twenty-two quotations from the *Aeneid* and critical commentary on the other, point to the displacement of Homer by Vergil in this preface.

How can this shift be explained? Ronsard, anticipating criticism, maintains that Vergil is cited so frequently because “nos François ont plus de cognoissance de Virgile, que d’Homere & d’autres Autheurs Grecs.”<sup>45</sup> This seems motivated more probably by a desire to avoid offending outspoken admirers of Homer who might take umbrage at Ronsard’s partiality to the Latin poet; after all, Amadis Jamyn, Ronsard’s secretary, had translated the *Iliad*. Critics have already pointed out

<sup>45</sup> “Je m’asseure que les envieux caqueteront, dequoy j’allegue Virgile plus souvent qu’Homere qui estoit son maistre, & son patron: mais je l’ay fait tout expres, sçachant bien que nos François ont plus de cognoissance de Virgile, que d’Homere & d’autres Autheurs Grecs” (p. 342).

the influence of Jacques Peletier du Mans' *Art Poétique* of 1555 on the third preface of 1587. In his chapter entitled "De l'imitation," Peletier had portrayed Vergil as a corrector of Homer, but also as a plagiarist embarrassed by too-liberal source borrowings, just as a Renaissance poet would be.<sup>46</sup> Furthermore, Peletier had claimed that Homer's prestige derived in part simply from his chronological priority, which he then undermined by maintaining that Homer could have had predecessors.<sup>47</sup> However, Scaliger's own meliorative view of poetic history is more radical and convincing: progressive amelioration through craft meant that originality had no advantages at all. Yet there are other traces of Scaliger's *Poetice* in this last preface of the *Franciade*. Certainly its didactic tone and its form, bristling with citations and commentary, are reminiscent of Scaliger's own commentary on Vergil. More significantly, however, just like Scaliger, Ronsard now emphasizes the necessity of using the "bride de la contrainte" to stop "la premiere course impetueuse des fureurs & monstrueuses imaginations de l'esprit."<sup>48</sup> Furthermore, Ronsard's lack of enthusiasm for Catullus, Tibullus, and Propertius, as well as his praise of Fracastorus's *Syphilis*, coincide closely with Scaliger's own tastes as expressed in book six of his *Poetice*.<sup>49</sup>

...les autres Poetes Latins ne sont que naquets de ce brave Virgile, premier capitaine des Muses, non pas Horace mesme, si ce n'est en quelques-unes de ses Odes, ny Catulle, Tibulle, & Properce, encore qu'ils soient tresexcellents en leur mestier: si ce n'est Catulle en son *Athis*, & aux *Nopces de Peleus*: le reste ne vaut la chandelle ... De nostre temps Fracastor s'est monstré tres-excellent en sa *Syphillis*, bien que ses vers soient un peu rudes. (p.338)

Finally, one feature of the preface that is absent from Scaliger's work may paradoxically reflect Ronsard's most significant reaction to the *Poetices*. Scaliger, as has already been pointed out, gave no considera-

<sup>46</sup> "Virgile meme sur sa fin, s'estoet voulù retirer, pour racler de son Livre les lieux insines que ses anvieux lui reprochoet, comme trop manifestes larcins." Jacques Peletier du Mans, *Les OEuvres poétiques de Jacques Peletier du Mans, publiées d'après d l'édition originale de 1547*, (Paris: Revue de la Renaissance, 1904), p. 103.

<sup>47</sup> "Mes disons Virgile imitateur par evidence: e Homere invanteur, par jugement e opinion. Car que savons nous s'il à ù des predecresseurs?" (p. 98).

<sup>48</sup> "tant vault la meditation, qui par longueur de temps les engendre en un esprit melancholique, quand la bride de la contrainte arreste & refreint la premiere course impetueuse des fureurs & monstrueuses imaginations de l'esprit ..." (p. 348).

<sup>49</sup> Scaliger's criticism of Catullus is particularly virulent: "Catullo docti nomen quare sit ab antiquis attributum, neque apud alios comperi: nequedum in mentem venit mihi. nihil enim non vulgare est in eius libris" (VI, vii, p. 333).

tion to vernacular poetry in his treatise which was furthermore written in Latin. Ronsard presents himself on the one hand as a Gallic Homer, a pioneering epic poet in French, and on the other as a poet whose technical virtuosity is reminiscent of Vergil; unlike the other Pléiade poets, his entire career has been devoted to the defense and enrichment of the vernacular. It is only in keeping with his role as premier French poet, then, to take Scaliger's idea of cyclical evolution one step further by claiming that there can be no contemporary Latin cycle because its poetry is still-born: not only is Latin a dead language,<sup>50</sup> but amelioration is impossible because dead languages allow no change. He says this eloquently: "En telles langues passees et defunctes ... il ne faut rien innover" (p. 350). These pronouncements about the state of Latin are in keeping with his comments in his *Abbrege de l'art poétique françois*, published in 1565, in which he calls Latin a language "de laquelle on ne peult retirer que peine ingrate & malheureuse."<sup>51</sup> Ronsard could be said to draw the logical conclusion from Scaliger's theory that if there is a new cycle following ancient poetry, it can only be one of vernacular poetry. The transition to his French revision of the classical epic tradition is prepared by his rewriting in Latin of a famous line from the fourth book of the *Aeneid* which helps to close the preface: translated it reads "How high could Gallic glory rise on such words,"<sup>52</sup> where *Gallica* replaces *Punica*, and *verbis* is cleverly substituted for *rebus*. More than simply seeking a balance between inspiration and craft, Homer and Vergil, Ronsard's last preface establishes his place as the new origin of carefully crafted vernacular poetry vying with that of the Ancients.

<sup>50</sup> "C'est autre chose d'escrire en une langue florissante ... & de composer en une langue morte, muette & ensevelie sous le silence de tant d'espaces d'ans, laquelle ne s'apprend plus qu'à l'escole par le fouët & par la lecture des livres, ausquelles langue mortes il n'est licite de rien innover ..." (p. 349).

<sup>51</sup> "Heureux & plus que heureux, ceux qui cultivent leur propre terre, sans se travailler apres une estrangere, de laquelle on ne peult retirer que peine ingrate & malheureuse, pour toute recompense & honneur. Qui conques furent les premier s qui oserent abandonner la langue des anciens pour honorer celle de leur païs, ilz furent veritablement bons enfans & non ingratz citoyens, & dignes d'estre couronez sur une statue publique, & que d'aage en aage on face une perpetuelle memoire d'eux & de leurs vertus." Pierre de Ronsard, *Art Poétique François*, t. XIV des *Oeuvres Complètes*, éd. Paul Laumonier (1565; réimp. Paris: Librairie Marcel Didier, 1949), p. 14.

<sup>52</sup> Ronsard: "Gallica se quantis attollet gloria verbis!;" Vergil, *Aeneid*, IV, 1, 49: "punica se quantis attollet gloria rebus!"



Eustaquio SANCHEZ SALOR

LA GRAMATICA TEORICA: DE APOLONIO DISCOLO Y  
PRISCIANO A ESCALIGERO Y EL BROCENSE

Hay un tópico, repetido a veces con frecuencia y la mayoría de ellas sin fundamento, o al menos sin demostración, como ocurre con casi todos los tópicos, que consiste en decir que Francisco Sánchez El Brocense es el padre de la gramática general y teórica en la época moderna y que Linacro, autor de una gramática en 1524, es su “first immediate source”<sup>1</sup>, aunque con una más débil descripción, por parte de este último, de las construcciones elípticas, ya que Linacro sólo trata aquellas construcciones “en las que la evidencia de elementos elípticos es obvia a partir del uso”. Así lo ha defendido Manuel Brea Claramonte<sup>2</sup>, quien considera efectivamente al Brocense como padre de la gramática general y teórica. E igualmente ha sido también un tópico, y lo sigue siendo, la afirmación de que en la antigüedad no hay verdadera sintaxis; esta negación de la existencia de una teoría sintáctica en la antigüedad ha tenido tan buenos valedores como H. Steinthal<sup>3</sup> y J. Collart<sup>4</sup>, quien dice textualmente: “Les anciens n’ont pas étudié l’économie syntaxique de la phrase..”. Las frases de estos autores se han repetido sin cesar y han servido para propagar por todos sitios tan discutible suposición.

Pero contra estos tópicos se han levantado ya, recientemente, voces basadas sobre todo en el estudio y en el análisis de los textos y no en la repetición mecánica de teorías transmitidas acríticamente. Contra el tópico de que Francisco Sánchez de las Brozas es el padre de la gramática general y teórica, se ha levantado en 1985 la voz de G. A. Padley<sup>5</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> G.A. Padley, *Grammatical Theory in Western Europe (1500-1700)* (Cambridge 1985), p. 238.

<sup>2</sup> M. Brea Claramonte, *Sanctius’ Theory of Language* (Amsterdam-Philadelphia 1983), p. 7.

<sup>3</sup> H. Steinthal, *Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft bei dem Griechen und Römern* (Berlin 1891), II, p. 341.

<sup>4</sup> J. Collart, *Varron grammairien latin* (Paris 1954), p. 333.

<sup>5</sup> G.A. Padley, *Grammatical Theory*..., p. 238.

para el cual la atribución de paternidades en lingüística histórica es un hecho agradable, pero quizás, dice, no se deberían tomar demasiado en serio las afirmaciones que hablan de Sanctius, que es el nombre latino del Brocense, como el padre de la gramática general, de Schottel como el padre de la gramática alemana, o de Saussure como el padre de la lingüística moderna; y dice que en el Brocense hay muchas cosas que están ya en Prisciano y que han llegado a *La Minerva* a través de los modistas de la Edad Media, de Linacro, cuyo *De emendata structura* es de 1524, y de Escalígero, cuyo *De causis linguae latinae* es de 1540. De acuerdo con esto, El Brocense no es, en la orientación sintáctica de su gramática general y teórica, sino el continuador de una corriente que se inicia ya en la antigüedad, o al menos en la época tardía de la antigüedad.

El otro tópico, el de que en la antigüedad no hay una teoría sintáctica sistemáticamente tratada — tópico del que depende el anterior, ya que, si en la antigüedad no hay sintaxis teórica, quiere ello decir que la sintaxis teórica de un Brocense no tiene sus raíces en la antigüedad — ha sido refutado también recientemente por Vicente Bécades<sup>6</sup>, para quien Apolonio Díscolo, gramático del siglo II d. C., introduce ya en la antigüedad el estudio de la frase como unidad orgánica, es decir, introduce el estudio de la sintaxis.

Pues bien, me propongo analizar aquí — sin pretender, por supuesto agotar la cuestión, ya que ésta debe ser objeto de un estudio mucho más amplio — cómo la sintaxis teórica que vemos aflorar en el siglo XVI hunde sus raíces ya en la antigüedad, concretamente en las figuras de Apolonio Díscolo y en la de Prisciano, aunque ello no quiere decir que no haya elementos de novedad en los gramáticos del XVI. Y este análisis, puesto que no puede ser completo, pretendo hacerlo tomando como punto de referencia los siguientes criterios:

- a) La oración, objeto de la sintaxis.
- b) Constituyentes de la oración simple y clases de verbos.
- c) La teoría de la elipsis.

Los tres criterios tienen un denominador común, ya que los tres giran en torno al concepto de oración; los tres, pues, se mueven en el terreno de la sintaxis. Pero veamos cada uno de ellos.

<sup>6</sup> V. Bécades (ed.), *Apolonio Díscolo. Sintaxis* (Madrid 1983), p. 22 ss.

### a) La oración, objeto de la sintaxis

Analizar la oración, sus constituyentes mínimos y sus constituyentes posibles, y las relaciones entre esos constituyentes, lo cual viene a ser el objeto de la sintaxis, en lugar de analizar esos constituyentes individualmente en su forma, independientemente de que entren a formar parte de una unidad superior, cual es la oración, supone un salto cualitativo importante. Salto cualitativo en un doble sentido: en primer lugar, en el sentido de que se trata de pasar de la fonética y morfología a la sintaxis; y en segundo lugar, en el sentido de que se trata del paso de una gramática descriptiva e individual de una lengua concreta, cual es la parte de la gramática correspondiente a la fonética y a la morfología, a una gramática general y teórica, cual es la correspondiente a la sintaxis, o al menos a los esquemas básicos de la sintaxis; efectivamente, cuando se habla de constituyentes necesarios de la oración, de la relación entre esos constituyentes y de dos niveles de análisis, el nivel de base teórico y general y el nivel de uso, pudiendo haber modificaciones entre uno y otro, estamos ante una gramática, no de una lengua concreta, sino ante una gramática teórica y general.

Pues bien, estos dos pasos están claros en *La Minerva* del Brocense. Pero ya hemos dicho que es un tópico decir que El Brocense es el padre de la gramática teórica; que ya antes de él otros autores habían convertido a la sintaxis oracional en objeto de su estudio. Concretamente, Apolonio Díscolo y su seguidor latino Prisciano.

Apolonio Díscolo es un gramático helenístico del siglo II d. C. que, según el estudioso moderno ya citado, Vicente Bécáres, dio ya el paso de la morfología a la gramática teórica, a la sintaxis. ¿A qué se debe este salto a la gramática teórica, a la sintaxis? En primer lugar, a que es un paso que hay lógicamente que dar tras haber dado los anteriores por la morfología y la etimología. Los primeros pasos en todo análisis gramatical se dan en el descubrimiento empírico de las formas y de los mecanismos de formación. Es la fase que se ha dado en llamar morfológica. Y de ella se pasa, por ley natural, a la sintaxis. Es el propio mecanismo lógico del sistema el que determina la evolución del proceso del análisis a la síntesis y viceversa. Por eso, no choca que Dionisio Tracio abra el estudio de las partes de la oración — fase analítica — con la definición de oración, es decir, su síntesis. Y Apolonio concibe su obra como una exigencia filológica: hay problemas filológicos que trascienden la morfología y hacen necesario el estu-

dio de la sintaxis. El salto, pues, del análisis morfológico e individual de los constituyentes a la síntesis de esos constituyentes en la oración, síntesis que no es otra cosa que la sintaxis, es, en primer lugar, un paso lógico.

Pero hay también quizás motivos externos, de ambiente estético y cultural, que favorecieron ese paso. El salto se da, como hemos visto, en el siglo II d. C.; es el siglo de un cierto resurgir cultural griego; este siglo está efectivamente marcado por un carácter general de tecnicismo y cientifismo que abarca a todas las ramas del saber, pues el renacimiento y prestigio del siglo II no es sólo literario, con figuras como Luciano y Elio Aristides, sino que descansa sobre todo en el sólido fundamento de sus grandes sumas, como la de Galeno para la medicina, la de Tolomeo para la astronomía, la de Hermógenes para la retórica, y la de Apolonio y su hijo Herodiano para la gramática. En este ambiente no es extraño que se dé el salto del análisis morfológico a la síntesis sintáctica. La retórica había seguido un proceso metodológico parecido al de la gramática; tal vez, en efecto, no es una casualidad, sino que hay una relación de causalidad, que el sistema retórico de un Dionisio de Halicarnaso o de un Hermógenes, por estos mismos tiempos de comienzos del imperio, esté planteado en los términos de selección-composición de elementos (ἐκλογή-σύνθεσις), equiparadas a los términos análisis-síntesis, entendiendo por composición la ordenación y el ensamblaje de las palabras, con una finalidad casi exclusivamente rítmico-musical, conforme a los fines literarios a que se destinaba dicha composición. Es decir, la retórica de la época, de un Dionisio de Halicarnaso y de un Hermógenes se ocupa de la composición y ordenación de la palabras en función del rendimiento estético de esa composición y ordenación. Cambiando este punto de vista por el gramatical, tendremos constituida la sintaxis, que se ocupa igualmente de la composición y ordenación de las palabras para constituir la frase. Por todo ello, podemos conjeturar que, en el siglo II d. c., la cuestión sintáctica estaba en el ambiente; que son equiparables los cambios producidos en la retórica a los cambios producidos en la gramática.

Y tampoco debe ser una casualidad lo siguiente: en retórica, al siglo XVI llegan no sólo las doctrinas clásicas de un Aristóteles y de un Cicerón, sino también las doctrinas helenísticas y más hedonistas de un Dionisio de Halicarnaso y de un Hermógenes, autores, como hemos dicho, del siglo II d. C.; el propio Brocense lo reconoce en sus tratados retóricos; así lo reconoce, concretamente en lo que se refiere a Hermógenes,

en el prólogo del *Ars dicendi*<sup>7</sup>. No es casualidad entonces que en gramática sean las doctrinas de esa misma época helenística, y no porque sean de la misma época, sino porque participan de los mismos principios, las que llegan también al siglo XVI: las doctrinas de un Apolonio Díscolo, después recogidas por Prisciano a comienzos del siglo VI.

En gramática, pues, el salto a la sintaxis teórica lo dio ya en el s. II Apolonio Díscolo. Efectivamente, el primer hecho que salta a la vista es la voluntad de Apolonio de hallar los fundamentos gramaticales de la teoría sintáctica. Para ello parte de una analogía metodológica básica: la letra es a la sílaba lo que la palabra es a la oración. Y el dominio de la sintaxis lo constituye la oración perfecta, la αὐτοτελής λόγος, que presenta dos requisitos básicos: formación al menos por dos elementos (nombre-verbo) y coherencia. Los elementos oracionales se definen por un conjunto de categorías, rasgos o variables (accidentes gramaticales), cuyo ensamblaje es lo que determina la perfección oracional. Pues bien, el estudio de las leyes que rigen esas relaciones de ensamblaje correcto de los elementos en la oración es el fin de la sintaxis.

Apolonio Díscolo fue, pues, el primero en dar el salto hacia el estudio de la oración como objeto de la sintaxis.

Entre los latinos, seguidor de Apolonio es Prisciano en el siglo VI, como él mismo reconoce. Su obra, por la amplitud de sus perspectivas, por la renovación de las fuentes y la agudeza de su sentido lingüístico, es sin duda la única que representa un progreso importante. Su aportación principal es la de los libros 17 y 18 de sus *Institutiones Grammaticae*, que hacen de él el verdadero creador de la sintaxis latina, aunque esta sintaxis es todavía parcial y no está limpia de conceptos filosóficos; es en esos libros donde trata de problemas sintácticos. En su ciudad, Constantinopla, en un ambiente cultural que no es todavía el de la decadencia de una cultura, en una época en la que el imperio de Oriente ejerce una verdadera tutela política sobre el Occidente lejano y recalcitrante, Prisciano supo restablecer un lazo vivo entre el griego y el latín y consiguió unir, después de siglos — si hacemos una excepción con Macrobio —, la tradición griega y la tradición latina.

Y sólo pudo llegar a ello remontándose a las fuentes, principalmente Apolonio. La obra de Apolonio ha sobrevivido y ha aportado a la lingüística occidental un espíritu nuevo en la medida en que ha servido de

<sup>7</sup> F. Sánchez, *Ars dicendi*, ed. E. Sánchez Salor, *El Brocense. Escritos retóricos. El arte de hablar* (Cáceres 1984), p. 37: *Ex Cicerone, Quintiliano, Hermogene et Aristotele...decerpsi methodum*.

inspiración a las *Institutiones Grammaticae* de Prisciano. Prisciano sabe que las teorías de Apolonio, adaptadas a la lengua latina, explican los hechos de ésta mejor que la enseñanza tradicional. Y de la misma forma que en el resto de la gramática, y en todo en general (*Apollonius, cuius auctoritatem in omnibus sequendam putavi*<sup>8</sup>; *Quid enim Herodiani artibus certius, quid Apollonii scrupolosis quaestionibus enucleatius possit inueniri?*<sup>9</sup>) se confiesa fiel continuador de Apolonio, así también se confiesa seguidor del mismo en sintaxis, concretamente en los libros 17 y 18 de sus *Institutiones*, dedicados a la misma. Lo reconoce expresamente a comienzos del libro 17: “Puesto que en los libros anteriores”, dice, “sobre las partes de la oración he seguido en la mayoría de las cosas la autoridad de Apolonio, sin dejar a un lado lo que era necesario recoger de otros autores, ya nuestros, ya griegos, e incluso aportaciones nuevas propias mías, ahora también, en la ordenación y construcción de las palabras, a la que los griegos llaman sintaxis, seguiré las huellas del mismo, sin rehusar aducir lo que de congruente encontremos en otros o en nosotros mismos”<sup>10</sup>. Convierte, pues, en objeto de su gramática la oración gramatical, es decir, la sintaxis, a la que dedica dos libros, siendo ésta su aportación principal a la gramática latina. Y en esta aportación sigue, como en otras muchas cosas, según él mismo reconoce, las huellas de Apolonio.

Así pues, ya en la antigüedad nos encontramos con que hay teóricos de la gramática que dieron el salto cualitativo a que aludíamos más arriba: el paso de una gramática individual a una gramática general; porque en la oración, en sus constituyentes y en las relaciones más generales entre los mismos, intervienen universales que no aparecen en la fonética o en la morfología. Por eso, Apolonio y Prisciano, al pasar al análisis de la oración, al tratar en definitiva de la sintaxis, dan el primer salto hacia una gramática general

No es, pues, El Brocense, en el siglo XVI, el padre de la gramática teórica. Es un continuador aventajado y profundo. Él, en su *Minerva* o *De*

<sup>8</sup> Prisciano, *Institutiones Grammaticae*, 14,1: ed. Keil, *Grammatici latini* (Hildesheim 1961), III,24.7.

<sup>9</sup> Prisciano, *Institutiones*.. 2,1,8: Keil. *Grammatici*... II,1,8

<sup>10</sup> *Quoniam in ante expositis libris de partibus orationis in plerisque Apollonii auctoritatem sumus secuti, aliorum quoque sive nostrorum sive Graecorum non intermittentes necessaria et si quid ipsi quoque novi potuerimus addere, nunc quoque eiusdem maxime de ordinatione sive constructione dictionum, quam Graeci “syntaxim” vocant, vestigia sequentes, si quid etiam ex aliis vel ex nobis congruum inveniatur, non recusemus interponere* (Prisciano, *Institutiones*...17,1: Keil, *Grammatici*...III,107-108)

*causis linguae latinae* plantea, efectivamente, cuestiones sintácticas que no son exclusivas de la lengua latina, sino que tienen valor general. Pero ya antes de él, en el propio siglo XVI, Julio César Escalígero había caminado por la misma vía. El propio Brocense lo reconoce al comienzo de su obra: *Ac de linguae latinae causis iam scripserat Caesar Scaliger, quem quia in multis sequor, nonnunquam tamen ab eo dissentiens, titulum non abiiciendum putaui*<sup>11</sup>. Efectivamente, en muchas de las cuestiones sintácticas de carácter general, El Brocense seguirá el camino de Escalígero, como tendremos ocasión de ver. Escalígero concibe ya una gramática general<sup>12</sup>, puesto que piensa que los conceptos o *species* son idénticos en todas las mentes, siendo diferentes de unas lenguas a otras sólo las palabras que son las marcas de esos conceptos; el término “caballo” (*equus*) se refiere tanto a algo real, que es inalterable, como a un concepto mental inmutable. La estructura mental profunda de la lengua es la misma para todos los hombres; y esa estructura profunda puede ser descrita en términos de las categorías filosóficas de sustancia y accidente, y de las cuatro causas aristotélicas. De la misma forma que los que idearon una lengua artificial en el siglo XVII, Escalígero basa su método en dos asunciones: que el universo es reducible a una descripción desde la filosofía aristotélica, y que las categorías resultantes son también susceptibles de una descripción lingüística. La definición de oración por parte de Escalígero de que es una “disposición de signos portadores de significado, cuya finalidad es la expresión de una secuencia preexistente en la mente”<sup>13</sup> es suficientemente elocuente, en el sentido de mostrarnos la importancia que ella tiene en el desarrollo de una gramática universal. Las bases de esta gramática de conceptos y operaciones mentales están, sin embargo, en las cosas mismas: el nombre y el verbo significan la naturaleza de las cosas, mientras que la conjunción, el adverbio y la preposición significan los modos de operación de esas cosas.

He aquí cómo Escalígero pretende una gramática universal; pero se trata de una gramática universal todavía lógica y filosófica; su base está en la lógica aristotélica.

El Brocense trata de buscar los esquemas racionales desde los que se explican los diferentes usos — incluso los aparentemente anómalos — de la lengua latina. Y en esa búsqueda de esquemas racionales trans-

<sup>11</sup> F. Sánchez, *Minerva* I,1 (Salamanca 1587), p. 7.

<sup>12</sup> G.A. Padley, *Grammatical Theory...*, p. 242 ss.

<sup>13</sup> *De causis linguae latinae*, cap. 3: *Est enim sermo dispositio uocum articulatorum ad interpretandum animum.*

ciende sin duda las fronteras de la lengua latina, para llegar hasta una gramática efectivamente general. Y es que esos esquemas racionales, al menos los más generales, son válidos no sólo para el latín, sino también para todas las lenguas. Y El Brocense alcanza una gramática general desde presupuestos, no ya sólo lógicos-filosóficos, como hemos visto en Escalígero, sino también y, sobre todo, lingüísticos. Un síntoma de que esto es así son las fuentes que utiliza: entre las antiguas están, sí, Platón y Aristóteles; y en ellos, en su lógica, se basa para llegar a algunas conclusiones gramaticales; pero también están Apolonio Díscolo y Prisciano, que se mueven, como hemos visto, en una línea más típicamente lingüística.

Para terminar esta primera parte. En el siglo XVI aflora una gramática general, una sintaxis teórica, siendo uno de sus paladines el humanista y gramático español Francisco Sánchez de las Brozas — aunque ello no quiere decir que no haya gramáticas descriptivas de usos y giros, las cuales, frente a las teóricas y racionales, no hacen sino resucitar la antiquísima polémica entre analogistas y anomalistas — aflora, pues, una gramática racional, que hunde sus raíces ya en la antigüedad, concretamente en figuras como las de Apolonio Díscolo y Prisciano.

## **b) Consituyentes de la oración simple. Clases de verbos**

Uno de los pilares de la sintaxis del Brocense es su formulación y definición de la oración simple. Para que haya oración es necesario y basta con que haya dos constituyentes: un verbo y un *suppositum*, que, en definitiva, es el nombre sujeto, sin que El Brocense entre en muchas profundidades en torno a los rasgos semánticos en la relación entre ese nombre y el verbo. Así pues, con un nombre y un verbo, y nada más, pero también y nada menos, se puede formar una oración completa, siempre, claro está, que estemos ante un verbo que no exija complemento directo.

Es en el libro tercero de la *Minerva* donde El Brocense aborda estas cuestiones. Este libro está dedicado todo él al verbo o, mejor, a la sintaxis del predicado y, en definitiva, a la sintaxis de la oración simple, es decir a los constituyentes mínimos necesarios para que haya oración y a las relaciones entre esos constituyentes.

En el capítulo primero de este libro trata del verbo y de sus relaciones con los primeros nombres exigidos a su lado. En realidad, el principio que defiende es que, con sólo verbo, no puede haber oración; es neces-



rio, como mínimo, un nombre para que haya oración. Y ello lo defiende desde dos argumentos: uno lógico, en el que toma como garantes a Platón y Aristóteles, y otro lingüístico, en el que sigue a Prisciano. El lógico es éste: todas las cosas constan de forma y materia; también una oración debe constar de forma y materia; y la forma y la materia de una oración son, respectivamente, el nombre y el verbo, y de la misma manera que no puede existir una cosa si falta la forma o la materia, tampoco puede existir oración si falta el nombre o el verbo. El lingüístico se basa en el rechazo de los verbos impersonales, o mejor, de oraciones con verbos impersonales; no existen oraciones con verbos impersonales; siempre que hay una oración con uno de los verbos llamados impersonales, en esa oración hay un nombre, aunque esté elíptico; pero el esquema básico exige un nombre; de lo contrario no hay oración. Y hace un recorrido por los verbos recogidos en las gramáticas tradicionales como impersonales, demostrando en todo caso que siempre hay un sujeto, expreso o elíptico. No se olvida en ninguno de ellos de aducir ejemplos de autores clásicos en los que estos verbos llamados impersonales aparecen alguna vez con sujeto expreso; así, para *contingit*, la frase de Ovidio (*Met.* I,403): *Natura mitior illis contingit*, donde *natura* es sujeto de *contingit*; para *pluit*, la frase de Estacio (*Theb.* VIII,417): *Saxa pluunt*, donde *saxa* es el sujeto de *pluunt*; para *pudet*, la de Marcial (IV,12,1): *Si te non pudet istud*, donde *istud* es el sujeto de *pudet*; para *uiuitur* la de Ovidio (*Met.* XII,188): *Tertia uiuitur aetas*, donde *aetas* es el sujeto de *uiuitur*. Y así otros muchos ejemplos para estos mismos verbos y para otros llamados impersonales por los gramáticos.

Pues bien, esta doctrina sanctiana, que es enormemente actual y lingüística, no es una doctrina surgida en él de la nada. Él mismo lo reconoce en ese mismo capítulo primero del libro tercero; cuando trata de los verbos *curritur*, *statutur*, *ambulat* etc., llamados impersonales por los gramáticos, dice que no son impersonales, porque tienen como sujeto un nombre, aunque sea un *nomen cognatae significationis* (*curritur cursus*, *statutur statio*, *ambulat ambulatio* etc.), y que esto ya lo vio Prisciano; y hace una larga cita de Prisciano, donde efectivamente este gramático defiende esta misma doctrina en el libro 18 de sus *Institutiones*. Pero es que Prisciano defiende además claramente en el libro 17 que para que haya oración se necesita, como mínimo, un nombre y un verbo; así, en 17,12-13 <sup>14</sup> dice expresamente: *A qua (oratione) si tollas nomen aut*

<sup>14</sup> Keil, *Grammatici*...III, p. 116.

*uerbum, imperfecta fit oratio; sin autem cetera subtrahas omnia, non necesse est orationem deficere...Ergo si tollas nomen aut uerbum, deficiet oratio, desiderans uel nomen uel uerbum.*

Pero no solo se trata de Prisciano. Ya antes de él hubo otro gramático que ya conocemos, del cual lo toma Prisciano y al cual considera como maestro, que defiende la misma doctrina. Es, por supuesto, Apolonio Díscolo. Al hablar, efectivamente, del orden en que los gramáticos enumeran las partes de la oración, dice que ese orden, en el cual se empieza siempre con “nombre, verbo etc.”, es un orden exigido por la estructura de la oración perfecta; efectivamente, con justeza, dice, se habla en primer lugar del nombre y después del verbo, puesto que sin ellos ninguna oración queda cerrada. Esto se puede probar, sigue diciendo, con una frase que contenga todas las partes de la oración: si se quita el nombre o el verbo, la oración queda incompleta, pero, si se suprime cualquiera de las otras partes o todas ellas, de ningún modo queda defectuosa la oración<sup>15</sup>.

Entre los antiguos, pues, hubo ya gramáticos que, moviéndose exclusivamente en un terreno lingüístico, defendieron que los constituyentes mínimos y necesarios para formar una oración son un nombre y un verbo; sin ellos, al menos sin ellos, no puede haber oración gramatical. Y esto, como hemos visto, lo recoge Francisco Sánchez en el siglo XVI. Pero ya otros gramáticos del XVI habían recogido esta doctrina propia de una gramática universal. Así Linacro. Los críticos modernos han despreciado con frecuencia, al estudiar los orígenes del movimiento de la gramática universal, a Linacro y su *De emendata structura* (1524). Pero su importancia es evidente. Concretamente, en la cuestión que estamos analizando, la de los constituyentes de la oración simple, el propio Brocense cita dos veces como autoridad a Tomás Linacro: una para demostrar que en los verbos impersonales de naturaleza, tipo *pluit* etc., se suple un *nomen cognatae significationis*, es decir, no son verbos impersonales, sino que la oración tiene nombre y verbo; dice así: *In uerbis quae falso dicuntur naturae, ut pluit, fulminat, lucescit, placet Linacro et doctis intelligi suppositum cognatae significationis*<sup>16</sup>; notemos cómo El Brocense, cruel crítico en otros casos de los gramáticos anteriores a él, incluye en este caso a Linacro entre los *docti*. La otra vez que le cita es para decir que, en este tema de los verbos impersona-

<sup>15</sup> Apolonio, *Sintaxis* I,14 (trad. V. Bécares, *Apolonio...* p. 81)

<sup>16</sup> F. Sánchez, *Minerva* III, 1; p. 85v.

les, la doctrina que él defiende arranca de Prisciano y que de Prisciano la toma Linacro.

Entre Linacro y Francisco Sánchez surge la gramática de J. C. Escalígero; su *De causis linguae latinae* (1540), curiosamente el mismo título que lleva la *Minerva* como subtítulo — La obra del Brocense se titula *Minerva seu de causis linguae latinae*-, es una gramática de gran importancia para la evolución del pensamiento lingüístico. Pues bien, en la cuestión que estamos analizando, Escalígero mantiene la misma doctrina que hemos visto en los autores anteriores. Es más, el argumento utilizado es exactamente el mismo que veíamos en el viejo Apolonio, argumento, sin embargo, que no recoge El Brocense, quien a pesar de citar muchas veces a Escalígero, en este tema no lo hace: es el argumento de que el orden en que hay que enumerar las partes de la oración exige que se coloquen en primer lugar el nombre y el verbo, porque son precisamente las dos partes necesarias para formar oración; era el mismo argumento de Apolonio. Dice así Escalígero: *Post nomen uerbi natura ponenda est. Non defuere tamen qui statim secundum nomen ponerent pronomen, secuti rationem ciuilem: eadem enim potestate erat propraetor et praetor, proconsul in prouintia et consul Romae. Verum aliter contemplatur philosophus: res enim necessarias primo quoque loco statuit, accessorias autem et uicarias mox. Igitur, si partes haec comparatae sunt propter orationem et orationis finis est animi interpretatio, interpretatio autem nomine et uerbo explicetur et pronomen post haec inuentum est, sane uerbum anteibit*<sup>17</sup>. Las dos primeras partes de la oración son, pues, el nombre y el verbo, porque son las dos únicas necesarias para generar una oración.

He aquí, pues, cómo esta teoría general, propia de una gramática teórica, sobre la oración simple y sus constituyentes la encontramos en El Brocense, pero recogida también por Linacro y Escalígero, y heredada de Apolonio y Prisciano.

En estrecha relación con esta doctrina sobre la oración simple está la doctrina sobre la clase de verbos. Efectivamente, si El Brocense trata de los dos constituyentes de la oración simple en el capítulo primero del libro tercero, en el capítulo segundo del mismo libro trata de las clases de verbos. Y es que, si en el capítulo primero defendía que en el caso de *curritur*, *ambulator*, *sedetur* etc. hay un nombre que es sujeto, de manera que, a nivel de sistema, estas oraciones completas serían *curritur*

<sup>17</sup> J. C. Escalígero, *De causis linguae latinae*, V, 110 (Lyon 1540), p. 219.

*cursus, ambulatur ambulatio, sedetur sessio*, lógica y consiguientemente tiene que defender que estos mismos verbos, en forma activa, *currit, ambulat, sedet* llevan implícito un complemento como *cursum (currit cursum)*, *ambulationem (ambulat ambulationem)* y *sessionem (sedet sessionem)*. Es decir, *currere, ambulare, sedere* etc. no son, como han transmitido los gramáticos, verbos intransitivos, neutros o absolutos, sino verbos transitivos, ya que a nivel de sistema llevan un complemento directo. Esto mismo lo había tratado también El Brocense en la *Minerva* pequeña de 1562, cuyo título para el capítulo correspondiente era: “Todo verbo termina necesariamente en un acusativo, de donde se sigue que no pueden existir verbos neutros”<sup>18</sup>. E igualmente en las *Institutiones* de 1572 y 1576 en las que los capítulos dedicados a este tema llevan este título: “Un verbo en activa termina siempre y necesariamente en un acusativo”<sup>19</sup>. En definitiva, en el caso de los verbos para El Brocense sólo hay una clasificación posible: que sea activo o pasivo; si es activo, exige dos nombres, el sujeto y el complemento directo; si es pasivo, exige sólo un nombre, el sujeto, siendo este sujeto del pasivo el mismo nombre que el objeto del mismo verbo activo.

No voy a entrar aquí en una valoración de esta doctrina, que, en mi opinión, es de una extraordinaria profundidad lingüística. Sí voy a decir que tampoco en esto el Brocense es absolutamente original, aunque sí hay que decir que expone esta doctrina con mucha mayor extensión, profundidad e incluso novedad que los maestros a los que sigue.

Efectivamente, en Apolonio la doctrina al respecto no parece coincidir con la de El Brocense. Defiende, en efecto, la existencia de verbos activos y pasivos, pero admite también la existencia de verbos intransitivos, como “vivir” y “pasear”, que no llevan complemento y, consiguientemente, no aceptan la voz pasiva. La doctrina del Brocense está muy lejos de esto; para Francisco Sánchez no existen verbos intransitivos, porque todo verbo, salvo el verbo “ser”, estando en activa exige un complemento objeto, que se convierte en sujeto al convertirse en pasiva ese mismo verbo: es decir, en *uiuit* hay un complemento que es *uitam*, que se convierte en nominativo sujeto en la voz pasiva: *uita uiuitur*. En Apolonio no hay nada de esto, aunque sí algunos apuntes que serían

<sup>18</sup> F. Sánchez, *Minerva seu de latinae linguae causis et elegantia* (Lyon 1562) : E. del Estal (ed.), *Minerva* (1562) (Salamanca 1975), p. 98: *Caput 21. Omne uerbum necessario ferri in accusatiuum, unde fit ut nulla possint esse uerba neutra.*

<sup>19</sup> F. Sánchez, *Verae breuesque Grammatices latinae Institutiones* (Salamanca 1572 y 1576) p. 21 y p. 24: *Actiuum uerbum semper et necessario transit in accusatiuum*

como el embrión de esta doctrina que vemos en Sanctius. Estos apuntes son los siguientes: Apolonio acepta la existencia de verbos intransitivos que no tienen complemento y que, por tanto, teóricamente, no pueden construirse en pasiva; sin embargo, dice<sup>20</sup> que hay quienes admiten la voz pasiva en estos verbos; y no lo rechaza esto Apolonio, sino que, dice, ello es un puro ejercicio gramatical. Lo acepta, pues, como fenómeno lingüístico. Pone incluso algunos ejemplos de verbos, para él intransitivos, usados en voz pasiva. No acepta, pues, con claridad y como sistema la voz pasiva de los verbos intransitivos. Pero sí lo acepta como uso gramatical en algunas ocasiones. Es un embrión de lo que después será doctrina en el Brocense, para quien este fenómeno es propio del sistema y absolutamente normal a nivel teórico lingüístico.

En estadio parecido al de Apolonio se encuentra la doctrina de Prisciano al respecto. Acepta, efectivamente, la existencia de verbos absolutos, que no tienen en principio voz pasiva, del tipo *uiuo*, *sedeo*, *ambulo*; pero también en Prisciano se ven apuntes, quizás ya más claros que en el propio Apolonio, que están más cerca de la doctrina sanctiana. Efectivamente, Prisciano acepta la existencia de verbos absolutos, cuya construcción normal es en activa con un sujeto en nominativo; así, por ejemplo, en el libro 17,106 <sup>21</sup> dice que, cuando el sujeto de un verbo es la primera o segunda persona, lo que ellas hacen, o bien lo hacen sobre sí mismas, o bien sobre otras personas, salvo que se trate de verbos absolutos: *Prima et secunda persona uel in se reciprocantur..., uel in alias diuersas transeunt, cum non absolutis uerbis adiunguntur*. Si se trata, pues, de verbos absolutos, la oración queda completa sólo con el nombre y con el verbo en forma activa sin ningún otro nombre. Esto lo dice claramente en el libro 18, en el que dedica expresamente un largo capítulo a los verbos absolutos, de los que empieza diciendo que *Absoluta...cum nominatiuo perfectam habent constructionem, ut 'Plato uiuit', 'Aristoteles ambulat', 'Socrates philosophatur'; 'ego esurio', 'tu dormis', ille uolat'*<sup>22</sup>. Lógicamente, estos verbos absolutos no tienen construcción pasiva — lo dice Prisciano expresamente: *ea nec passiuam habent*<sup>23</sup> —, ya que, si no tienen acusativo complemento directo, no son susceptibles de transformación pasiva. Hasta aquí la doctrina tradicional sobre la existencia y definición de los verbos absolutos, doctrina contra la que se

<sup>20</sup> V. Bécares, *Apolonio...*, p. 342.

<sup>21</sup> Keil, *Grammatici...*III, p. 104.

<sup>22</sup> Prisciano, *Institutiones...*18,135: Keil, *Grammatici...*III, p. 120.

<sup>23</sup> Prisciano, *Institutiones...*18,157: Keil, *Grammatici...*III, p. 271.

levantará, como hemos visto, El Brocense. Pero, de la misma forma que en Apolonio y aún más claramente que en él, vemos ya en Prisciano atisbos del cambio doctrinal. Efectivamente, si bien es cierto que con los verbos absolutos en activa se pueden construir oraciones completas sin complemento, también lo son los dos hechos siguientes: primero, que en estos verbos se ha de suponer un acusativo *ipsius rei*, de manera que la construcción completa sería '*uiuo uitam*' et '*ambulo ambulationem*' et '*sedeo sessionem*' et '*curro cursum*'<sup>24</sup>; segundo, que, de la misma forma que podemos encontrar verbos transitivos en uso intransitivo o absoluto, como *iste amat*, que es una oración completa con sentido, a pesar de tratarse de un verbo transitivo sin complemento, así también, y viceversa, podemos encontrar verbos absolutos a los que se une, como constituyente necesario, un acusativo, como en '*securam uiuit uitam*', '*spirat animam*', '*nauiigo mare*'. Esto está ya cerca de la doctrina del Brocense, en la cual no existen verbos absolutos, ya que los verbos absolutos llevan implícito en ellos mismos el nombre complemento. Y, por otro lado, si bien es cierto también que Prisciano dice que los verbos absolutos no aceptan la pasiva, también lo es que, de la misma forma que acepta que es construcción completa *uiuo uitam*, también acepta que lo es la correspondiente pasiva *uiuitur uita a me*. En definitiva, en Prisciano nos encontramos, en lo que se refiere a la doctrina que estamos analizando, con elementos que luego va a desarrollar de una forma sistemática y definitiva El Brocense.

He aquí, pues, cómo en lo que se refiere a la doctrina de los constituyentes mínimos y necesarios para formar una oración simple, El Brocense continúa y al mismo tiempo amplía ideas que estaban ya en Apolonio y en Prisciano. Apolonio y Prisciano defienden que para que haya oración se exige como mínimo que haya un nombre y un verbo; El Brocense también. Pero aquellos no rechazan abiertamente los impersonales; El Brocense sí los rechaza, ya que, dice, en todo verbo impersonal o llamado impersonal, se suple, como mínimo, un nombre sujeto del mismo significado del verbo: *uiuitur uita*. Prisciano y Apolonio aceptaban esto sólo como posible a nivel de uso; El Brocense lo acepta como sistemático. Y como consecuencia de que la construcción completa es *uiuitur uita*, hay que aceptar que la construcción completa en el caso de *Plato uiuit* es *Plato uiuit uitam*; con lo cual, el verbo *uiuo* no es un verbo absoluto o intransitivo, sino un verbo transitivo. También esto lo

<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

acepta El Brocense como sistemático, mientras que Apolonio y Prisciano lo aceptan sólo, de nuevo, como posibilidad de uso. El Brocense, pues, se coloca en la misma línea, pero da un paso más; un paso más en el camino hacia la definición y fijación de los constituyentes de la oración simple. Efectivamente, para fijar y definir los constituyentes mínimos de la oración simple, lo que hay que hacer es decir cuántos y cuáles son esos constituyentes mínimos; Apolonio y Prisciano dijeron cuántos: dos; el nombre sujeto y el verbo; pero no dejaron claro cuál es ese nombre; sólo dijeron que el sujeto; pero está claro que no es el mismo el sujeto de un verbo en activo que el sujeto de ese mismo verbo en pasiva. El Brocense, aunque no da el paso definitivo, avanza mucho. De la doctrina expuesta por Francisco Sánchez se deduce ya casi que ese nombre es lo que hoy se puede llamar el OBJETIVO, como caso semántico; es decir, el que es sujeto en la pasiva y objeto en la activa. El paso, aunque sólo está insinuado, es fundamental ya en El Brocense.

### c) Teoría de la elipsis.

Y paso ya al tercer criterio que decía que iba a analizar: la teoría de la elipsis. Esta teoría, como sabe todo el mundo más o menos conocedor del tema, es fundamental y pilar básico de la doctrina lingüística sanctiana. El Brocense distingue dos niveles de análisis lingüístico: el nivel de sistema racional y el nivel de uso. En el nivel del sistema racional es en el que se encuentran los esquemas racionales de las construcciones sintácticas. Pues bien, si entre esos esquemas racionales y las realizaciones de uso se produce algún desajuste, ese desajuste se explica normalmente porque ha intervenido la elipsis. Así, según hemos visto, el esquema racional de una oración simple es N+V; de manera que si a nivel de uso nos encontramos con oraciones que tengan sólo V, como *uiuitur*, el desajuste se explica recurriendo a la elipsis: el esquema auténtico de esa oración es *uita uiuitur*; si se usa sólo *uiuitur*, hay que suponer que estamos ante una elipsis.

De esta forma, la elipsis, para El Brocense, tiene, creo, las siguientes características: en primer lugar, para él ya no es una figura retórica, sino que es un procedimiento lingüístico. En segundo lugar, es un procedimiento lingüístico parecido a las reglas de delección de algunos gramáticos generativistas actuales; efectivamente, entre la estructura profunda y la superficial intervienen reglas de distinto tipo; un tipo de ellas son las de delección que dan cuenta de la desaparición de determinados constitu-

yentes que estaban en la estructura profunda y no están en la superficial. En este sentido la elipsis del Brocense desempeña un papel parecido al desempeñado por las reglas de delección de los generativistas. En tercer lugar, la elipsis opera no esporádicamente, sino sistemáticamente; no es un procedimiento lingüístico aislado, sino frecuente en ese paso del esquema racional al esquema de uso.

Dicho eso, no voy a detenerme en un análisis del funcionamiento concreto y pormenorizado de la elipsis en la doctrina del Brocense. Baste con decir, como ya he dicho, que en él es un procedimiento lingüístico sistemático. Pues bien, tampoco en este terreno arranca de la nada El Brocense. De la misma forma que en los casos anteriores, también en este tema tiene sus antecedentes no sólo en el propio siglo XVI, sino también en la antigüedad; concretamente, de nuevo en Apolonio y en Prisciano.

Apolonio, dice Vicente Bécares<sup>25</sup>, puede ser considerado como el primer gramático que dio un juego importante en su sistema al concepto de elipsis. A través después de Prisciano pasaría al Brocense y a toda la tradición gramatical europea. La noción de elipsis en Apolonio se deriva de la consideración sintáctico-semántica de la oración como la perfección o “completud” de forma y de sentido; la elipsis descubre aquello que debe suplirse para que una oración sea perfecta o completa. Y perfección, para un griego, no era la posesión de todo, sino la ausencia de necesidad; luego la elipsis es lo que debe suplirse para que no haya necesidad de algo. Y de la misma forma que hemos visto en El Brocense, también ya en Apolonio la elipsis es un fenómeno que se mueve a nivel lingüístico y que es explicado desde un análisis del lenguaje; no es, por tanto, una figura poética o retórica; lo deja bien claro el propio Apolonio cuando dice: “Por tanto hay que presumir que la elipsis de alguna palabra no es sólo licencia poética, sino también de uso ordinario”<sup>26</sup>; y en otro lugar dice: “Así pues, de la misma forma que en las palabras se puede demostrar el exceso o el defecto mediante el cotejo de las sílabas, no es algo forzado que también pueda mostrarse el exceso o el defecto en la oración, que se ha constituido de palabras, mediante el cotejo de su construcción”<sup>27</sup>. Así pues, en Apolonio el concepto de elipsis es un con-

<sup>25</sup> V. Bécares, *Apolonio*.... p. 43 ss.

<sup>26</sup> Apolonio, *Sintaxis*....III 166: Χρῆ οὖν νοεῖν ὥς οὐ μόνον ποιητικὴ ἄδεια ἐν ἐλλείψει λέξεων καταγίνεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ συνήθεις λόγοι. La traducción que ofrecemos es de V. Bécares, *Apolonio*... p. 352.

<sup>27</sup> Apolonio, *Sintaxis*....II 94: Εἴπερ οὖν καὶ αὐταὶ αἱ λέξεις διὰ τῆς τῶν συλλαβῶν συμμετρίας καὶ τὸ πλεονάζον ἐπιδείκνυνται καὶ τὸ ἐνδέον, οὐ βίαιον κατὰ τὸ ἐξ



cepto sintáctico, como el contrario de pleonismo, y presupone el concepto de oración completa. Lo retórico o estético que pueda haber en ella es secundario. He aquí, pues, cómo ya en Apolonio el concepto de elipsis era un concepto lingüístico o sintáctico que supone la existencia de un esquema oracional perfecto, a nivel de estructura, esquema que puede no estar completo a nivel de uso, en cuyo caso lo que ha operado, entre el esquema teórico completo y el esquema incompleto a nivel de uso, ha sido la elipsis.

En el mismo sentido se mueve la teoría de Prisciano, seguidor, como sabemos, de Apolonio. Para él también el concepto de elipsis, como su contrario el concepto de pleonismo, es un concepto lingüístico. Juntos aparecen ambos conceptos en Prisciano cuando dice: *Attici multa per ellipsin proferunt uel pleonasmon*<sup>28</sup>. La elipsis es un procedimiento lingüístico que interviene en la generación de determinados giros que no responden al esquema racional y teórico; aplicando a ellos la elipsis se llega a ese esquema racional. Así, el esquema lógico exige que todo pronombre relativo remita a un nombre antecedente; de manera que en aquellos casos en que una construcción determinada no presenta ese nombre y el relativo no tiene antecedente es porque ha operado la elipsis: *Sciendum tamen quod per ellipsin aliorum casualium haec saepe inueniuntur relatiua, ut Terentius in Andria: "Ita tum discedo ab illo, ut qui se filiam neget daturum", deest enim 'ut ab eo, qui neget'; et "uenit cuius causa est" deest 'iste'; et "exigit cui debeo"; et "minatur quem timeo", et "florete quo ualeo"*<sup>29</sup>. Lo mismo sucede cuando aparece un infinitivo como predicado de una oración; tal es el caso del uso de un infinitivo con valor de imperativo o con valor de tiempo histórico; como el principio teórico dice que el infinitivo es un nombre verbal, hay que pensar que en el esquema teórico todo infinitivo depende de un verbo en forma personal, como depende de un verbo todo nombre; pues bien, ese verbo en forma personal está elidido; de nuevo ha intervenido la elipsis en el proceso: *Itaque apud graecos pro imperatiuo ponitur* (el infinitivo), *apud nos autem pro praeterito imperfecto. Et apud illos et apud nos hoc fit per figuram ellipseos, id est defectionis; 'gaudere' enim dicunt pro 'gaude', et subauditur 'iubeo' uel 'uolo' uel 'opto'. Sic enim antiqui 'gaudere te iubeo' pro 'gaude'.*

αὐτῶν ἐπηξημένον τῇ συμμετρημένῃ τῶν λέξεων συνόδῳ καὶ τὸ πλεονάζον καὶ τὸ λείπον δεικνύσθαι. La traducción es de V. Bécaries, *Apolonio*...p. 208.

<sup>28</sup> Prisciano, *Institutiones*...18, 242; Keil, *Grammatici*... III, p. 328.

<sup>29</sup> Prisciano, *Institutiones*...17,32; Keil, *Grammatici*... III, p. 128.

*Terentius in Adelphis*: “*Gaudere Hegionem plurimum iubeo*”, pro ‘gaude, Hegio, plurimum’. Sic ergo et apud nos, cum imperfectum sit ‘dicere coepi’, pro ‘dicebam’, ‘scribere coepi’ pro ‘scribebam’, per ellipsin uerbi ‘coepi’ solent auctores proferre infinita, ut *Terentius in Andria*: “*Ego illud sedulo negare factum*”, deest enim ‘coepi’: ‘negare’ pro ‘negabam’<sup>30</sup>. También ha operado la elipsis cuando un participio pasivo funciona como núcleo verbal de la frase; en este caso lo elidido es la forma personal correspondiente del verbo *sum*: *Participia pro uerbis ponunt Attici, quod frequenter faciunt latini...Terentius in Andria*: “*Quid meritus?*” pro ‘quid meruisti?’. *Hoc Romani faciunt in omnium passiuorum et deponentium et communium praeteritis, per quae participiis utuntur pro uerbo adiungentes uerbum substantiuum; frequenter tamen et per ellipsin eius per se participia loco uerborum funguntur, ut Virgilius in I Aeneidos*: “*Certe hinc Romanos olim uoluentibus annis, / hinc fore ductores, reuocato a sanguine Teucris, / qui mare, qui terras omni ditione tenerent, / pollicitus*”, deest ‘es’. *Cicero pro Ligario*: “*Queritur se prohibitum*”, deest ‘esse’<sup>31</sup>. Y, por último, hay frecuentes elisiones de la preposición; si el principio es que un acusativo que no sea complemento directo debe llevar preposición, cada vez que nos encontremos con usos de acusativos de este tipo sin preposición, hay que pensar que ha intervenido la elipsis: *Lucanus in III*: “*Insiluit solo nociturus pondere puppim*”; *sed magis per ellipsin ‘in’ praepositionis prolatum est, ‘insiluit puppim’ pro ‘in puppim’*<sup>32</sup>. Así pues, en todos estos casos y algunos más — muchos de los cuales vamos a encontrar después en El Brocense — la elipsis no es nada más que un procedimiento lingüístico que viene a explicar un desajuste entre el esquema lingüístico teórico y la frase ya realizada.

Y de la misma forma que en los casos anteriores, también en el tema de la elipsis hay ya en el propio siglo XVI, antes del Brocense, gramáticos que se mueven, con mayor o menor intensidad, en la misma línea. El *De emendata structura* de Linacro, de 1524, es interesante fundamentalmente por dos rasgos: en primer lugar por el mantenimiento de una teoría sintáctica medieval sobre transitividad e intransitividad; y, en segundo lugar, por su tratamiento de las construcciones elípticas que,

<sup>30</sup> Prisciano, *Institutiones*...18,49: Keil, *Grammatici*... III, p. 228.

<sup>31</sup> Prisciano, *Institutiones*...18,201: Keil, *Grammatici*... III, p. 305.

<sup>32</sup> Prisciano, *Institutiones*...18,236: Keil, *Grammatici*... III, p. 325.

sesenta años antes del Brocense, proporciona, en el siglo XVI, una base para el desarrollo posterior de toda una teoría lingüística. A este respecto hay que tener en cuenta que ya la gramática modista medieval propuso un sistema de gramática universal basado en las categorías de la filosofía aristotélica. Roger Bacon<sup>33</sup> dejó claro ya en el siglo XIII que *Grammatica una et eadem est secundum substantiam in omnibus linguis, licet accidentaliter uarietur*. Otros teóricos medievales distinguieron entre *uerbum oris* o discurso y *uerbum mentis* o estructura sintáctica profunda, común a todas las lenguas. En este sentido, los gramáticos modistas medievales no hacen sino seguir a Prisciano, quien, como ya hemos visto, ya se había preguntado por la relación entre discurso y esquema mental. Y es el énfasis en el esquema mental, en los conceptos, el que caracteriza a la gramática medieval tardía; y ese énfasis, juntamente con la idea de que los mismos conceptos están presentes en todos los hombres y en todas las lenguas, lleva a la conclusión de que diferentes estructuras lingüísticas, de las cuales una es la que responde al esquema lógico o racional, expresan o responden a los mismos esquemas o conceptos. Para los gramáticos modistas, tales como Tomas de Erfurt<sup>34</sup>, el fin de la sintaxis es la expresión del *mentis conceptus*: *Constructio in grammatica est finaliter per exprimendum mentis conceptum*. De esta forma, la sintaxis puede operar en dos niveles: el primero es aquel en el que todos los *constructibilia* del esquema mental de una frase aparecen expresos en el discurso: *ego lego*. El segundo es aquel en que uno o más de los *constructibilia* no está expreso, pero se sobreentiende por el entendimiento: *lego*. En otras palabras, no hay una correspondencia exacta entre el discurso y el *mentis conceptus*. Pues bien, estos principios son los que justifican que Linacro dedique buena parte de su obra, el libro sexto, a las figuras de construcción, entre las cuales la elipsis explica la ausencia de un elemento que de hecho aparece en la construcción “legítima”, es decir, en el esquema teórico racional. W.K. Percival considera el tratamiento de la elipsis por parte de Linacro y de otros autores del Renacimiento como “a familiar concept in grammatical analysis at least since the Alexandrian period”<sup>35</sup> y como “a further

<sup>33</sup> R. Bacon, *Greek grammar*, ed. E. Nolan-S.A. Hirsh (Cambridge 1902), p.27.

<sup>34</sup> Thomas de Erfurt, *Grammatica speculativa*, ed. G.L. Bursill-Hall (London 1972), p. 45.

<sup>35</sup> W.K. Percival, “Deep and surface structure concepts in Renaissance and Medieval Syntactic theory”, en *History of Linguistic Thought and Contemporary Linguistics*, ed. H. Parret (Berlin-New York 1976), p. 248.

elaboration of notions which had been familiar since antiquity”<sup>36</sup>; y añade que “The distinction between deep and surface structure, in so far as it is prefigured in the doctrina of understood elements, is as old as the grammatical tradition itself”<sup>37</sup>, nociones que habían sido ilustradas en el manual estilístico de Lorenzo Valla, el *De linguae latinae elegantia*, compuesto alrededor de 1440. Padley<sup>38</sup> piensa igualmente que el *De emendata structura* de Linacro ofrece un tratamiento de la elipsis que continúa una larga tradición retórica que arranca como mínimo, reconoce Padley, de Prisciano — nosotros sabemos que de antes, de Apolonio, al menos — y que está ejemplificada en las páginas de Valla.

Entre Linacro y El Brocense emerge la gramática filosófica de J. C. Escalígero, de gran importancia para la evolución del pensamiento lingüístico. Su *De causis linguae latinae* (1540) es la primera gramática, después de la Edad Media, en usar el metalenguaje de la filosofía aristotélica a la hora de llegar a las “causas” subyacentes de la lengua. De todas formas, aunque podríamos decir que la gramática de Escalígero se mueve en la misma línea de las gramáticas teóricas en que se va a mover después El Brocense, sin embargo, en el tema que estamos analizando, el de la elipsis como procedimiento lingüístico, poco podemos decir, ya que Escalígero no trata de ella. Y ello, a pesar de que tiene todo un libro, corto, pero un libro al fin y al cabo, el 12 de su obra, dedicado a las figuras de construcción, entre las cuales no se encuentra la elipsis.

De todas formas, de todo lo dicho se desprende que también en el tratamiento de la elipsis El Brocense está siguiendo una línea que arranca de Apolonio, continúa en Prisciano y reaparece en la gramática modista de finales de la Edad Media y en la teórica del XVI.

#### 4. Conclusión.

Como decíamos al principio, la sintaxis teórica que vemos aflorar en el siglo XVI hunde sus raíces en la antigüedad, concretamente en las figuras de Apolonio Díscolo y Prisciano. Ello quiere decir que El Brocense no es el padre de la gramática teórica, como a veces se ha dicho. Pero tampoco quiere decir que esté privado de originalidad. A lo largo del análisis que hemos hecho se ha podido ver cómo amplía o explota teorías anteriores; incluso en algunos casos llega bastante más lejos.

<sup>36</sup> Id., p. 253.

<sup>37</sup> Id., p. 248.

<sup>38</sup> G.A. Padley, *Grammatical Theory...*, p. 235.

Pero lo más original del Brocense, desde mi punto de vista, aparte de que es el español que se mueve en una línea más universal, está en lo siguiente: en la cuestión que hemos planteado a lo largo de todo este trabajo, que no es otra que la cuestión de la existencia de una gramática teórica y casi universal, El Brocense sabe que una cosa es el nivel teórico y gramatical, y otra cosa el nivel de uso; que una cosa es *grammatice loqui* y otra *latine loqui*; y que, para hablar latín, hay que hablar *latine*, de acuerdo con las normas del uso establecido por los grandes autores del latín, pero para estudiarlo, hay que estudiarlo *grammatice*, es decir, hay que buscar la estructura racional de la lengua y desde ella explicar los usos. No desprecia, pues, El Brocense el uso, a la hora de hablar latín, pero tampoco desprecia la teoría gramatical o lingüística, a la hora del estudio de la lengua. Congeniar y aceptar estas dos cosas creo que es el mayor mérito y originalidad de Francisco Sánchez.

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## LOS VERBOS NEUTROS EN EL BROCENSE \*

Personalmente, creemos que no hay otro tema que haya suscitado tanta y tan variada problemática entre los gramáticos de todos los tiempos como el estudio del verbo y su tipología.

Pues bien, en este tema, surge en el siglo XVI, en el Renacimiento, una figura clave para los estudios posteriores, Francisco Sánchez de las Brozas, el Brocense. A nuestro juicio, es con él con quien se ponen las bases en el intento de simplificación y racionalidad en el estudio del verbo.

Pero, antes de analizar sus opiniones concretas, vayamos a la época greco-latina, para conocer todo el bagaje y los planteamientos que había transmitido la tradición.

### *El estudio del verbo entre los griegos*

En el siglo II a.C., en ese foco cultural de la ciudad de Alejandría, comenzaron a estudiarse sistemáticamente los textos.

Encontramos en este momento varios filósofos que empiezan a preocuparse por el lenguaje y su reflejo escrito. Así, el filósofo estoico Diógenes Laercio, utilizando una terminología propia de la palestra y de la lucha griegas<sup>1</sup>, distingue tres tipos de verbos: ὀρθα, ὑπτια, οὐδέτερα,

\* Este artículo lo hemos realizado teniendo como base la Memoria de Licenciatura que, con el título *Los verbos neutros: de la Antigüedad al Brocense*, leímos en Noviembre de 1991 en la Universidad de Extremadura, bajo la dirección del profesor D. Eustaquio Sánchez Salor, a quien agradecemos su ayuda y apoyo inestimables. A su vez, hemos de apuntar que la realización de este trabajo se inscribe dentro del proyecto de investigación "Tradición y originalidad en la teoría gramatical del Renacimiento", (PB91-0464), subvencionado por la DGICYT y dirigido por D.Eustaquio Sánchez Salor.

<sup>1</sup> Vid. P. Flobert, *Les verbes déponents latins...*, p.5 que destaca la labor de los filósofos estoicos y, en cuanto a esta opinión de Diógenes, apunta la utilización de un criterio semántico-sintáctico y no morfológico. Para conocer mejor la influencia de los estoicos, vid. R.H. Robins, *Breve historia...*, pp. 26 y 37; M. Baratin, *L'analyse linguistique...*, pp. 33 y sigs.; L. Holtz, *Donat et la tradition...*, p. 8; R.H. Robins, "The Future of Linguis-

que podíamos traducir como “rectos” o “derechos”, “vuelto” o “dados la vuelta” y “ni unos ni otros”.

Así pues, ὀρθα son los verbos activos transitivos, aquéllos que expresan acción y, con un cambio de perspectiva, pueden pasar a pasivos (ὑπτα).

Activos y pasivos formarían la dicotomía básica, frente a la cual encontramos los verbos οὐδέτερα, aquéllos de terminación activa pero que no pueden aparecer en pasiva.

Dionisio de Tracia, por su parte, en torno al 100 a.C., renuncia ya en su *Techné* a las metáforas estoicas y adopta un punto de vista de carácter más morfológico en su estudio del verbo.

Ello le lleva a no establecer una categoría de verbos οὐδέτερα, sino de verbos medios<sup>2</sup>. Surge con esto lo que tradicionalmente hemos conocido como voz media, aunque, como especifica C. García Gual:

“La voz media aparece como algo secundario, donde se encasillan aquellas formas de dudosa clasificación”<sup>3</sup>.

Ha aparecido ya en Dionisio un elemento nuevo en el estudio del verbo: la **diátesis** o “disposición” que adopta el sujeto respecto a la acción o pasión expresadas por el verbo<sup>4</sup>, concepto que será clave en la lingüística griega y latina.

Llegamos así a Apolonio Díscolo, “el primer jalón en la historia de la sintaxis”<sup>5</sup>. En efecto, este autor trata el estudio del verbo desde la perspectiva de las diferentes construcciones que éste puede adoptar en función de su significado. Es decir, centrándose en el propio verbo, analiza su naturaleza y significado, para poder explicar así su construcción y tipología, con lo cual el plano morfológico tendrá menor importancia.

tics...”, p. 204; R.Schmidt, *Stoicorum grammatica*, p. 2; Sancho Royo, “Diátesis y transitividad...”, p. 38.

<sup>2</sup> Vid. P. Flobert, *Les verbes déponents latins...*, pp. 6-7.

<sup>3</sup> C. García Gual, *El sistema diatélico...*, p. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Este término (διάθεσις), como afirma Sancho Royo, proviene del verbo griego διατίθημι, y es utilizado ya en la *Techné* de Dionisio de Tracia, primera gramática griega que hemos conservado. Cf. P. Flobert, *Les verbes...*, p. 6; F. Delgado, “Gramática clásica...”, p. 93; M. Baratin, *L'analyse...*, p.10.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Apolonio Díscolo, *Sintaxis*, ed. de V. Bécares, p. 25. En efecto, si el mayor defecto que los lingüistas atribuyen a Dionisio es su escaso tratamiento de la sintaxis, sin embargo, esos mismos lingüistas reconocen el amplio tratamiento de este aspecto en la obra de Apolonio Díscolo. Cf. R.H. Robins, *Breve historia...*, p. 46; Sancho Royo, “Diátesis y transitividad...”, p. 40, para quien lo que le interesa a Apolonio de la diátesis es su valor en el plano sintáctico.



En este sentido, al estudiar los accidentes del verbo, establece que la voz puede ser activa, pasiva o media<sup>6</sup>.

De nuevo, encontramos que activa y pasiva son las diátesis fundamentales. Sin embargo, Apolonio introduce una novedad y es que, dentro de los activos, afirma que hay verbos que no disponen de la pasiva correspondiente, ya que no se construyen con un acusativo que, en la pasiva, pueda aparecer como sujeto paciente<sup>7</sup>.

Este tipo de verbos se define, pues, con términos negativos, algo que ha quedado en nuestros intransitivos.

En efecto, teniendo en cuenta el “paso” de la acción de un sujeto a otra persona paciente, los verbos en los que no se produce tal “paso” son ἀμετάβατα ο ἀδιαβίβαστα.

Además, restringiendo un tanto el concepto de transitividad, debido a ese criterio de la transformación activa — pasiva, entonces esencial, observa Apolonio que hay verbos como “pasear” que pueden llevar un complemento, pero que no admiten transformación pasiva, al menos en la primera o segunda personas: “paseo el camino”, “el camino es paseado”, y no \*“soy paseado”<sup>8</sup>.

Son varios los verbos de este tipo citados por Apolonio: “habitar”, “navegar”, “correr”, “hablar en dórico”, “hablar en eólico”, “desayunar”, “almorzar”...

En definitiva, para Apolonio:

— Los verbos activos, identificados con los transitivos tradicionales, son verbos que, por su significación incompleta o imprecisa, necesitan un complemento que les permita formar una oración con sentido. Además, ese complemento puede aparecer como sujeto si ponemos la frase en pasiva.

— Sin embargo, hay otros verbos “semánticamente llenos”, “llenos” porque no necesitan un complemento (son αὐτοτελῆ) ya que tienen significado por sí mismos.

<sup>6</sup> Apollonius Dyscolus, *Synt.* III 147: Ἀκόλουθόν ἐστιν διαλαβεῖν καὶ περὶ τῆς ἐγγινομένης διαθέσεως καθ' ἐκάστην ἐγκλίσιν, ἥς οὐδὲ τὰ ἀπαρέμφατα ἐκτὸς ἐγένετο διὰ τὸ κατηναγκασμένον τοῦ συνέπεσθαι ἅπασιν τοῖς χρόνοις ἢ ἐνεργητικῶς ἢ παθητικῶς ἢ καὶ ἔτι μέσως.

<sup>7</sup> Apollonius Dyscolus, *Synt.* III 148-9: οὐ δὲ τούτοις ὁμοίᾳ ἐστὶν τὸ ὑπάρχω, τὸ ζῶ, τὸ εἰμί, τὸ πνέω, τὸ φρονῶ, τὰ ὅμοια. τῶν δὲ τοιούτων ἀναλόγως ἢ παθητικῇ ἐγκλίσιν ὑποσταλήσεται, ὅτι μὴδὲ διὰ τῆς ἐνεργητικῆς ἐγκλίσεως τὰ ἐνεργούμενα πρόσωπα παρέστησαν, ἀ πάντως διατεθέντα τὸ παθεῖν ὁμολογήσει.

<sup>8</sup> Por eso afirma Sancho Royo que “la transitividad en Apolonio se entiende como transición entre personas”, concepto que pasará a los gramáticos latinos, sobre todo a través de Prisciano y, de ahí, a la gramática medieval. Cf. Sancho Royo, “Diátesis y transitividad...”, p. 42.

Comienza así una larga línea de pensamiento que continuará en la gramática latina, sobre todo en Prisciano, y que llegará al Renacimiento con la figura del Brocense.

*Los verbos neutros en los gramáticos latinos*

Como apunta P. Flobert, los gramáticos latinos recogidos en el *corpus* de Keil tienen dos preocupaciones esenciales:

- .— Traducir el término griego diátesis.
- .— Determinar el número exacto de voces<sup>9</sup>.

Pues bien, ¿cómo traducen los gramáticos latinos el término diátesis?

Las acepciones más usadas son *genus* y *significatio*, que destacan la preocupación clasificatoria de estos gramáticos, así como el carácter semántico de su definición del verbo<sup>10</sup>.

Sin embargo, a pesar de la hegemonía actual del término “voz”, su originario latino, *vox*, no era demasiado usado por estos gramáticos, quienes lo limitaban a aquellos contextos en los que se apreciaba un matiz claramente formal.

En cuanto a la preocupación clasificatoria y al intento de determinar un número exacto de voces, se pretende establecer un paralelismo perfecto:

Dos formas/ Dos significaciones / Dos posibilidades de expresión.

Pero esto no es tan sencillo, de ahí que, a partir de activo y pasivo, surjan otros *genera* verbales como neutro, común y deponente.

En este sentido, como recoge P. Flobert<sup>11</sup>, los gramáticos latinos van mostrando diversas opiniones que hacen variar el número de *genera* verbales entre dos y nueve. Ahora bien, la teoría más repetida por todos ellos es la que apunta la existencia de cinco *genera* en latín: *activum*, *passivum*, *neutrum*, *commune*, *deponens*.

En resumen, éstas serían sus características:

<sup>9</sup> P. Flobert, *Les verbes déponents...*, p. 8: “La grammaire latine n’essaiera pas d’aller plus loin que la grammaire grecque dans l’étude de la diathèse; ses deux préoccupations majeures seront de traduire *diathesis* et de déterminer le nombre exact des voix verbales”.

<sup>10</sup> Por ejemplo, ésta es la definición de verbo ofrecida por Donato: *Verbum quid est? Pars orationis cum tempore et persona sine casu aut agere aliquid aut pati aut neutrum significans*. Donato, *Ars grammatica*, en Keil, *Gramm. Lat.*, IV, p. 355.

<sup>11</sup> P. Flobert, *Les verbes déponents...*, pp. 19 y ss.

.— *Verba activa. Lego.*

Tienen desinencia activa.

Llevan caso oblicuo, especificando además todos los autores, excepto Donato, Prisciano y Macrobio, que deben llevar acusativo.

Pueden aparecer en pasiva.

.— *Verba passiva. Legor.*

Tienen desinencia pasiva.

Son el resultado de la transformación de un verbo activo.

.— *Verba neutra. Curro.*

Su desinencia es activa.

Normalmente no llevan caso oblicuo.

No pueden aparecer en pasiva, porque no hay un objeto que se convierta en sujeto paciente.

.— *Verba deponentia. Loquor.*

La desinencia es pasiva.

Su significación es activa y, por lo tanto, pueden llevar un complemento.

No tienen posibilidad de transformación diatética, dada su significación ya activa.

.— *Verba communia. Osculor te / a te.*

Esta denominación nos anuncia que son verbos con significación activa o pasiva (*osculor te / a te*).

Sin embargo, según los gramáticos latinos, la forma es única, pasiva<sup>12</sup>.

Así pues, los verbos neutros siguen definiéndose con términos negativos, ya que son verbos de terminación activa, pero que, al no ir acompañados de un complemento, no tienen posibilidad de transformación pasiva.

El término clave, el término que ha llegado hasta nuestros días para referirse a estos verbos neutros es “intransitivos”, frente a los transitivos, que comprenderían a los *activa* de los gramáticos latinos.

<sup>12</sup> A pesar de que *osculor* aparece con mucha frecuencia entre los gramáticos latinos como ejemplo de verbo común, sabemos que este verbo sí tiene formas activas. Así: *Osculavi privignae caput*, Titin., *com.* 155, etc.

Es Prisciano quien, trasladando al latín los conceptos de Apolonio Díscolo<sup>13</sup>, introduce en la gramática latina el concepto de transitividad. Así:

Cum igitur flectas nomen in obliquos casus, verbum adiungi ei non potest intransitivum, id est ἀμετάβατα, hoc est in sua manens persona, nam μεταβατικά dicuntur, id est transitiva, quae ab alia ad aliam transeunt personam, in quibus solent obliqui casus adiungi verbis, ut misereor tui, moderatur imperator militibus... hic enim, quia ab alia persona ad aliam transit verbi significatio, utimur obliquis<sup>14</sup>.

Es decir, cuando este gramático se fija, no ya en la forma o en la posibilidad de transformación pasiva, sino en la construcción, se olvida de la oposición *activa* — *neutra*, para establecer una nueva dicotomía, la que ha llegado hasta nuestros días: transitivo — intransitivo.

Sin embargo -y aquí empezamos a señalar las “anomalías” que surgen en la definición de los gramáticos latinos- en ocasiones estos gramáticos sí admiten la construcción con acusativo para los verbos neutros. Es el caso de verbos como *ceno*, uno de los más citados entre los neutros y que, a veces, aparece con un complemento que especifica “qué se ha cenado”, complemento que, por supuesto, va en acusativo, con lo cual tenemos una construcción igual a la de los verbos activos. Por ejemplo: Plaut., *Ps.* 842/45: *Eum odorem cenat Iuppiter cottidie ... Si nusquam coctum is, quidnam cenat Iuppiter?...*

Además, los verbos neutros pueden aparecer con un *accusativus cognatae significationis*, un acusativo que repite el contenido e, incluso, la raíz verbal. Es el caso de Plaut., *Rud.*, 508: *Scelestiorem cenam cenavi tuam ...*

Sabemos también, tal como aparecía ya en Apolonio Díscolo, que los verbos neutros pueden aparecer con un acusativo inanimado. En este sentido se expresa Prisciano, para quien:

In tertia vero persona saepe passivum solet inveniri etiam ex huiusmodi verbis sed ad muta et carentia anima pertinens. Dicimus enim *conditur holus, aratur terra, inseritur arbos, curritur spatium...* Quis

<sup>13</sup> Son muchos los autores que destacan la influencia del alejandrino sobre Prisciano. Por ejemplo, R.H. Robins, “Appendix: History of Linguistics” en *Linguistics...*, ed. por R.J. Newmeyer, p. 468; Egger, *Apollonius Dyscole...*, p. 43; M. Baratin, *L'analyse...*, p. 57; R.H. Robins, *Breve historia...*, p. 46; o A. Mestres, “Prisciano y su sintaxis”, p. 7, para quien: “El gran mérito cultural de esta obra estriba en la introducción en el área cultural de Occidente de las teorías del griego Apolonio Díscolo, verdadero creador de la Sintaxis y el máximo representante de los estudios gramaticales de la Antigüedad”.

<sup>14</sup> Prisciano, *Institutiones...*, en Keil, *Gram. lat.*, II, 552.

enim dicit *aror*, *inseror*, *curror*, nisi poetica conformatio, id est προσωποποιία inducatur?<sup>15</sup>.

También Prisciano cita un nuevo caso en el que un verbo neutro aparece con acusativo. Se trata de un uso figurado. Por ejemplo, es el caso de la segunda bucólica de Virgilio: *Corydon ardebat Alexin*.

A este problema de la construcción de los verbos neutros con acusativo, se añade el de los verbos que rigen un caso oblicuo distinto al acusativo, ya que, si bien expresan una acción que “pasa” de una persona a otra, sin embargo, no admiten transformación pasiva<sup>16</sup>.

Vemos, pues, que son muchas las anomalías que surgen en la definición de verbo neutro de los gramáticos latinos, debido a su rígida concepción de los *genera verbi* y a la importancia dada al criterio de la transformación activa — pasiva.

Una nueva anomalía es la llamada pasiva impersonal, de tipo *curritur*, *bellatur*, *ambulator*, “anomalía” que permite a Prisciano mostrar su concepción de los verbos neutros:

*Sciendum autem, quod impersonalia, sive transitive sive intransitive proferantur, obliquis casibus iunguntur, nisi per defectionem proferantur: intransitive, ut curritur a me pro curro, vel statur a te pro stas, vel sedetur ab illo pro sedet ille; quamvis in eis quoque potest ipsa res intellegi voce passiva, ut curritur cursus et bellatur bellum unde etiam, si non addatur a quo, potest tamen sensum complere ipsius rei, quae agitur. Virg. in VII: Certatur comminus armis. Terent. in Eunuchio: Quid agitur? Statur?...<sup>17</sup>*

Lo esencial, para nosotros, en estas palabras es que, en una construcción como *curritur*, debe sobreentenderse el *nomen cognatum*, *cursus*, lo cual determina que, sólo con la forma verbal, aparezca una frase con sentido completo. Es decir, los verbos neutros son verbos semánticamente llenos, verbos que, en sí mismos, conllevan un *nomen cognatum* que aporta el rasgo [+QUID] y ofrece así la esencia significativa del verbo.

<sup>15</sup> Prisciano, *Institutiones*, en Keil, *Gram. lat.*, II, pp.375 y ss.

<sup>16</sup> En este sentido se manifiesta Prisciano, para quien: *Exciipiuntur, ut ostendimus pauca, quae quamvis sint activa et transitive dicantur in hominem, tamen non habent passivam, usu deficiente, ut noceo tibi*. En Keil, *Gramm. Lat.*, III,271. Además de Prisciano, que, como vemos, sí reconoce la categoría de transitivos para aquellos verbos que rigen un caso oblicuo distinto al acusativo, también los reconocen como tales otros autores como Donato o Macrobio. *Ibid.*, IV,383; V,627. A pesar de estas excepciones, la tendencia general es identificar el verbo activo transitivo con aquél que rige acusativo y tiene posibilidad de transformación pasiva.

<sup>17</sup> PRISCIANO, *Institutiones*, II,147.

Es esta línea de pensamiento, que comenzaba con Apolonio y Prisciano, la que llegará al Brocense y termina con todas estas anomalías que veíamos en la definición de los gramáticos latinos.

En efecto, para Prisciano, los verbos neutros:

Possunt habere intellectum nominativi ipsius rei quae in verbo intelligitur, nam cum dico curritur, cursus intellego et sedetur sessio et ambulatur ambulatio, et evenit eventus; sic et similia.<sup>18</sup>

En definitiva, para Prisciano, en los verbos neutros debe sobreentenderse un *accusativus cognatus*, un acusativo que se elide normalmente en la realización por no ser necesaria su presencia explícita.

Pero, a pesar de este planteamiento, la tendencia dominante entre los gramáticos latinos es que los verbos neutros son aquellos verbos de terminación activa que, al no construirse con un acusativo como complemento, no tienen posibilidad de transformación pasiva.

Esta teoría pasará a la Edad Media, donde, como afirma A. Mestres, Donato y Prisciano son los “señores absolutos de los estudios medievales”<sup>19</sup>.

Aparte de esta continuación de las doctrinas gramaticales greco-latinas, encontramos también, sobre todo en la segunda mitad del siglo XIII, un complejo movimiento cultural formado por los *modistae*, autores preocupados fundamentalmente por los modos en que el lenguaje puede reflejar la realidad.

Pues bien, dentro de este movimiento, el estudio del verbo y la transitividad cambia un tanto de perspectiva, ya que lo que interesa en la frase es la coordinación de todos los elementos entre sí. De este modo, se habla de construcción transitiva o intransitiva en cada par de elementos relacionados, por ejemplo sustantivo y adjetivo.

Sin embargo, sí observamos, por otra parte, la influencia de Prisciano y su concepto de transitividad como *transitio personarum*, ya que se distingue claramente entre las construcciones transitiva e intransitiva *actuum et personarum*, dependiendo de si la acción “pasa” o no entre dos personas y si existe un verbo.

<sup>18</sup> Prisciano, *Institutiones*, en Keil, *Gram. Lat.*, III, 271.

<sup>19</sup> A. Mestres, “Prisciano y su sintaxis”, p. 8; Cf. R.H. Robins, *Breve historia...*, p. 61; G.A. Padley, *Grammatical Theory...*, p. 1; Ch. Covington, “Grammatical Theory in the Middle Ages”, p. 23; L.Holtz, *Donat et la tradition...*, p. 240. En cuanto a las diferencias entre Donato y Prisciano, vid. R.H. Robins, “Appendix ...” p. 468.

*El Renacimiento*

En definitiva, este movimiento modista, tremendamente sutil y complejo, preocupado por la teorización y la consideración de la gramática como ciencia, no aporta demasiada originalidad al estudio del verbo, de manera que, al inicio del Renacimiento, seguimos observando el mantenimiento de los cinco *genera verbi* tradicionales apuntados por los gramáticos del *corpus* de Keil<sup>20</sup>.

Ahora bien, en el siglo XVI, comienza a entreverse una cierta reacción. No podemos olvidar la pujanza de las lenguas vulgares y la preocupación por estudiar estas lenguas alejadas ya, en varios aspectos, del latín descrito en los manuales clásicos. Además, se afirma ahora que, para estudiar latín, hay que volver a los autores clásicos y no al latín hablado, que había evolucionado mucho.

En esta situación surge, ya en la primera mitad del s.XVI, alguien que va a tener mucha influencia en el Brocense: J.C. Escalígero, quien en 1540 publica su *De causis linguae latinae*.

Este título, precisamente, se repite en el encabezamiento de la *Minerva*, *Minerva sive de causis linguae latinae*, y es que se trata en ambos casos de libros de reflexión, que critican la inconsecuencia de las gramáticas basadas sólo en la forma y que intentan buscar los fundamentos del latín para llegar, a través de ellos, a los de la lengua en general.

En esa línea de pensamiento hemos situado a Escalígero, pero aún, antes de llegar al Brocense, debemos citar a Linacro, con el que la reflexión se afirma y que aparece citado una y otra vez por el Brocense, hasta tal punto que todos los ejemplos de elipsis introducidos por Linacro en su *De emendata structura latini sermonis* (1524), se encuentran también en la *Minerva*.<sup>21</sup>

G. Clerico señala una serie de características de la gramática racionalista del XVI, gramática simbolizada para ella en el Brocense. Pues bien, estas características serían:

<sup>20</sup> Por ejemplo, Nebrija, en 1481, cuando publica sus *Introductiones Latinae*, sigue manteniendo la existencia y caracterización clásica de los *genera activum, passivum, neutrum, commune, deponens*. A. De Nebrija, *Introductiones Latinae*, ed. facsimil de la edic. de 1481, Salamanca, 1981 [fol.b<sup>r</sup>, col.b].

<sup>21</sup> G. Clerico, en su edición de la *Minerva*, introducción pp. 58-59. Para más datos sobre la influencia de Linacro y, sobre todo, del concepto de elipsis en el Brocense, vid. G.A. Padley, "L'importance de T. Linacre", p. 44; este mismo autor en *Grammatical Theory...*, p.275; W.K. Percival, "Deep and Surface...", pp. 244-248; F. Sánchez de las Brozas, *Minerva*, ed. 1562, p.32.

A) Rechazo del morfologismo.

B) Sobrepassar los tipos de clasificación puramente flexionales o distribucionales.

C) Preocupación por racionalizar el estudio gramatical.

D) Una cierta semantización o intento de dotar de carácter lógico las categorías transmitidas por los gramáticos latinos<sup>22</sup>.

Esto es, precisamente, lo que estaba pidiendo el estudio que, sobre los verbos neutros, hemos analizado en los gramáticos latinos de la Antigüedad. En efecto, hemos visto la gran preocupación de estos gramáticos por las clasificaciones de las diátesis verbales, hemos visto también cómo estas clasificaciones estaban basadas sobre todo en la forma de los verbos, sin que se ofrecieran motivos claros y lógicos basados en el propio verbo y su construcción. No había un estudio sistemático y constantemente surgían anomalías en la definición de verbo neutro.

Pues bien, esto es lo que el Brocense quiere evitar. Desde luego, si este gramático tiene una preocupación dominante es la sencillez, la claridad en la enseñanza y la comprensión. Por eso, para él, todas esas excepciones que aparecen en el *corpus* de Keil se deben a un estudio que se queda en la forma y en el *usus*, sin proponerse ir más allá.

Sin embargo, el Brocense no se conforma con el *usus*, sino que busca las *causae* subyacentes, la *ratio* del lenguaje que explica las distintas construcciones. Esta línea de pensamiento, este predominio de la razón, le llevará a una sistematización, al descubrimiento de una serie de reglas universales, pocas, que explican tanto los usos normales, como las aparentes excepciones, sin tener que recurrir a la autoridad de un autor antiguo.

Pasemos ya, tras esta breve introducción, al análisis concreto del estudio del verbo en el Brocense.

Pues bien, es en el libro III de la Minerva, en el que encontramos la concepción del Brocense sobre el verbo y su tipología: sólo existen dos tipos de verbos, activos y pasivos. En efecto, según F. Sánchez de las Brozas:

*Grammatici nescio quo errore inducti verba omnia in quinque genera dividerunt, activum, passivum, neutrum, commune, deponens. Nobis autem, inquit Caesar Scaliger, satisfit universum ambitum in duo dividere, quae actionem et passionem significant*<sup>23</sup>.

<sup>22</sup> G. Clerico, en la introducción a su edición de la *Minerva*, p. 11.

<sup>23</sup> *Minerva*, 1587, pp. 89-90.



Siguiendo, pues, la concepción aristotélica de que el verbo significa acción o pasión y, por otra parte, tomando como base el significado y no la forma del verbo, va a negar el Brocense la existencia de verbos impersonales, comunes, deponentes y de nuestros neutros<sup>24</sup>.

En efecto, éstas son sus palabras:

*Quid igitur agent verba neutra, si nec activa nec passiva sunt? Nam si agit, aliquid agit. Si vivit, aliquid vivit. Cur enim concedas rem agentem in verbis, quae neutra vocas, si tollis quid agant. An nescis omnem causam efficientem debere necessario effectum producere? Deinde etiam effectum non posse consistere sine causa?*<sup>25</sup>.

Los gramáticos latinos distinguían en los verbos neutros aquéllos que significaban acción (*curro*), pasión (*doleo*, *vapulo*) o estado (*sedeo*). Sin embargo, para el Brocense, sólo existen dos tipos de verbos, los que indican acción y los que indican pasión. Ahora bien, ya se trate de unos u otros, hay algo que se hace o se sufre, y ese “algo” es lo que motiva que no existan verbos neutros ya que, se exprese o no, eso no importa para la consideración de la esencia del verbo.

En este sentido, serán verbos activos aquéllos en los que se hace algo y no olvidemos que, para el Brocense, si estamos acostados o sentados, hacemos algo (*sedere sessionem...*).

¿Cuáles serán entonces los verbos activos? ¿Los que terminan en -o, llevan acusativo y pueden pasar a la voz pasiva, tal como afirmaban los gramáticos latinos? No. No importa la forma, ni tampoco si en la práctica aparecen o no con un acusativo. Serán activos aquellos verbos que “pasan” sobre un acusativo.

Ahora bien, y esto es lo esencial, dentro de los verbos activos hay algunos que pueden llevar acusativos muy diversos y otros que pueden llevar un solo acusativo, siempre el mismo. Por ejemplo, dare *donum*, rem... frente a *currere cursum*.

Es esto lo que diferencia los verbos activos y los considerados antiguamente neutros, porque los activos aparecen con acusativo, un acusativo que especifica qué tipo de acción se realiza, frente a otros verbos activos, nuestros neutros, que sólo pueden llevar un acusativo y no tienen que aparecer con él, porque, como siempre es el mismo, se sobreentiende con facilidad.

<sup>24</sup> Por eso afirma M. Breva-Claramonte que el Brocense justifica filosóficamente que todos los verbos son activos o transitivos. “Logical Structures...”, p. 51.

<sup>25</sup> *Minerva*, 1587, III, p. 90.

En efecto, el Brocense se expresa en los siguientes términos:

*Omnia verba sint aut activa aut passiva; intelligendum est activa omnia vel in varios transire accusativos ut facere verba, fidem, finem, vel in unicum tantum, id est, in suum, ut vivere vitam, mori mortem, egere egestatem, furere furorem*<sup>26</sup>.

En definitiva, los verbos neutros no son sino verbos activos, verbos “semánticamente llenos” que aparecen contruidos de forma absoluta por no expresarse en la realización concreta de la frase el *accusativus cognatus* que aporta la esencia significativa del verbo.

Con esta explicación entramos ya en un planteamiento que afecta, no sólo a los verbos sino a toda la lengua en general, el planteamiento que postula la existencia de un doble nivel, una estructura doble gracias a la cual se explican todas esas excepciones y anomalías que tantos dolores de cabeza han causado a los gramáticos desde la Antigüedad<sup>27</sup>.

Y es que, aunque nada afirma con claridad el Brocense, existe para él un nivel abstracto, la llamada estructura profunda, y un nivel de realización, de concreción de esa estructura profunda. Ahora bien, en el paso de un nivel a otro, pueden producirse fenómenos que expliquen una construcción determinada y la reintegren al sistema y a las leyes de la lengua, unas leyes que quedarían así reducidas a unas cuantas, sencillas de comprender y universales.

En concreto, en el caso de los verbos neutros, se habría producido una elipsis del acusativo, ya que no es necesario concretar su presencia. Si bien me parece fundamental esta idea del Brocense, no podemos olvidar que, unos diez siglos antes, había aparecido ya mencionada, sin rigor ni sistematización, en la obra de Prisciano, remitiéndonos éste, a su vez, a Apolonio Díscolo, pues ambos veían tanto en los usos impersonales de los verbos neutros, como en los usos activos, un acusativo sobreentendido, acusativo que indicaría *ipsam*

<sup>26</sup> *Minerva*, III, p. 92.

<sup>27</sup> Esta delimitación de las “estructuras profunda y superficial” por parte del Brocense ha sido destacada por S. Aldea Gimeno, para quien: “En el Brocense no están claramente deslindadas, pero no hay duda de que de los planteamientos sanctianos arrancará la línea que conducirá a la lingüística moderna, Port-Royal, Du Marsais...” S. Aldea Gimeno, “La teoría lingüística de el Brocense”, pp. 515-516. Cf. G.A. Padley, *Grammatical Theory...*, pp. 270-1, M. Breva Claramonte, “Logical Structures in Sanctius”, pp. 45 y ss. que alude también a posibles antecedentes. No hay duda de que la distinción de Linacro de *constructio iusta y figurata* y la importancia dada al fenómeno de la elipsis anuncian ya el planteamiento sanctiano. Vid. G.A. Padley, “L’importance de Th. Linacre...”, pp. 17 y ss.; J.Mª Hernández Terres, *La elipsis...*, p. 27.

*rem verbi* y ponía Prisciano como ejemplos *vivo (vitam)*, *ambulo (ambulationem)*, *sedeo (sessionem)*, *curro (cursum)*... ejemplos repetidos por el Brocense<sup>28</sup>.

Con esta concepción, el verbo se convierte en el centro, el elemento que, según su propia naturaleza, determina el número de nombres que requiere en la frase. Desde este punto de vista, los verbos neutros, los verbos intransitivos, no son inferiores a los activos, no son verbos que no tienen transformación pasiva, sino un tipo más de verbos.

Incluso, el Brocense llega a afirmar que estos verbos son “más activos” que los considerados tradicionalmente transitivos, pues:

*Illa quae tu vocas absoluta, vera et prima sunt activa et in primo loco activorum collocanda. Itaque sedeo magis activum est quam amo, aut percutio. Aristoteles enim et Cicero in Topicis hanc regulam nobis tradunt: Quae se ipsi contenti sunt, meliora sunt quam quae egent aliis*<sup>29</sup>.

Como resumen de su planteamiento del verbo, introduce el Brocense un capítulo muy significativo en su *Minerva* (III,3): “*De verbis falso neutris. Enumerantur ordine activa multa quae hactenus credita sunt neutra, impersonalia vel deponentia*”.

Este capítulo, como su título indica, ofrece una larga serie de verbos a los que el Brocense niega el carácter de neutros, impersonales o deponentes que hasta ese momento se les había venido atribuyendo.

Irónicamente, lo que nos parece más interesante es que las pruebas en las que se basa el de Brozas para su afirmación son, de hecho, esas anomalías que surgían en la definición de verbo neutro de los gramáticos latinos. En este sentido, la existencia de pasiva impersonal, de formas pasivas como gerundivos y participios de perfecto, de construcción con acusativo... encajan perfectamente con la definición de verbo activo (no ya neutro) del Brocense, ya que:

.- En la pasiva impersonal, si invertimos *currere cursum*, debe sobreentenderse también el *nomen cognatum* que siempre acompaña a los verbos falso neutros, *nomen* que, en este caso, funcionaría como sujeto: *curritur (cursus)*, *sedetur (sessio)*.

.- En las formas no personales pasivas ocurre lo mismo. Un verbo activo “semánticamente lleno” puede tener participio de perfecto como

<sup>28</sup> La influencia de Prisciano hasta el Renacimiento ha sido destacada por A. Mestres en el artículo: “Prisciano y su sintaxis”, p. 8. Cf. el Brocense, *Minerva*, 1562, pp. 48-52.

<sup>29</sup> Brocense, *Minerva*, III, p. 94.

*iuratus*, ya que se habría sobreentendido su *suppositum*<sup>30</sup>. En el caso del gerundio-gerundivo, defiende el Brocense que lo que nosotros conocemos como gerundivo es un participio pasivo. Y, en cuanto al gerundio, si una forma como *ad eundum* no lleva un acusativo explícito, entonces debe sobreentenderse la existencia de *suum nomen cognatum* como *suppositum* elidido en la realización: *ad eundum iter*. Por ello, todas estas formas son una prueba de que los verbos neutros no son sino verbos plenamente activos.

— La construcción con acusativo sería una prueba más del carácter activo de estos verbos, tanto si es el propio *accusativus cognatus* el que aparece, como si es uno de los acusativos que especifica, de forma más o menos metafórica, ese *accusativus cognatus*. Es el caso de *curro cursum*, *vivere pecunias* o *ardere uxorem*.

En definitiva, en este capítulo, el Brocense introduce una larga serie de 250 verbos en todos los cuales ofrece ejemplos y datos para afirmar que no son sino verbos activos. Valgan a modo de ejemplo y en contraposición a los citados por los gramáticos latinos los siguientes verbos:

**Aestuo.** (“agitarse, estar ardiendo”). Aparecía citado como neutro por dos gramáticos distintos: Consentio (Keil, V,366) y Agustín (V,511 y 514). Incluso, éste llega a considerarlo *semineutrale*, porque verbo neutro propiamente dicho sería el que no indica ni acción ni pasión, mientras que semineutro es el que indica o una cosa u otra. Como *aestuo* indica pasión, sería semineutro y no podría, como tal, llevar acusativo en la realización.

Sin embargo, sí cita el Brocense algunos ejemplos en los que aparece con acusativo. Así: *Pisaeumque domus non aestuat annum*, lo cual demostraría que este verbo es tan activo como *dare*, porque siempre lleva un acusativo, *aestus*, aunque, en este caso, sería el acusativo *annum* el sustituto de *aestus* y el que recibe esa función de formar grupo con el verbo.

**Ambulo.** (“caminar”). Es uno de los más citados por todos los gramáticos del *corpus* de Keil como neutro (Char. I,165; Diom. I,337; Prisc. II,375...), señalándose además con frecuencia su significado activo.

<sup>30</sup> No utiliza mucho el Brocense los términos de sujeto u objeto, sino que *suppositum* equivale a nuestro sujeto y *appositum* al complemento directo. De hecho, J.M<sup>a</sup> Liaño Pacheco destaca que los términos “sujeto”, “predicado” y “cópula” se encuentran sólo una vez en la *Minerva* de 1562 (cap.21, fol.61 v): “Verbum siquidem tantum copula est subiecti et praedicati”. J.M<sup>a</sup> Liaño Pacheco, p. 106.

Es quizás uno de los verbos que mejor se presta al análisis del Brocense, pues el nombre que llena de sentido al verbo es evidente: *ambulationem* o, con un significado análogo, *viam*.

Por eso son aceptables construcciones como:

Plin. *N.H.* XXIII.26 *Si bina stadia ambulentur*, donde la medida *stadia bina* concreta aún más ese *ambulationem*.

También cita el Brocense los casos de *ambulatur via* o *ambulare maria et terram navigare* (Cic., *Fin.* II, 112), pues en el primero tendríamos una construcción pasiva normal, con el nombre expresado en nominativo, y en el segundo, sería *maria* el término que recoge el significado de *ambulationem* o *viam*, porque, en este caso, la marcha es a través del mar.

Estamos, pues, en este segundo caso, en uno de esos usos metafóricos perfectamente aceptables para el Brocense, ya que *ambulare* equivaldría a *facere ambulationem*, pero ahora sería *maria* el encargado de formar grupo con el verbo.

**Bello.** (“luchar, hacer la guerra”). En este caso, es muy sencillo ver cuál es el nombre que llena de significado al verbo, es *bellum*.

No en vano, nos hallamos ante un verbo denominativo, formado sobre este sustantivo y que, como indica X. Mignot, al estar formado sobre un sustantivo que supone acción o resultado, el verbo designa entonces el cumplimiento de esa acción o resultado por el sujeto (*aliquis facit bellum*)<sup>31</sup>.

Cita además Mignot, junto a *bellare*, otros denominativos en *-are*, que también van a ser considerados *falso* neutros por el Brocense, por ejemplo: *cenare*, *laborare*...

Por eso, aunque Agustín (Keil, V, 511), Prisciano (III, 231) y Asper (VII, 491) lo citan como neutro, considera el Brocense que es un verbo activo, un verbo que, eso sí, tiene un acusativo propio y específico: *bellum*, acusativo que normalmente aparece omitido dada su obviedad, pero que a veces aparece expresado, como en el ejemplo citado en la *Minerva*, *Infectum bellum bellamus*, donde se ve además que es normal que, cuando aparece un *accusativus cognatus* junto al verbo, este acusativo vaya determinado por algún modificador, como *infectum*, lo cual justifica en cierto sentido la presencia del acusativo.

Creemos que no hacen falta más ejemplos para mostrar la teoría del Brocense sobre el verbo. Lo esencial es que, con la *Minerva*, se da un

<sup>31</sup> X. Mignot, *Les verbes dénommatifs latins*, p. 286.

paso definitivo en la simplificación de todos los grupos y conceptos, así como en solucionar la problemática que tradicionalmente se le había venido planteando a los gramáticos desde la Antigüedad.

El Brocense se basa en la concepción aristotélica de que el verbo indica acción o pasión y en la existencia de dos niveles en el lenguaje, niveles entre los cuales pueden producirse alteraciones fundamentales como la elipsis. Con este punto de partida, los verbos neutros dejarían de existir como categoría diferenciada de los activos, ya que en esencia, en esa esencia que es lo que interesa al de Brozas, no son sino un mismo tipo de verbos, a pesar de las diferentes posibilidades de realización en la frase.

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Cáceres.

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DE POETIS SODALITATIS BEATAE VIRGINIS MARIAE IN  
COLLEGIO CLEMENTINO PRAGENSI  
1575-1618

Pragae, in capite regni Bohemiae, Carolus IV<sup>us</sup>, Romanorum et Bohemiae rex, studium generale bulla aurea die 7. Aprilis 1348 emanata erexit quattuorque collegiis temporis decursu fundavit. Studium generale propter rixas inter artium magistros et iuris prudentes anno 1372 in duas universitates, sc. unam, quae facultates theologicam, medicam atque artium continebat, et alteram, puta universitatem iuristarum, divisum est. Rixis inter artium magistros et iuristas sic placatis, lites inter nationem Bohemicam nationesque alienas, sc. Bavaricam, Polonicam ac Saxonicam, in quas magistri et scholares studii Pragensis secundum patrias suas dividebantur, flagrabant, nam una quaeque natio unam vocem habebat, quandocumque in universitate rector, in facultatibus decani, in collegiis praepositi eligebantur, vel magistri ad collegia promovebantur. Hae lites Venceslai regis decreto die 18. Ianuarii 1409 Montibus Chutnis dato (quo natio Bohemica tres voces accepit et ita in universitatis consiliis alienigenas superabat, qui nunc vocem unicam habebant) finiebantur. Magistri et scholares extranei, tunc maiore potestate in universitate privati, Praga in universitates Germaniae, praecipue Lipsiam secesserunt. De hoc decreto M. Iohannes de Husinec, tunc capellae ss. Innocentium, alias Betlehem dictae, rector, maxime meruit. Hic Verbi Divini praedicator non solum a plebe, sed etiam a potentibus amatus mores ineptos, cleri divitias, symoniam (cum indulgentiae Pragae venderentur) concionibus suis castigabat. Postremo sacris exclusus anno 1414 litteris Sigismundi imperatoris munitus Constantiam ad concilium venit, ut se purgaret operaque sua defenderet. Cum autem ab inimicis suis accusatus a concilio tamquam haereticus damnatus et die 6. Iulii 1415 in ripa Rheni combustus esset, ab universitate Pragensi et a maxima parte Bohemorum pro sancto martyre tenebatur. Post Hussii mortem communio Corporis et Sanguinis Iesu Christi sub utraque specie, quam M. Iacobellus de Misa



laicis commendaverat, divulgabatur calixque signum Hussitarum, ut Hussii sectatores appellabantur, erat. Plebs et in civitatibus et ruri turbabatur, monachos persequabatur, monasteria delebat. Post Venceslai regis mortem Sigismundus imperator, frater eius, res novas manu armata opprimere volebat rerum in Bohemia potiturus. Sed exercitus crucigerorum a Hussitis praecipue Iohanne Žižka de Trocnov et post eius obitum Procopio Raso ducibus vincebantur, regiones non solum in Bohemia et Moravia, sed etiam extra regni Bohemiae limites ab exercitibus Hussitarum vastabantur. Pugna apud vicum Lipany die 30. Maii 1434 commissa Orphani et Taboritae, Hussitarum acerrimi, ab Hussitis modestioribus et Catholicis victi, anno 1436 a concilio Basiliensi communio sub utraque specie Hussitis per compactata permissa Sigismundusque imperator pro rege Bohemiae ab Hussitis acceptus est. Etiam universitatis Pragensis privilegia a sede apostolica renovata sunt. Pius II<sup>us</sup>, summus pontifex, autem anno 1462 compactata Basiliensia sustulit. Hussitae, quos etiam Pii II<sup>i</sup> successores damnabant, ab episcopis catholicis extra regni fines ordinationem sacerdotum suorum difficillime assequebantur. Quapropter saeculo sequente ad Lutheri doctrinam inclinabantur. Cum igitur Ferdinandus I<sup>us</sup> rex a concilio Tridentino calicem Bohemis assecutus esset, concessio haec iam non sufficebat. Universitas Pragensis, quam ab M. Iohannis de Husinec morte asseclae eius tenebant et ab anno 1609 status Evangelici possidebant, post pugnam in Monte Albo die 8. Novembris 1620 commissam, in qua exercitus Bohemorum victus est, collegio Societatis Iesu Veteropragensi a Ferdinando II<sup>o</sup> anno 1622 tradita est fidesque Catholica omnibus incolis mandata<sup>1</sup>.

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Collegium Clementinum Ferdinandus I<sup>us</sup> in monasterio olim Praedicatorum ad s. Clementem anno 1556, patribus Societatis Iesu invitatis, erexit bullaque aurea die 15. Martii 1562 data munivit, ut partem Catholicam in regno sustentaret. Privilegia huius collegii etiam Ferdinandi II<sup>i</sup> successores Maximilianus II<sup>us</sup> filius die 18. Maii 1567, Rudolphus II<sup>us</sup>

<sup>1</sup> W.W. Tomek, *Geschichte der Prager Universität* (Prag 1849); Zikmund Winter, *Děje vysokých škol pražských od secessí cizích národů po dobu bitvy bělohorské (1409-1622)*, (Praha 1897); Zikmund Winter, *O životě na vysokých školách pražských knihy dvoje* (Praha 1899); František Kavka et alii, *Stručné dějiny University Karlovy* (Praha – Universita Karlova 1964).

nepos die 1. Aprilis 1581, Mathias II<sup>us</sup>, alter nepos, die 27. Augusti 1616 diplomatibus suis confirmarunt et auxerunt. Huius collegii studia humaniora, philosophica nec non theologica discipuli tam indigenae, quam alieni frequentabant. Anno erectionis collegii patres etiam convictum nobilium, anno autem 1559 domum pauperum condiderunt<sup>2</sup>.

Utriusque convictus alumni persaepe a patribus fando audiebant de congregatione Mariana, quam anno 1563 Ioannes Leonius Belga, infimae grammatices classis magister, Romae condiderat. Hisce sermonibus incensi tredecim iuvenes orabant, ut etiam Pragae in convictu similis sodalitas conderetur. Ea de re libellum supplicem die 30. Decembris 1574 R.P. Ioanni Paulo Campano, collegii Pragensis rectori, porrexerunt. At rector mutabiles iuvenum mentes timens usque ad diem 16. Ianuarii 1575 sententiam suam distulit. Illa die patres quattuordecim candidatos Sodalitati Beatae Virginis Mariae sine macula conceptae aptos elegerunt, duobus tamen repulsis, dieque 20. Ianuarii, qui dies festus erat sanctorum Fabiani et Sebastiani martyrum, magistratus sodalitatis primum eligebatur, quae electio bis in anno fieri debebat. Praeter convictuum alumnos etiam alii discipuli vel homines externi, praecipuique nobiles civesque locupletes, sodalitati adscribebantur. Omnes ter petere debebant et post alteram petitionem primo ad probationem admittebantur. Post probationem per unum mensem saepius durantem commendati, confessione et professione fidei depositis in albo sodalitatis inscribebantur.

Tribus annis post altera congregatio Beatae Virginis Mariae Annuntiatæ condita est, cuius socii erant discipuli extra convictuum limina degentes. R.P. Ioannes Paulus Campanus, idem collegii rector, die 20. Decembris 1577 hanc congregationem novam erigendam promulgavit. Libellum septemdecim discipuli subscripserunt et die Annuntiationis Beatae Virginis Mariae (id est 25. Martii 1578) sodalitati novae nomina dederunt; die autem 19. Maii 1578 magistratus sodalitatis primum eligebatur. Sodalitati fanum Italicum adscitum legesque conscriptae. Huius sodalitatis memoriae rariores ad nos pervenerunt. Congregatio videlicet parvo numero ac neglegentia sociorum torpebat, quia spiritualis eius P. Blasius, qui etiam seminarium regebat, alumnos vetustioris Beatae Virginis sine macula conceptae congregationis congregationi novae asciscere cupiebat.

Anno 1581 P. Henrici Blysemii, provinciae Austriae (ad quam tunc collegia Bohemiae et Moraviae pertinebant) Societatis Iesu procuratoris,

<sup>2</sup> Ibidem.

nutu nec non scitu et voluntate patrum Pragensium et omnium sodalium utraque congregatio, tribus tantum sociis congregationis Beatae Mariae Virginis sine macula conceptae recusantibus, coaluit. Congregatio unita "Sodalitas Beatae Virginis Mariae" appellanda erat, sed mox nomine Sodalitatis Beatae Mariae Virginis Annuntiatae iterum iterumque utebatur. Haec sodalitas bello Bohemico 1618-1620 gesto dispersa post victoriam in Monte Albo a Catholicis adeptam resurrexit. Iohannes Schmidl, provinciae Bohemiae Societatis Iesu rerum gestarum scriptor, sodalitatem nostram "unam et trifariam" appellat; nam divisa in partes tres una theologos, iuris prudentes ac medicos, altera convictum s. Bartholomaei, tertia autem philosophos congregabat. Quia discipuli scholarum humaniorum tunc in albo Confraternitatis s. Aloisii alias Congregationis Latinae minoris dictae intitulabantur, sodalitas nostra Beatae Mariae Virginis etiam Congregatio Latina maior appellabatur. Haec congregatio anno 1783 decreto aulico sublata est<sup>3</sup>.

Poesis Latina et Graeca non solum in Universitate Carolina, sed etiam in collegio Clementino Societatis Iesu saeculo 16<sup>o</sup> colebatur, praecipue in classe poeseos, in qua discipuli variis florilegiis suffulti carmina condere discebant. Quorum discipulorum nonnulla opuscula etiam typis edita inter carmina gratulatoria nunc in Enchiridio renatae poesis Latinae in Bohemia et Moravia cultae conscripta inveniuntur<sup>4</sup>. Mirari ergo non possumus, quod congregationes Marianae pietatem Christianam plantantes etiam poesim et Latinam et Graecam fovebant. Librum memorabilem perlegentes, qui ab initio acta Congregationis Beatae Virginis Mariae continet, praemissis etiam Congregationis Beatae Virginis Mariae Annuntiatae fatis, pauca de poetis et de poematibus harum trium sodalitatuum invenimus<sup>5</sup>.

Ad carminum declamationem saepissime magistratuum electiones aptae videbantur. Carmine sodales enim ad magistratum eligendum invitabantur, carminibus saepe rectori designato gratulabantur, carminibus et orationibus etiam convivae ad prandium post electionem magistratuum invitati delectabantur. Ad haec etiam dialogi accedebant.

<sup>3</sup> De origine et fatis Congregationis B.V.M. in collegio Clementino vide Ioannis Schmidl S.I. *Historiae S.I. provinciae Bohemiae* (Pragae 1747) vol. I<sup>i</sup> pp. 365, 368, 420, 632, vol. II<sup>i</sup> p. 611; item meum articulum *Pamětní kniha Kongregace P. Marie v koleji sv. Klimenta in corpore Traditio et cultus. Miscellanea historica Bohemica Miloslao Vlk, archiepiscopo Pragensi ab eius collegis amicisque ad annum sexagesimum dedicata* (Praha 1993), pp. 129-139.

<sup>4</sup> Antonín Truhlář, Karel Hrdina, Josef Hejnic, Jan Martínek, *Rukověť humanistického básnictví v Čechách a na Moravě* (Praha 1966), vol. I<sup>i</sup> pp. 306-323.

<sup>5</sup> Codex Archivii publici centralis Pragensis, nunc JS rkp. 44 insignitus.

Memorabilium liber de tertia electione die 25. Decembris 1575 celebrata narrat Fridericum, vicepraesulem congregationis, concinno pulchroque carmine sodales ad inchoandam electionem ipsam cohortatum esse et animavisse. Electione peracta itum est ad prandium et ibi carmina a Procopio, oratio a Paulo de instituti sodalitiis ratione habitae sunt<sup>6</sup>.

Cum quarta electio die 5. Iulii 1576 celebraretur, alter secretarius carmine Graeco ad citius eligendum sodales incitabat<sup>7</sup>.

Die 1. Novembris 1576 Henricus Dominatius, quondam congregationis Vindobonensis rector, carminibus et oratiuncula acceptatus est<sup>8</sup>.

De electione decima die 7. Ianuarii 1580 rerum gestarum scriptor annotavit praesule iam electo, hymno ac carmine in gratulationem persoluto, vicepraesulis electionem peractam esse<sup>9</sup>.

Actis de electione die 4. Augusti 1580 facta scriptis de oratione et de carmine largius certiores fimus: "transacta electione officialium superscriptorum invitatos mensae accubuisse prandiumque duos sodales oratione ac poemate copioso, oratione de officiis quibusdam praecipuis ad praesulem spectantibus, poemate de conflictatione mutua virtutum cum viciis exornavisse"<sup>10</sup>.

Praesulatus, qui Congregationi Beatae Virginis Mariae sine macula conceptae praeerant, constabant e praesule, e vicepraesule, e duobus assistantibus, e duobus secretariis, e sacristano, e ianitore vel subsacristano. Orationes et poemata primo unus secretariorum, vel sodalis aliquis scribebat et declamabat. Tribus autem electionibus paenultimis praesulatus etiam oratoribus et poetis electis augebantur, nempe electione decima die 10. Ianuarii 1580 Valentinus Pistorius orator et Ioannes Stam poeta, electione undecima die 7. Augusti 1580 Bartholomaeus Tynensis orator et Fridericus Gryphius poeta, electione duode-

<sup>6</sup> Codex Archivii publici centralis Pragae JS rkp. 44 insignitus, f. 316: Procopius Libochoviensis, sodalis a die 16.1.1575; Paulus Leflerus Tyrolensis, sodalis a die 25.11.1575, imm. inter philosophos mense Maio 1576, B.A. 18.9.1577 (Miroslav Truc, *Album academiae Pragensis Societatis Iesu 1573-1617, 1575-1624* (Universita Karlova Praha 1968), pp. 4, 26.)

<sup>7</sup> Ibidem, f. 18: Alter secretarius Antonius Gerhardus Hannoveranus Saxo, sodalis ab anno 1575, imm. inter philosophos mense Maio 1576, B.A. 8.10.1577, M.A. mense Octobri 1578 (Truc 4,26).

<sup>8</sup> Ibidem, f. 19: Henricus Dominatius a Pisnice (R 2,51-54).

<sup>9</sup> Ibidem, f. 29.

<sup>10</sup> Ibidem, f. 31.

cima die 4. Ianuarii 1581 Bartholomaeus Cadera orator et Petrus Lin-teoni poeta accesserunt<sup>11</sup>.

Congregatio altera Beatae Virginis Mariae Annuntiatae (1578-1581) magistratu e praefecto, vicepraefecto (qui prima electione rector et prorector videlicet contra rectoris collegii mentem appellabantur), duobus assistentibus, duobus secretariis, oratore, poeta ac duobus aedituis constituto regebatur. Cum autem die 15. Novembris 1579 de magistratu eligendo ageretur, unus quisque sodalium orationem, vel epigramma componere debere putabatur. Eiusdem mentis die 25. Martii 1581 R.P. Georgius Varus Anglicus erat. Die 3. Ianuarii 1580 quibusdam sodalium est impositum, ut ad electionem dialogum de fide, invocatione sanctorum et de instituto congregationis componerent. Ceteri orationes et carmina scribere debebant<sup>12</sup>.

Die 1. Maii 1580, ut legimus, praemissa oratione a Ioanne Heroldo et carmine a Simone Pichtingero electio officialium debito cum ritu instituitur<sup>13</sup>.

Etiam die 8. Septembris 1580 Thomas Ebenauer, philosophiae studiosus, in praefectum est electus "praemissis oratione et carmine cantatoque hymno Veni Creator Spiritus ..." <sup>14</sup>.

In sodalitate unita annorum decursu magistratus sodalitatis magnopere augebantur: Rector, assistentes duo, duodecimviri, substituti plures, secretarii duo vel unus, thesaurarius, sacristani duo, censores duo vel unus, orator, poeta, scribae duo, ianitor... Multis annis autem haud omnes eligebantur.

Die 8. Decembris 1581, quae est Conceptionis Beatae Virginis Mariae, habita est oratio cum carmine procurante rectore in laudem Beatae Mariae Conceptae. Orationem dixit et composuit Bartholomaeus Flaxius, alumnus summi pontificis<sup>15</sup>, carmen vero dixit et composuit

<sup>11</sup> Valentinus Pistorius Lippensis Bohemus, ASP, B.A. 20.2.1580 (Truc 6); Bartholomaeus Tynensis, ASP, sodalis a die 1.11.1578; Bartholomaeus Cadera, primo confraternitatum unionem abnuit, sed postea die 12.12.1583 petivit et die 22.3.1584 congregationi unitae nomen dedit.

<sup>12</sup> JS rkp. 44, f. 41, 45v.

<sup>13</sup> Ibidem, f. 42v: Ioannes Heroldus Teplensis Bohemus, imm. mense Aprili 1578, B.A. 15.11.1581, M.A. 29.8.1582 (Truc 6,7,29); Simon Pichtinger, B.A. 15.11.1581 (Truc 6,7).

<sup>14</sup> Ibidem, f. 43v.

<sup>15</sup> Anno 1573 Gregorius XIII<sup>us</sup>, summus pontifex, in convictu nobilium ad patrum Societatis Iesu petitionem duodecim loca collegii Germanici Romae ad instar fundavit, ad quae Guilielmus a Rosis et Wratislaus a Pernstein, nobiles Catholici in Bohemia tunc praestantissimi, alumnos praesentabant; qui iuvenes alumni summi pontificis (ASP) nominabantur. (Vide W.W. Tomek, *Geschichte der Prager Universität* (Prag 1849), p. 165).

Paulus Vincentius, alumnus summi pontificis, tunc temporis adhuc novitius congregationis<sup>16</sup>.

Die 2. Iulii 1596 legimus post sacrum carmen in primis a poeta ordinario Henrico Brandt, tum orationem a Georgio Hildebrando de Beatae Mariae Visitantis solemnitate ab utroque declamatam esse<sup>17</sup>.

Die autem 22. Ianuarii 1597, quia Georgius Pontanus rector propter morbum electioni suae affuerat, et carmen, et oratio in eandem finem conscripta occulta mansere<sup>18</sup>.

Etiam die 15. Iulii 1598 sodales sacramento Eucharistiae refecti et poemate orationeque, quibus Beatae Patronae laudes celebrarentur, praemissis ad electionem accesserunt<sup>19</sup>.

Et similiter die 6. Iulii 1600, postquam sodales cum veteri rectore ss. synaxeos pabulo refecti sunt, poema et oratio in laudem Dei Genetricis recitata est<sup>20</sup>.

Item die 18. Ianuarii 1601 post Haniuldti rectoris electionem tum subito resonant tubarum strepitus, oriuntur carminum acclamationes ...<sup>21</sup>.

De argumento carminis die 18. Ianuarii 1602 declamati latius scribitur: "Eucharistiae Corpore sumpto, hymno Veni Creator decantato, carmine recitato, quo sodales fortiter contra hostem illum potentissimum ad proelium incitabantur, cui nulla vis humana, nisi Iesu immortalis potentia, nullae hominum copiae, nisi Christi Numine confortati resistere possunt ..." <sup>22</sup>.

Die 13. Iulii 1606 poetae nominantur: "Quo electo et in sedem tapetibus ornatam collocato libroque dato gratulatorium carmen a iunioribus Bercis sc. a Zbyncone et a Zdislao Ladislao Berka a Dubá est recitatum ..." <sup>23</sup>.

Postremo de carminis declamatione die electionis rectoralis 15. Ianuarii 1608 in libro memorabilium congregationis Marianae legimus: "... sacro missae officio ... decantato post refectionem Divinorum Donorum carminisque declamationem, post Spiritus Sancti auxilii implorationem ad ipsam rectoris inaugurationem sese accinxerint ..." <sup>24</sup>.

<sup>16</sup> JS rkp. 44, f. 49: Bartholomaeus Flaxius archidiaconus; Paulus Vincentius Pilsnensis, imm. 19.10.1579, B.A. 24.5.1584, M.A. 4.4.1585, 1591 1594 philosophiae professor (Truc 8,9,15,31; R 5,501).

<sup>17</sup> Ibidem, f. 150v.

<sup>18</sup> Ibidem, f. 156: Georgius Pontanus, praepositus capituli Pragensis (R 1,137-167).

<sup>19</sup> Ibidem, f. 172v.

<sup>20</sup> Ibidem, f. 184v.

<sup>21</sup> Ibidem, f. 189v: Haniuldus = Andreas Hanivaldt, in senatu aulico consiliarius.

<sup>22</sup> Ibidem, f. 196v.

<sup>23</sup> Ibidem, f. 221: Zbyněk Berka a Dubá, Zdislav Berka a Dubá (R 1,198,199).

<sup>24</sup> Ibidem, f. 228.

Illorum autem officialium elenchus est mihi adiungendus, quibus in congregationis magistratu poematum cura erat. Nam poetae illi saepissime carmina in congregationis solemnitatibus declamanda componebant et ipsi recitabant vel aptos ad hoc sodales saltem eligebant. Ab anno 1582 usque ad annum 1587, cum putarent unum quemque sodalium carmina scribere debere, poetarum loco praefecti musices vel cantus rectores eligebantur, quorum nomina etiam elencho nostro continentur. Carmina enim in congregationis sollemnibus non solum recitabantur, sed etiam persaepe cantabantur, ut e libro memorabilium apparet: Die 27. Iulii 1587 "... quibus postquam carmen decantatum, actioni finis". Item die 26. Iulii 1602 "... cantatum per egimus atque hisce omnibus praemissis ... ad novi rectoris electionem progressi ...". Etiam mense Ianuario 1606 "missa enim fidium reliquorumque musicorum instrumentorum clangore et concentu celebrata carmina tunc numeroso, tum eleganti ad aures sodalium decantato universorum fratrum animi ... ad rectorem deligendum sunt arrecti et accensi ..." <sup>25</sup>.

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*Poetarum nec non cantus rectorum elenchus*<sup>26</sup>

Congregatio B. V. M. sine macula conceptae

Poetae

- 10.1.1580 Ioannes Stammius Braunoviensis Bohemus, alumnus summi pontificis, B.A. 20.2.1580 (Truc 5; R 5,172)  
 7.8.1580 Fridericus Gryphius  
 4.1.1581 Petrus Linteoni (Litoměřický a Pilsenburg) (R 3,164)  
 Congregatio B. V. M. Annuntiatae  
 19.5.1578 Paulus Pelinaeus

<sup>25</sup> Ibidem, ff. 96v, 199v, 219v.

<sup>26</sup> Elencho nostro electionum dies, poetarum et cantus rectorum nomina e memorabilium libro JS rkp. 44 insignito excerpta nec non studia sc. immatriculationes (imm.), baccalaureatus (B.A.), magisteria (M.A.) libris sequentibus sustentata continentur:

R = Antonín Truhlář, Karel Hrdina, Josef Hejnic, Jan Martínek, *Rukověť humanistického básnictví v Čechách a na Moravě (Enchiridion renatae poesis Latinae in Bohemia et Moravia cultae)*, 5 vol. (Praha 1966-1982).

Truc = Miroslav Truc, *Album academiae Pragensis Societatis Iesu 1573-1617, 1565-1624* (Universita Karlova Praha 1968).

Beránek = Karel Beránek, "Promoce v Klementinu v letech 1604-1617", *Acta Universitatis Carolinae, Historia Universitatis Carolinae Pragensis* 25/1 (1985), pp. 7-32.

- 8.5.1580 Christophorus Spoteceus Zagorovinus (Zagero) Polonus, imm. logicus 18.10.1580, B.A. 15.11.1581, M.A. 29.8.1582 (Truc 6,7,31; R 5,554)

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#### Musices praefecti et cantus rectores

- 7.1.1582 Gasparus Grubius Wormditensis Prutenus, imm. 27.4.1581, B.A. 15.11.1581, M.A. 29.8.1582 (Truc 6,7,32)
- 2.7.1583 Martinus Pfeiffer Brunnoviensis Bohemus, ASP, B.A. 24.5.1584, M.A. 4.4.1585 (Truc 8,9,28)
- 1584 ineunte anno Wenceslaus Brosius Podboranensis Bohemus, ASP, B.A. 24.5.1584, M.A. 4.4.1585 (Truc 8,9) et Martinus Pfeiffer
- 22.7.1584 Wenceslaus Libertinus Swihoviensis Boemus, ASP, B.A. 21.6.1588 (Truc 12,37) et Sylvester Aegidii
- 20.1.1585 iidem
- 28.7.1585 Ioannes Hetelerus et Christophorus Tancelius (Tanckelius) Nysseus Silesius, imm. 21.10.1603? (Truc 76)
- 12.2.1586 Bartholomaeus Cursio Hradecenus Bohemus, imm. e poesi 18.10.1583, B.A. 9.2.1587, M.A. 30.9.1587 (Truc 9,11,34)
- 16.7.1586 Martinus Meilantus Pyrnenus Misniensis, ASP, B.A. 9.2.1587, M.A. 30.9.1587 (Truc 10,11)
- 6.2.1587 Wenceslaus Libertinus Swihoviensis Bohemus, ASP, imm. inter rhetores 1586 in autumno, B.A. 21.6.1588 (Truc 12,37) et Udalricus Mislovitius Ponzendorfensis Austriacus, imm. 4.1.1585 (R 3,333)
- 23.7.1587 Nicolaus Prauss (Prausen) Glogoviensis Silesius, imm. e poesi 25.10.1584 (Truc 35; R 4,237) et Christophorus Tancelius

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#### Sodalitas B. V. M. unita

##### Poetae

- 6.7.1592 Georgius Laurentius Pulcherius Pontanus Boemus, imm. e poesi 30.10.1589, B.A. 2.9.1593, M.A. 26.4.1594 (Truc 16,17,43; R 4,272)
- 2.2.1593 Georgius Andreades, poeta Latinus, imm. inter rhetores 21.10.1591 (Truc 48)
- 3.7.1593 Georgius Naideck
- 26.1.1594 Gasparus Calick (alias Stehlík)
- 2.7.1594 Simon Purgkrabeck Pilsnensis, imm. e poesi 30.10.1589, B.A. 17.2.1596 (Truc 18,44)
- 4.2.1595 Georgius Hildtprandus (Hilbrandus), imm. e poesi 20. 10.1592 (Truc 50)



- 10.1.1596 Henricus Brandt Boemus, imm. e classe humanitatis 19.10.1593 (Truc 53; R 1,225)
- 23.1.1597 David Adolescens, imm. e poesi 20.10.1592 (Truc 51)
- 2.7.1597 Ioannes Ursus Grupnensis Bohemus, imm. e classe philosophica 24.10.1595 (Truc 58)
- 21.1.1598 Raphael Sobierdus (Sobiehr), imm. e classe humanitatis 11.11.1594 (Truc 56; R 3,364-366)
- 2.7.1599 Ioannes Petzoldus (Peczeldus) Glogoviensis Silesius, imm. inter rhetores 22.10.1596, B.A. 17.8.1600, M.A. 14.12.1600 (Truc 20-22,60)
- 9.7.1600 Iacobus Mainhardus (Meinhardt) Thynhorssoviensis Boemus, B.A. 17.8.1600, M.A. 21.11.1600 (Truc 20,21; R 3,304)
- 20.1.1601 Iosephus Matthiades Lissoviensis Boemus, imm. inter rhetores 22.10.1600 (Truc 68)
- 2.7.1601 Ioannes Richardus Neostadiensis Franco, depositus Ingolstadii, imm. e classe grammatica 22.10.1600 (Truc 68)
- 18.1.1602 Briccius Maleschiczky Cladrubensis Boemus, imm. inter rhetores 22.10.1600 (Truc 68)
- 6.7.1602 Thomas Blasius (Blasii) Boemus, imm. e classe grammatica 22.10.1596 (Truc 61)
- 9.1.1603 Ioannes Platisius (Plateis) iunior Pragensis Boemus, imm. e classe grammatica 24.10.1595 (Truc 69; R 4,199)
- 2.7.1603 Valentinus Simonides Biecensis Polonus, imm. e classe humanitatis 22.10.1600 (Truc 69)
- 11.1.1604 Ioannes Gallus Glogoviensis Silesius, imm. e syntaxi 19.10.1601 (Truc 72)
- 8.7.1604 Andreas Ernestus Blumenstein Pragensis, imm. inter rhetores 22.10.1600, B.A. 3.5.1600, M.A. 1605 (Truc 68; Beránek 6,138; R 1,212)
- 2.2.1605 Ioannes Cereus
- 26.6.1605 Ioannes Henricus Switawsky Pragensis Boemus, imm. e classe humanitatis 19.10.1601 (Truc 71; R 5,257)
- 22.1.1606 Elias Kolbius Naumburgensis Silesius, B.A. 8.6.1606, M.A. 6.3.1608 (Beránek 19,142)
- 13.7.1606 Nicolaus Kucziera Merklinensis Boemus, imm. e syntaxi 22.10.1602, B.A. 7.4.1608 (Truc 74; Beránek 38; R 3,110-111)
- 10.7.1607 Andreas Nitsch (R 4,43)
- 17.1.1608 David Gregorius Cornerus Hirschbergensis Silesius, B.A. 17.4.1608, M.A. 28.4.1609 (Beránek 36,162; R 1,461)
- 4.7.1608 Paulus Augustinus Stodlar Telcensis Moravus, SDNA, imm. 2.11.1609, B.A. 29.4.1610 (Truc 83; Beránek 66)
- 13.1.1609 Melchior (Michael?) Gnisen a Kobach Silesius, imm. 2.11.1609, B.A. 29.4.1610 (Truc 83; Beránek 68)
- 13.7.1609 Martinus Fortunatus Reichstadiensis Boemus, SDNPA, imm. 2.11.1609, B.A. 29.4.1610 (Truc 83; Beránek 68)
- 2.7.1610 Theodorus Picus

- 28.1.1612 Christophorus Peceldus (Beceldus) Glogoviensis Silesius, imm.  
2.11.1609 (Truc 82; R 4,121)  
8.7.1612 Thomas Suavis Leviensis Silesius, imm. 3.11.1608 (Truc 80)

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Bartolomé POZUELO CALERO

POEMAS INTRODUCTORIOS DEL LICENCIADO PACHECHO Y  
DE BENITO ARIAS MONTANO A LA *COENA ROMANA* DE  
PEDRO VÉLEZ DE GUEVARA

La Biblioteca Nacional de París conserva<sup>1</sup>, en su Ms. *Espagnol 263*, una copia, la única de que tenemos noticia, de la *Coena Romana* de Pedro Vélez de Guevara<sup>2</sup>. Se trata de un pequeño tratado de erudición, escrito en castellano, sobre el lujo de las comidas de la Roma antigua. Independientemente del valioso testimonio que nos proporciona acerca de la altura de vuelos del humanismo sevillano de la época, la obra es interesante por tres poemas dedicatorios que incluye en los preliminares, salidos de la pluma de tres poetas del círculo sevillano, posiblemente los tres que sus contemporáneos reconocieron como los más grandes: Fernando de Herrera, el licenciado Francisco Pacheco, y Benito Arias Montano<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Deseo dejar constancia de mi agradecimiento a mis maestros, Juan Gil Fernández y José M. Maestre Maestre, así como al profesor Jozef IJsewijn, por la ayuda que me han prestado en la elaboración de este trabajo. Este artículo recoge, con numerosas matizaciones, adiciones y actualización bibliográfica, el contenido del que publicamos con el título «Dos poemas latinos inéditos del Canónigo Francisco Pacheco y de Benito Arias Montano en alabanza de la *Cena Romana* de Pedro Vélez de Guevara» en *Archivo Hispalense*, 223 (1990), 105-119; debemos advertir que hemos introducido modificaciones tanto en el texto latino como en la traducción de los poemas.

<sup>2</sup> Sobre este autor, véase la nota 11. Entiendo que la expresión *Coena Romana* es latina, pese a que el libro al que sirve de título está en castellano; se podría traducir como «La comida en Roma».

<sup>3</sup> Sobre Herrera existe una útil bibliografía actualizada en la edición de sus poemas (*Poesía castellana original completa*) realizada por Cristóbal Cuevas (Cátedra, Madrid 1985, pp. 103-133). En cuanto a los otros dos autores, existen dos aportaciones de última hora con sendas puestas al día bibliográficas: Violeta Pérez Custodio, *Los «Rhetoricorum libri quattuor» de Benito Arias Montano. Introducción, edición crítica, traducción y notas* (Exma. Diputación Provincial de Badajoz - Universidad de Cádiz, Badajoz 1994), y Bartolomé Pozuelo Calero, *El Licenciado Francisco Pacheco: Sermones sobre la instauración de la libertad del espíritu y lírica amorosa* (Universidades de Cádiz y Sevilla, Sevilla 1992).

El poema de Herrera fue publicado por el hispanista francés Adolphe Coster a principios de siglo<sup>4</sup>; escrito en castellano, consta de nueve liras garcilasianas cuyo primer verso es «Velleio, si mi canto». Los otros dos, escritos, en consonancia con el perfil de sus autores, en latín, han tenido desigual suerte: el de Arias Montano ha sido objeto de una deficiente edición de Rodríguez-Moñino<sup>5</sup>, mientras que el de Pacheco ha permanecido inédito e ignorado hasta la actualidad<sup>6</sup>.

Ofrecemos en este trabajo una edición y traducción de los dos poemas latinos. Hay que comenzar advirtiendo que se trata de poemas menores, que están lejos de la calidad que sus autores ponen de manifiesto en otras obras. El de Pacheco es un epigrama construido sobre la base de la ambigüedad del concepto de «esplendor de la *Coena Romana*», tomado en dos sentidos: a) «la exquisitez gastronómica de las comidas de la Roma antigua», y b) «la exquisitez literaria de la *Coena Romana* escrita por Vélez de Guevara». Consta de tres dísticos elegíacos, y llama la atención por el hecho de que emplea muy pocos paralelos clásicos, contra lo que es norma tanto en la poesía latina humanista, en general, como en el resto de la obra del propio Pacheco<sup>7</sup>. En cuanto al poema de Arias Montano, su autor celebra en él la categoría de Vélez como jurista, y le suplica con jovialidad que lo incluya en la lista de invitados a la magnífica *coena* que prepara. Consta de 47 endecasílabos falecios *kata stíchon*, un metro, por cierto, que no aparece en ninguna otra ocasión en la copiosa producción lírica de Arias Montano<sup>8</sup>. También en éste es llama-

<sup>4</sup> A. Coster, «Poésies inédites de Fernando de Herrera», *Revue Hispanique*, 42(1918), 562-563. Puede leerse también en la edición de C. Cuevas (citado en nota 3), p. 335.

<sup>5</sup> A. Rodríguez-Moñino, «Catálogo de los manuscritos extremeños existentes en la Biblioteca Nacional de París», *Revista del Centro de Estudios Extremeños*, 15(1941), 260-261, reproducido después en id., *Curiosidades bibliográficas. Rebusca de libros viejos y papeles trasapelados* (Madrid 1946), pp. 180-181. Agradezco al profesor Luis Cañigral su gentileza al comunicarme esta noticia.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. B. Pozuelo, «Hacia un catálogo de las obras del Canónigo Francisco Pacheco», *Excerpta Philologica*, 1(Universidad de Cádiz, 1991), 680.

<sup>7</sup> Véase J.M. Maestre Maestre, *Poesías Varias del alcañizano Domingo Andrés* (Teruel 1987), pp. xlví y ss. Maestre señala que los autores más «usados» son en primer lugar Virgilio, que proporciona la «arcilla» con que modelan sus poemas los poetas humanistas, y, en segundo lugar, Ovidio. Es notable que las escasas fuentes empleadas en este poema por Pacheco son de Ovidio, en tanto que no aparece ni una sola de Virgilio (que, por otra parte, es la fuente principal en otras obras del mismo Pacheco [cf. mi *El Licenciado...* -cit. : nota 3-, p. 65]).

<sup>8</sup> Cf. A. Holgado, «Hacia un *Corpus* de la poesía latina de Benito Arias Montano», *Revista de Estudios Extremeños*, 43(1987), 543.

tiva la relativa falta de paralelos clásicos, en especial de paralelos virgilianos<sup>9</sup>.

Para establecer la cronología, hay que remitirse al comienzo del prólogo de la *Coena*, que dice así:

#### «VELLEIO A CÉSAR

El caso es que auiéndome venido a las manos el breue Comentario *De Triclinio* que ntr. amigo Pedro Ciaccón, de dulcíssima memoria, compuso, y las doctas addiciones a él de Fulvio Vrsino, y el sabroso diálogo que Justo Lipsio escriuió del mismo argumento, en el qual Pedro Mexía en sus *Colloquios*, y Aldo Manucio el nieto avían dado algunas buenas puntadas, assentóseme que no sería tiempo mal gastado dezir aquellas cosas en lengua española...» [f. 4r-4v]

Ya Coster señaló los puntos cronológicos que se derivan de aquí: el *terminus post quem* es 1588, año de la edición del *De triclinio Romano* con las adiciones de Ursino; el *terminus ante quem*, el 17 de Enero de 1591, fecha de la muerte de Vélez, a quien se dirigen los poemas vivo. Esta cronología concuerda con el verso 25 del poema de Arias Montano, en el que emisor y destinatario aparecen viviendo los *dies senectae*.

Finalmente, para terminar con esta introducción a la edición, nos referiremos a la relación existente entre Vélez de Guevara, Arias Montano, Pacheco y Herrera, que se enmarca en la dinámica vida cultural de Sevilla en la parte central del siglo XVI<sup>10</sup>.

Pedro Vélez de Guevara (? - 1591) y Benito Arias Montano (1527-1599) pertenecen a una generación anterior en el tiempo a la de sus dos compañeros. El primero se ganó la vida desde 1546 como profesor de Filosofía y Derecho en el Colegio-Universidad de Santo Tomás<sup>11</sup>, cargo que compatibilizó con el de jurisconsulto de dicha institución, y en la

<sup>9</sup> En otras obras de Arias Montano encontramos los datos esperables: tanto en los *Rhetoricorum libri* (Amberes 1569) como en los *Monumenta Humanae Salutis* (Amberes 1571), los autores de sus dos últimas ediciones -V. Pérez Custodio (*cit.*: nota 3) y J. Navarro López (*Los «Humanae Salutis Monumenta» de Benito Arias Montano. Introducción, edición crítica, traducción anotada e índices*. Tesis Doctoral inédita [Universidad de Cádiz, 1990]- han constatado que Virgilio es la fuente dominante, seguido por Ovidio, ¡a pesar de que los *Monumenta* son poemas líricos horacianos!

<sup>10</sup> Sobre el círculo social y cultural de Francisco Pacheco puede verse mi *El Licenciado*... -cit.: nota 3, pp. 29-34.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. J.F. Alcina, «Aproximación a la poesía latina del Canónigo Francisco Pacheco», *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona*, 36(1975-1976), 244 y n. 141. La mayor parte de las noticias que tenemos de Vélez de Guevara proceden de Nicolás Antonio, *Bibliotheca Hispana Nova* (Madrid 1783-1788), II, p. 247.

década de los 60 alcanzó altos cargos en la Iglesia sevillana: en 1561 fue designado Prior de los Eremitas, y en 1570 canónigo doctoral de la Catedral. Arias Montano, por su parte, estaba en Sevilla en 1541 como estudiante<sup>12</sup>, y desde muy joven lo hallamos en posesión de excelentes relaciones, como prueban los cuatro dísticos suyos que aparecen en 1547 al frente de la *Historia imperial y cesárea* de Pedro de Mexía, destacado miembro del patriciado local y cronista del Emperador Carlos V. El primer testimonio de la amistad entre Vélez y Montano aparece en los *Rhetoricorum libri IV* del segundo, publicados en Amberes en 1569, pero escritos hacia 1550 durante su residencia en Alcalá, en los que alude a la amistad que siente por Pedro<sup>13</sup>. Con el tiempo iría en aumento esta amistad, de la que tenemos testimonios tan bellos como la oda que abre los *Davidis Regis...Psalmi* -Amberes, 1573- («*O qui meorum praesidia intima / praecordiorum perpetuus tenes*») y la dedicatoria de los *Hymni et Saecula* -Amberes, 1593-, obras ambas de Arias Montano.

Más jóvenes eran Francisco Pacheco (1540 - 1599) y Fernando de Herrera (1536-1599), cuya estrecha y prolongada relación<sup>14</sup> rindió para la poesía también algunos frutos<sup>15</sup>. De la relación entre Pacheco y Arias Montano tenemos también emotivas pruebas en los *Sermones morales* del primero<sup>16</sup>, que datan de 1573-75, y en los póstumos *In XXXI Davidis Psalmos Priores Commmentaria* (Amberes, 1605) del segundo, uno de los cuales, el número 11, es dirigido a Pacheco<sup>17</sup>. Por último, la relación entre Pacheco y Vélez de Guevara es también muy temprana: ya en 1570 éste sirvió de testigo al primero cuando pretendía ver reconocido su grado de Bachiller en Teología y en Artes y Filosofía por la Universidad de Sevilla<sup>18</sup>; más adelante dedicaría diversas

<sup>12</sup> Cf. B. Rekers, *Arias Montano* (Taurus, Madrid 1973), p. 7.

<sup>13</sup> III 1079-1081: *Magnus in hoc genere est nostro quoque tempore Petrus / Veleius claro*, Gaspar [por Gaspar Vélez de Alcocer], *tibi sanguine iunctus / et mihi amicitia*.

<sup>14</sup> Francisco Pacheco el pintor consideraba a Herrera y su tío «íntimos amigos» en su *Libro de descripción de verdaderos retratos de ilustres y memorables varones* (ed. R. Reyes y P. Piñero [Diputación de Sevilla, 1985], p. 177).

<sup>15</sup> Pacheco escribió el *In Garsiae Lassi laudem genethliacon* para el prólogo de las *Anotaciones* de Herrera, así como una *Ode ad Fernandum Herreram* (editada por J.F. Alcina, «Aproximación...» [cit.: nota 11], p. 250-253); Herrera dirigió tres poemas al primero (cf. O. Macrí, *Fernando de Herrera* [Gredos, Madrid 1972], pp. 49s).

<sup>16</sup> Especialmente en II 229s (p. 176 en nuestra edición [citada en nota 3]).

<sup>17</sup> Las razones de haber elegido como destinatario a Pacheco las explica así Arias Montano: *psalmum inscribamus...non ut a...professore, sed ut a simplici, veteri ac tui diligentissimo amico, imo et fratre* (p. 92).

<sup>18</sup> Cf. F. Rodríguez Marín, *Nuevos datos para las biografías de cien escritores de los siglos XVI y XVII* (Madrid 1923), p. 397, y mi *El Licenciado...* (cit.: nota 3), p. 23.

composiciones a su amigo, una de las cuales es su obra cumbre, los mencionados *De constituenda animi Libertate ad bene beateque vivendum sermones duo ad generosissimum ac doctissimum Petrum Velleium Guevaram*.

**Criterios de edición.**— El texto de los poemas (cuya fotocopia incluimos) nos ha llegado en el ya mencionado Ms. *Espagnol 263*, que designaremos en nuestra edición por *P*. Se trata de una copia notablemente defectuosa en cuanto a la calidad del texto; los numerosos errores que contiene hacen pensar que su autor ignoraba la métrica y no entendía el significado de todo lo que copiaba del original, que debía de estar caligrafiado de modo pésimo en muchos lugares. Su letra es «muy cuidada, de la segunda mitad del siglo XVI», a decir de Rodríguez-Moñino<sup>19</sup>. Por nuestra parte, hemos seguido el criterio de corregir todas aquellas incorrecciones debidas inequívocamente a errores de transmisión; en cambio, ciertas grafías que, pese a no ser clásicas, se utilizaban en la época renacentista, las hemos respetado (es el caso de diptongaciones y monoptongaciones a las que nos referiremos a continuación). En conjunto hemos seguido los siguientes criterios:

— Hemos corregido la asibilación que aparece en el título (*Phaleut'* por *Phaleucium*), que no es propia del uso latino de Arias Montano (queda constancia en el aparato crítico).

— Hemos regularizado la grafía *u* para el sonido vocálico y *v* para el semiconsonántico, de acuerdo con la norma de *Humanistica Lovanien-sia*. En el ms. aparece en ambos casos *u* (o *V*, si es mayúscula).

— Hemos corregido varios errores ortográficos (v. 16, *carthis*; v. 17, *ussum*; v. 36, *gullosior*), dejando constancia de ellos en el aparato crítico.

— Finalmente hemos eliminado grafías peculiares, como *Velleij* (II, v. 1; también aparece en el aparato crítico).

— Por el contrario, hemos respetado tanto los diptongos improprios que aparecen (v. 11, *graex*; v. 34, *aepulis*; v. 37, *coenae*), como alguna monoptongación (v. 45, *que*).

— También hemos respetado, obviamente, la terminación en *-eis* para el acusativo plural en muchos temas en *-i* (*fonteis*, *plureis*, etc.), habitual en la época renacentista.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. nota 5.

El poema de Arias Montano fue editado, como hemos señalado, en los años cuarenta por Rodríguez-Moñino<sup>20</sup>. Esta edición reproduce todos los errores del ms. y añade otros nuevos<sup>21</sup>, por lo que no aludimos a ella en el aparato crítico.

Finalmente, hemos de añadir que hemos adjuntado un aparato de fuentes y un aparato crítico; en ellos hemos empleado las siguientes abreviaturas:

*P*: Ms. *Espagnol* 263, Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris.  
*Maestre*: Dr. J.M. Maestre Maestre (Universidad de Cádiz).  
*IJsewijn*: Dr. J. IJsewijn (Katholieke Universiteit Leuven).  
*Solís*: Dr. J. Solís de los Santos (Universidad de Sevilla).  
*App. font.*: *apparatus fontium*.  
*#...#*: *eadem sedes metrica*.  
*ThlL*: *Thesaurus linguae Latinae*.  
 [Los autores y obras han sido abreviados siguiendo el *ThlL*.]

Para terminar, una nota sobre la métrica. Arias Montano infringe la norma clásica en los siguientes lugares:

- v. 13: **legis** [del verbo *lego*; el sentido descarta que sea de *lex*]: hay sílaba breve en lugar de la larga que correspondía.
- v. 16: **impedis**: sílaba larga, en lugar de breve.
- v. 24: **iuvenilibus**: breve en lugar de larga.
- v. 29: **opiparam**: breve en lugar de larga.
- v. 37: **coenae**: larga en lugar de breve.
- v. 39: **hominum**: breve en lugar de larga.

Tantos ripios nos llevan a pensar que estamos ante un poema «macarrónico» en lo que a la métrica se refiere, un poema, por tanto, compuesto con un criterio muy diferente del resto de la producción del excelente poeta latino que fue Arias Montano.

En cuanto a la traducción, sólo desearíamos hacer una puntualización: la hemos escrito con los renglones partidos, a manera de versos. Con esto no pretendemos, evidentemente, haber hecho una traducción «en verso»; si hemos elegido esta opción ha sido por mantener la «ficción poética» en lo que se refiere a la impresión editorial; además, tiene la ventaja de que así se puede localizar más fácilmente el verso que dese encontrarse.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. nota 5.

<sup>21</sup> Por ejemplo: v. 3, *preterito*; v. 9, *Dis rectisque*; v. 12, *saciae*; v. 27, *pluries*; v. 29, *laudam*; v. 34, *ruisumque* (?); v. 42, *quim*.



IN COENAM ROMANAM PETRI VELLEII,  
FRANCISCVS PACCIECVS

IN COENAM ROMANAM PETRI VELLEII,  
FRANCISCVS PACCIECVS

Lautitias, Petre docte, tuas miratus Apollo,  
 Luculli sordes risit et erubuit;  
 transtulit ergo sacras meliora ad fercula Musas,  
 et Veneres secum transtulit et Charites;  
 5 atque ait: -iste foret, Cicero, tibi lautior hospes,  
 nec magis ulla tuae digna popina gulae est.

1 Ov. *met.* VII 538 #miratur arator# Claud. *carm.min.* 53,104 #miratus Echion# 2 Ov. *met.* X 293 Sensit et erubuit Ov. *fast.* II 377 Risit et indoluit 3 Hor. *sat.* II 6,104 Multaque de magna superessent #fercula cena# Auson. XXV 16,17 (ed. Prete) 392,17 Defrudata meae non sunt haec #fercula mensae# 5 Ov. *epist.* IX 33 #notior hospes# 6 Ov. *Pont.* II 7,43 #Nec magis# Ov. *trist.* III 2,6 Quodque #magis# uita musa iocata #mea est#

3 meliora scripsi metri et sensus causa : melior P

FRANCISCO PACHECO  
A LA *COENA ROMANA* DE PEDRO VÉLEZ

Maravillado Apolo ante tus delicias, docto Pedro,  
las miserias de Lúculo<sup>22</sup> le han hecho reír y sonrojarse.  
En consecuencia ha trasladado a las sacras Musas a tus bandejas,  
mucho mejores,  
y se ha traído consigo los Deleites y la Gracias;  
5 y proclama: -éste sería, Cicerón, tu anfitrión más espléndido,  
porque no hay mesa en el mundo más digna<sup>23</sup> de tu paladar.

<sup>22</sup> Licinio Lúculo, rico romano del siglo I a.C., representó para sus conciudadanos el prototipo del lujo sin límite, tanto en la comida como en todo lo demás; cf. Vell., II 33: *Lucullus, summus alioqui vir, profusae huius in aedificiis convictibusque et apparatibus luxuriae primus auctor fuit*.

<sup>23</sup> Sería más esperable en Pacheco el empleo del ablativo, regular, que del marginal genitivo, en *tuae digna... gulae* (cf. *ThlL* 6,1151,34s).

BENEDICTI ARIAE MONTANI PHALEVC<IVM>  
AD PETRVM VELLEIVM GHEVARAM

- Vellei, nobilium decus virorum  
 quos Hispania predicat disertos  
 et quos praeterito probabat aeuo,  
 nam tu rem populi piasque menteis  
 5 solerti ingenio soles iuvare,  
 dum vel Iura doces reconditosque  
 fonteis legum aperis, bonumque et aequum  
 nodo cernere conficis soluto  
 disiectisque doli mali tenebris,  
 10 dum vel, de variis reversus hortis  
 quos graex incoluit probatorum  
 qui sacrae Sophiae dedere nomen,  
 legis multiplices refersque flores,  
 et suaveis pariter bene et nitenteis,  
 15 atque hos, ordinibus suis paratos,  
 pictis impedis alligasque chartis  
 horum vim, quibus indicas et usum  
 et, pulchre simul et laboriose,  
 parteis, quo officium tuum per omneis  
 20 humanam valeat iuvare vitam,  
 quos saepe experiens ego adnotavi.  
 Nunc te, per genium tuum meumque,  
 dilectos bene et convenire recte  
 assuetos iuvenilibus ab annis

1 Mart. IV 14,1 #Sili, Castalidum decus sororum# 5 Ov. *fast.* III 340 Ingenium sollers  
 || Ov. *rem.* 742 iuvare solent 7 Cic. *leg.* I 16 fons legum et iuris inveniri potest Cic. *de*  
*orat.* 1,195 si quis legum fontes et capita viderit || Sall. *Iug.* 13,3 quibus bonum et aequum  
 divitiis carius erat 8 Iuv. 8,50 Qui iuris nodos et legum aenigmata solvat 9 Cic. *top.* 66  
 illi [iurisconsulti] dolum malum, illi fidem bonam, illi aequum bonum... tradiderunt 12  
 Verg. *Aen.* I 248 genti nomen dedit 14 Catull. 57,6 Morbosi #pariter#, gemelli utrique  
 Mart. V 20,4 #Et verae pariter# 18 Catull. 38,2 #et laboriose# 24 Ov. *met.* VIII 632  
 sunt annis iuncti iuvenalibus

PHALEVC<IVM> : Phaleut' P 1 Vellei : Velleij P 4 tu rem : turrem P 5 solerti :  
 solerte P 8 nodo *correx*i [cf. Iuv. 8,50] : non P 16 chartis : carthis P 17 usum :  
 ussum P 18 pulchre : pulchrae P 19-21 peromneis... quos P] perenne... quod *coniec*i  
 23 et *forse delendum est, metri causa*

POEMA EN FALECIOS DE BENITO ARIAS MONTANO  
A PEDRO VÉLEZ DE GUEVARA

- Vélez, honra de las eminencias de la elocuencia  
que España presagia  
y de las que ha apreciado en épocas pasadas,  
pues dedicas tu agudo ingenio
- 5 a favorecer la condición del pueblo y las almas piadosas,  
unas veces cuando enseñas la Ley  
y revelas las recónditas fuentes del Derecho, y el Bien y la Justicia  
haces distinguir, desatados los nudos  
y disipadas las tinieblas del maligno engaño<sup>25</sup>,
- 10 y otras cuando, de regreso de los variopintos huertos  
que pueblan las catervas de eruditos  
que dieron nombre a Sofía,  
traes una variada cosecha de flores  
amenas por igual y primorosas,
- 15 y ordenadas según sus familias,  
las agrupas en ramos y las retienes en libros ilustrados en colores<sup>26</sup>,  
en los que indicas sus propiedades, usos y partes,  
con elegancia y a la vez con rigor,  
para que tu labor
- 20 pueda beneficiar para siempre<sup>27</sup> la vida de los hombres,  
(cosa de la que he sido testigo presencial en muchos casos):  
hoy, te lo ruego por los genios<sup>28</sup> tuyo y mío,  
buenos amigos acostumbrados a estar juntos siempre,  
desde los años mozos

<sup>25</sup> Probablemente Arias Montano alude concretamente a una de las obras jurídicas de Vélez de Guevara, el *De diffinitione doli mali liber singularis* (Matías Gast, Salamanca 1569).

<sup>26</sup> Continúa la metáfora de las flores; *pictas* alude a las láminas coloreadas que llevan los libros de Botánica. Montano, que era un gran aficionado a esa ciencia (al igual que muchos de sus amigos humanistas), debía de ser un amante de esta clase de libros.

<sup>27</sup> Traduzco según la conjetura que he propuesto a estos versos (cf. aparato crítico).

<sup>28</sup> En latín, juego de palabras: los romanos entendían por *genius* tanto la «divinidad protectora de cada uno» como sus «inclinaciones naturales», en particular la gula.

- 25 usque ad praecipites dies senectae,  
cures me, precor, inter eruditos  
quos plureis memoras vocasque amicos,  
sacrae ad gaudia convenire coenae:  
namque hanc te opiparam probeque lautam  
30 instruxisse ferunt, nihilque inesse  
quod possit rigidus notare censor,  
sive is Stoicus incidat severus,  
seu nigro Cynicus gravique dente,  
rursumque his aepulis nihil deesse  
35 quod quicquam arbiter Arrius requirat,  
illo aut si veniat gulosior quis.  
Isti percupio coenae interesse,  
seu conviva tibi ferar, vel umbra  
e lectis tribus (hominum labores!)  
40 parvus quolibet angulo recumbam:  
nec sum tam fatuo atque inerte gustu  
quin possim his dapibus frui libenter  
et laudare sales, locum atque mensae  
ornatum, et celeris manus ministri,  
45 cuncta ac denique que simul recepta  
solenturque *animum* iuventque sensum  
convivae saturi nec invidentis.

27 Mart. I 39,1 Si quis erit rarus inter numerandus amicos Ov. *trist.* I 9,5 multos numerabis amicos || Mart. VII 70,2 #vocas amicam# 28 Stat. *silv.* IV 2,5 cui sacrae Caesar nova gaudia cenae 31 Ov. *ars* II 664 quae rigidus munera censor habet || Mart. VI 22,3 Ne lex Iulia te #notare# possit 33 Hor. *epod.* 6,15 An si quis atro dente me petiverit 35 Hor. *sat.* II 3,86 epulum arbitrio Arri 39 Hor. *sat.* I 4,86 Saepe tribus lectis videas cenare quaternos || Verg. *Aen.* II 284 hominumque urbisque labores 40 Apul. *met.* II 20 in unum quempiam angulo secubantem 41 Mart. IV 43,2 #Non sum tam# temerarius nec audax Aus. *Mos.* 118 Nam neque gustus iners 47 Hor. *sat.* I 1,117 conviva satur || Mart. III 58,44 ebriusque non novit / Satur minister invidere convivae

25 praecipites *supplevi* [cf. Liv. IV 9,13 praecipiti...die; Sen. *dial.* X 16,4 tempus...breve est et praeceps] : prae/// P 27 memoras] forte numeras [cf. *app. font.*] 30 inesse : in esse P 33 seu nigro *Maestre, IJsewijn*] siue ater *coniecit* Solis : siue niger P 35 requirat : requira P 36 gulosior : gullosior P 39 labores : laboro P 43 locum *supra lineam scribit* P 44 celeris : cereleris [ut vid.] P 46 solenturque *animum* : solentur quia nimium P

- 25 hasta los precipitados días de la vejez,  
 haz que entre los muchos sabios  
 que tienes en el recuerdo y que llamas amigos,  
 vaya yo a los deleites de tu divina cena<sup>29</sup>;  
 pues dicen que la has preparado opípara y francamente espléndida,  
 30 y que no hay nada en ella  
 que pueda poner en entredicho el censor más estricto,  
 ya se presente en forma de severo estoico,  
 ya de cínico negro y con mala uva,  
 y, al mismo tiempo, que al festín no le falta nada,  
 35 ni una cosa que pudiese echar de menos un juez como Arrio<sup>30</sup>  
 o alguien todavía más sibarita, si se presentase.

- Deseando estoy de estar en esa cena,  
 lo mismo si voy como invitado tuyo,  
 que si, colándome de rondón<sup>31</sup>,  
 40 he de echarme, fuera de los tres lechos (¡lo que hay que aguantar en  
 esta vida!),  
 en cualquier rincón, como el último mono;  
 y no soy de gusto tan soso y embotado<sup>32</sup>  
 que no pueda disfrutar con buen apetito de esas viandas,  
 ni ponderar las sales, el lugar y el adorno de la mesa,  
 así como la agilidad de manos del sirviente<sup>33</sup>,  
 45 y, en fin, todas las cosas que, recibidas a un tiempo,  
 pueden aliviar el espíritu y agradar los sentidos  
 del convidado dispuesto a hartarse y a no hacer ascos a nada.

<sup>29</sup> Traducimos «cena» para mantener la ambigüedad entre el banquete y el libro.

<sup>30</sup> Quinto Arrio se hizo célebre por haber dado uno de los más espléndidos banquetes que se recordaban en Roma, lo que motiva las alusiones de Cicerón (*Vatin.* 30) y Horacio (*cf.* aparato de fuentes).

<sup>31</sup> *Vmbra* es, en una comida, el que se cuela sin demasiada elegancia; *cf.* Hor. *sat.* II 8,21 *cum Servilio Balatrone / Vibidius, quos Maecenas adduxerat umbras.*

<sup>32</sup> Téngase en cuenta que Arias Montano era proverbialmente parco en el comer y el beber; es bien conocida la fama que tenía de que comía sólo una vez al día, y siempre vegetales.

<sup>33</sup> También Francisco Pacheco, en sus *Sermones morales*, 2,280, incluye entre las exquisiteces de la buena mesa la destreza del cocinero que corta las viandas: *Nec nobis, Urbine, tui admirabile cultri / ingenium atque avibus manus illa arguta secandis / iam sit opus...*

*"ex libris Franc. Dion. Camusat Bisuntini".*

*IN CANAL RO*

1

manam Petri Velleij

Franciscus Pac-

ciecus

*et*

*L*audatias Pene doctæ tuas miratur Apollo

Lucullæ sordēs rēsit & cubuit

Transulit ergo sacras melior ad secula musas

& Veneres secum Transulit et chartes

Atq; ait iste foret Cicero tibi laudior hospes

Nec magis Vllatue digna popina pulchrest

BENEDICTARIA

montani Phalcur.

Ad Petrum Velleium Gheuariam

Velleij nobilium decus Orioum

quos Hispania prædicat desertos

& quos præterito probabat æuo

Nam turrem populi præq; mentis

solente ingenio soles iuuare

Dum Vl. Iura doces reconditos q;



Fontis Legum apertis bonumq; Equum  
 Non canere conficiis soluto  
 Disiectisq; Boli mali tenebris  
 Dum vel de Varijs reuerfus Sortis  
 quos prece incoluit probationum  
 quisacæ Sophiæ dedere nomen  
 Legis multiplices refertq; flores  
 Et suavis pariter bene Conititris  
 Atq; hor ordinibus suis paratos  
 Pictis impedis, alligasq; Cartis  
 Horum Cim, quibus indicas Effum  
 Et pulchra simul et Labioſe  
 Parteis, quò officium tuum peromnis  
 humanam Valeat uiuare Vitam  
 Quos sepe experiens ego adnotari  
 Nunc te pergenium tuum meūq;  
 Dilectos bene et conuenire recte  
 Affuetos iuuenilibus ab annis  
 Vsq; ad præ diu senectē  
 Cuius me precor in ter eruditot

Quos pluvies memoras, Vocasq; amicos  
 Sacra ad praedia conveniunt cene  
 Namq; hanc te opipara prober, laudatq;  
 Institor ille fecunt, nihilq; in esse  
 Quod possit rigidus notare censor  
 Siue is storicus incidat severus  
 Siue niger Cynicus grauiq; dente  
 Quisumq; sis epulis nihil deesse  
 Quod quicquam arbiter Arrius requira  
 Illo aut si veniat gulosior quis  
 Isti percipio Cœne interesse  
 Seu conuiuia tibi feraz, Vt Umbra  
 E. Lecti tuius (hominum Laboro)  
 Paruus quolibet arigulo recumbam  
 Nec sum tam fatuus, atq; inerte gustus  
 Quam possim sis dapibus fui Libenter  
 Et laudare Sales, atq; mense  
 Ornatum, et Cœliis manus ministrat  
 Cuncta ac deniq; quæ simul recepta  
 Solentur quia nimium iuuentq; sensum  
 Conuiuæ Satiri nec inuidentes.

Miloslav OKÁL

LES PENSÉES POLITIQUES, RELIGIEUSES ET CULTURELLES  
D'ADAM PROSERCHOMUS, POÈTE SLOVAQUE DE LA RÉFORME.  
AVEC UNE ÉDITION DU *THRENUS ASTRAEAE* (1611)

PAR MICHIEL VERWEIJ

I.

Avant la publication de la notice “Proserchomus, Adam” par Jan Martínek dans le tome 4 du Manuel de la poésie humaniste en Bohême et en Moravie<sup>1</sup> (p. 253-254), on savait certes que Proserchomus avait été recteur d'écoles latines en Bohême et en Moravie, mais on ignorait qu'il avait également été recteur à Trenčín, en Slovaquie. En outre, son activité poétique était restée dans l'ombre.

Les données de Martínek sur Proserchomus sont les suivantes:

“1611 *Threnus Astraeae pro Calend. Ianuarii anni 1611... dn. primati, consuli atque adeo toti lectissimo ordini senatorio inclitae reipub. Slanensis etc. dominis patronis necnon orthodoxae religionis bonarumque literarum assertoribus facile primis, ab Adamo Proserchomo baronum a Ronova praeceptore, ἀποσχεδιαστὴ concinnatus et nuncupatus.* — Pragae typis Georgii Hanussii anno 1611. — 10 ff.

Brno UK: 24704 appendice 5.

La page de titre contient un distique intitulé “In Zoilum”.

1. Ad Adamum Proserchomum, ... amicorum optimum..., Johannes Prosdoconymus.- 2. Amplissimis...primati, consuli caeterisque senatoriae classis reipub. Slanensis viris... A. Proserchomus (épître dédicatoire en prose).- 3. Le poème (310 hex.). De la décadence morale et des guerres, surtout en Hongrie.

<sup>1</sup> *Enchiridion renatae poesis Latinae in Bohemia et Moravia cultae*, 4 vol., Praha, 1973, pp. 253-254.

Proserchomus est aussi l'auteur de dix distiques au fol. A 4a du *Dialog* (s.a., Knihopis 6765) de Sixte Palma, éditeur d'écrits anticatholiques et antidynastiques.“

Je connais M. J. Martínek depuis environ un demi-siècle: à partir du milieu des années 1960 nous avons collaboré étroitement et c'est lui qui m'a remis le texte des poèmes de Proserchomus.

L'amour de la patrie, la vie des citoyens dans la paix, la stabilité des liens de famille, l'observance de la vie religieuse par les souverains et par leurs sujets et le soin des prêtres pour l'église, sont les thèmes principaux qui ont préoccupé Proserchomus. Mais chaque vers du *Threnus Astraeae* reflète surtout sa déception devant la situation contemporaine: sa patrie, la Pannonie, passait d'une calamité à l'autre, les Turcs s'étaient rendus maîtres d'une grande partie du royaume de Hongrie (v. 208-209) et, pendant le soulèvement de Boczkay contre les Habsbourgs, ses soldats et ses alliés turcs et tartares avaient dévasté toute la Slovaquie, ils avaient massacré les habitants, brûlé les villes et les villages (v. 215-222), profané les églises, ouvert les tombes et dispersé les squelettes de tous côtés (v. 202-206). En plus, ils s'étaient emparés, par la trahison, de la ville d'Ostrihom (v. 209).

Le poète nomme, également, parmi les villes slovaques, Banská Bystrica, Bytča (v. 217.219) et Košeca (v. 202). Les armées de Boczkay et de ses alliés turcs et tartares, dont Proserchomus, seul parmi nos poètes, condamne les exactions, ne dévastaient pas seulement la Slovaquie. La Moravie fut également ravagée (v. 223-233); or, à l'époque, Proserchomus faisait des études en Bohême et il était donc victime des troubles. L'auteur traite des souffrances de tous les pays affligés par la guerre, sa patrie, l'Autriche, la Bulgarie (v. 200), la France, l'Italie et les pays du Nord (v. 238-245). L'impuissance des armées domestiques à défendre la patrie le confortait dans son opinion que les états ne peuvent trouver leur salut qu'en se tournant vers des politiciens sages, attentifs et religieux (v. 197 sqq., 245-257) comme Lélius, Caton, Cicéron (v. 248-251), Alexandre le Grand (v. 254), Scipion, Solon, Camillus, Lycurgue et Métellus (v. 275-278). Quant aux Habsbourgs, il ne les nomme pas, mais il ne pouvait certainement pas sympathiser avec eux, car ils ne savaient pas défendre leur territoire; en outre, il avait en horreur leur activité antiréformatrice qui faisait fuir beaucoup de protestants tchèques.

L'auteur ne regrette pas la royauté; il fait, au contraire, l'éloge des bons rois: David (Palma 2; *Threnus*, v. 94-95), l'empereur Titus (Dedicatio, 3-4) et le roi Artaxerxes (Dedicatio, 5). Il glorifie le roi Alphonse pour sa modestie et son intérêt pour l'astronomie (v. 87). Il loue les rois Poros et Agathoclès (v. 93) et il tient pour de saints rois ceux qui s'étaient débarrassés des flatteurs (v. 176). Il place même Cassandre parmi les bons rois (v. 89), chose surprenante, car il fit assassiner, peu après la mort d'Alexandre, sa mère Olympiade, ses deux femmes Roxane et Barsine, et ses deux fils Alexandre et Hercule. Il cite, comme exemples de mauvais rois, Saül qui n'aurait pas tenu compte de l'ordre du prophète Samuel (Palma, 6; *Threnus*, v. 106), Midas, le roi phrygien, à cause de son avarice, Polymnestor, le roi thrace, pour avoir tué Polydore, le fils de Priame (v. 74-82), et le pharaon égyptien à cause de la persécution des Juifs (v. 100-103).

Il parle avec indignation des nobles, surtout de leurs banquets qui se terminent en batailles et en adultères (v. 180-184). Dans leurs maisons ils nourrissent, selon Proserchomus, des bouffons rusés et hypocrites (v. 153-179); ils méprisent la pauvreté et glorifient la richesse (v. 191 sq.); ils invitent chez eux des poètes pour qu'ils donnent de l'éclat à leurs festins, bien qu'ils les méprisent personnellement (v. 192-194). Leurs maisons sont des repaires de tous les crimes (v. 196). La partie du *Threnus* consacrée aux nobles est certainement, avec le poème *Vita aulica* de Koppay<sup>2</sup>, la critique la plus sévère de la vie des nobles que l'on puisse trouver parmi les oeuvres de nos poètes.

Seules la page de titre du *Threnus* et la dédicace du poème aux représentants de la ville de Slaný contiennent des passages élogieux pour les représentants des villes. Le poète soutient qu'il n'a pas pu prêter attention par manque de temps aux avocats habiles, aux artistes, aux scribes orgueilleux et aux paysans laborieux (v. 285-288).

Les écoles sont pour lui les demeures d'Apollon (v. 230) et il se plaint de leur pillage en Slovaquie par les soldats de Boczkay (v. 211-212). Il critique les étudiants s'adonnant à la boisson et à l'adultère, mais ces vices, il les impute à l'influence des prêtres (v. 142-144). Quant aux femmes, il ne les évoque qu'à propos de la perte de leurs maris ou de leurs fils, tués par les soldats de Boczkay (v. 212-214).

A la fin du 16e et au début du 17e siècle, la vie religieuse en Bohême était très peu développée. Georges Tesák Mošovský, pasteur outraquiste

<sup>2</sup> *Georgii Koppay Opera omnia*, ed. M. Okál (Bratislava, 1980); M. Okál, "La vie et l'œuvre de G. Koppay...", *Graecolatina et orientalia*, 7/8 (1975-76), 47-62.

à Hradec Králové déclarait en 1607 qu'à l'époque beaucoup d'habitants de Bohême ne pouvaient se vanter que de leur ivrognerie et d'autres vices<sup>3</sup>. Mais si Tesák visait les seigneurs, le pape Clément VIII, en 1604, parlait avec indignation des curés: on ne pouvait guère trouver dans le clergé catholique de Bohême de trace de la discipline ecclésiastique<sup>4</sup>. Et Z.Winter nous apprend que les prêtres du 16e siècle négligeaient leurs devoirs<sup>5</sup>, que beaucoup d'entre eux menaient une vie immorale<sup>6</sup> et qu'ils changeaient de confession pour des raisons matérielles ou autres<sup>7</sup>.

Une image semblable apparaît dans le *Threnus* de Proserchomus. On y trouve des plaintes sur la décadence universelle des mœurs (v. 56-58), l'avarice (v. 68), l'orgueil, la superbe, la dureté (v. 83 sq), l'affaiblissement de l'église (v. 131-135). L'auteur y parle d'étudiants qui pratiquent l'adultère et s'adonnent immodérément à la boisson (v. 142-143). Les palais des nobles sont présentés comme les pépinières de tous les crimes (v. 169-196). L'impiété des soldats est stigmatisée (v. 197sq.). Les vers éloquents que l'on trouve vers la fin du poème, sont caractéristiques de cet état d'esprit:

Ergo, Dei soboles, quia nil nisi tristis Erinys  
 arma cit, humano pinguescit sanguine Tellus,  
 aurea pax friget, lites mala iurgia gliscunt,  
 orgya clamosi fervent trieterica Bacchi,  
 295 surgit Acydaliae regnum, Iovaeque labascit,  
 terra tremit, caelo Lunae Solisque labores  
 apparent, ignes rapidi dirique cometae.  
 Quid multis? Magno veluti confecta labore  
 terra polusque ruunt retro et sublapsa feruntur.

Portons maintenant notre attention sur les vers de Proserchomus touchant à la religion. Dans le titre du poème, dédié à Palma, le destinataire est nommé Hector chrétien, contempteur du pape romain (Thaïde) et coryphée des exilés, chassés de leur pays à cause de leur foi. Dans le texte même du poème, il exalte la piété et le dévouement que David porte au Seigneur. Dans la page de titre du *Threnus* il écrit que les représentants de

<sup>3</sup> Z.Winter, *Život církevní v Čechách* (Praha, 1896), p. 879.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, p. 594.

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.*, pp. 611-615.

<sup>6</sup> *Ib.*, p. 650.

<sup>7</sup> *Ib.*, p. 652.

la ville de Slaný sont des adeptes de l'“*orthodoxae religionis*”, c'est à dire qu'ils ne sont pas catholiques. Dans le poème, il dit que l'église de Dieu tombe en décadence, tandis que la doctrine du diable grandit (v. 4-5): il vise ainsi la persécution des protestants et le succès de la Contre-Réforme, pratiquée par les Jésuites. Plus loin, il s'étonne que beaucoup de prêtres préfèrent les richesses au soin de la barque du Christ (v. 59-63. 66-67); quoiqu'il vise les prêtres de toutes les confessions, il songe surtout aux pasteurs protestants qui avaient préféré la conversion à l'exil. Ce sont eux qu'il veut attaquer en donnant l'exemple du roi religieux Alphonse et du roi David, qui se consacre au Seigneur (v. 87-94). Il se plaint de la façon dont les prêtres négligent les temples, il critique leur mode de vie, car ils ne donnent pas le bon exemple au peuple; il leur reproche de ne pas arracher les nids des blattes et les toiles d'araignée et de ne pas défendre les brebis du Christ contre les dards des frelons (v. 120-126). Dans ces vers, il pense probablement aux prêtres des différentes confessions qui restaient passifs dans la lutte contre les ennemis du christianisme, mais il songe également aux moines (*lucifugae blattae*) et surtout aux Jésuites militants (*crabrones*). Les prêtres qui s'adonnent à la boisson l'inquiètent et il prie Dieu de les illuminer de l'Esprit Saint afin que l'église (l'auteur parle vraisemblablement de l'église protestante) se redresse, lorsque la conversion de quelques pasteurs et l'exil des insoumis risquent de la faire tomber en décadence. Plus loin, il reproche aux prêtres le manque de soin porté à la jeunesse, celle-ci étant à la merci de la boisson et de l'adultère (v. 142-145). Enfin, c'est avec indignation qu'il rappelle les crimes des soldats de Boczkay qui ruinent des temples (v. 202. 229-230).

Nulle part Proserchomus ne mentionne de personne précise lorsqu'il met en évidence la corruptibilité morale des prêtres qui appartiennent à une certaine confession. Néanmoins certains vers nous permettent d'expliciter sa pensée. Du fait qu'il a appelé Sixte Palma un Hector chrétien, un contempteur du pape et le coryphée des tchèques exilés à cause de leur foi, il ressort clairement qu'il était tout comme Palma partisan de la Réforme. Les représentants de la ville de Slaný, auxquels il a dédié son poème, faisaient profession de la foi orthodoxe, c'est à dire non catholique. Ioannes Prosdodonymus, qui dans un poème en grec recommanda aux lecteurs le poème de Proserchomus, qui dans ses propres poèmes défendait la religion pure et qui mettait au pilori la simonie et les autres désordres de l'église<sup>8</sup>, était sans doute lui aussi du parti de la

<sup>8</sup> *Enchiridion renatae poesis Latinae in Bohemia et Moravia cultae*, 4, pp. 252-253.

Réforme. Que Proserchomus appartienne au parti de la Réforme ressort aussi de sa croyance aux phénomènes miraculeux. De même que Rakovský, lui aussi croit à l'art mantique des prophètes du Vieux Testament: il appelle David prophète de Dieu (Palma, 1) et il loue Alexandre le Grand pour avoir visité les oracles (v. 254). De même que Rakovský, il croit que les tremblements de terre, les éclipses de soleil et de lune et les apparitions des comètes sont des présages de calamités (v. 296-297).

Quant aux Juifs contemporains, Proserchomus ne les évoque pas. Il ne mentionne que les Juifs du Vieux Testament. Il nomme Adam, Moïse et ses adversaires Dathan, Abiron et Koras, puis les rois Saül et David, aussi que Goliath, le Philistin. Du Nouveau Testament, il mentionne les apôtres et le Christ. Il ne nomme pas les partisans de Mahomet, mais il s'indigne des crimes que commettaient les soldats turcs et tartares.

Proserchomus était croyant. Il croit à la Trinité et cette croyance, il l'impute même à David (Palma, 10). Il croit que Dieu le Père a créé le ciel, la mer, la terre, les étoiles et les anges (v. 128-131). Il croit en sa toute-puissance et en son omniscience (v. 48-49). Il l'appelle d'une part du nom du dieu juif Jehovah (vv. 60.103.120.229), d'autre part du nom du dieu romain "le plus grand Jupiter" (v. 4.295), en ajoutant l'épithète *Tonans* (v. 202). Le Christ est pour lui fils de Dieu (v. 96: *Dei gnatus*) et les chrétiens sont ses membres (v. 126-146). Il croit en l'illumination par le Saint-Esprit et il prie Dieu de l'envoyer illuminer les prêtres contemporains (v. 132). Il croit à la rétribution des pieux par le ciel et à l'envoi des impies en Enfer (v. 97-99. 137). Il croit à l'existence des anges (v. 281 sq.) et du diable (v. 17. 117-118). Il exalte les vertus chrétiennes: la foi (Palma, 5; *Threnus*, 197), l'espoir (v. 30) et la charité, (v. 30.51.145) et il recommande la prière (Palma, 11). Il s'étonne de la destruction des églises (v. 202.229-230) et des tombeaux (v. 202), et de la trahison perfide qui a livré la ville d'Ostrihom aux Turcs (v. 209). Malgré ses vertus chrétiennes il ne s'est pas débarrassé de la superstition. Il croit que l'apparition des comètes prédit des malheurs proches (v. 16 sq.) et que les tremblements de terre et les éclipses de soleil et de lune sont les signes de la proche fin du monde (v. 296-299).

Proserchomus se rend compte de l'influence positive que l'art et la poésie peuvent exercer sur la conduite des hommes. En faisant allusion aux conditions contemporaines, il se plaint de la méconnaissance de la musique, de la poésie et de la recherche scientifique (v. 6). L'unité de la poésie, de l'art et du droit ressort aussi de son évocation de la Muse, d'Athéna et de la déesse Thémis à qui il demande d'accepter son poème



(v. 21-23). Il signale l'influence funeste des guerres sur la poésie. Les filles Castaliennes déplorent le pillage de la Pannonie (v. 222). Il recommande aux poètes de glorifier les hommes pleins de mérite envers la patrie (v. 256). En revanche, il s'indigne des poètes qui acceptent de prendre part aux banquets des nobles qui les rémunèrent matériellement, mais qui, en réalité, ne les apprécient pas (v. 192). Parmi les poètes anciens il nomme Homère et son critique fameux (Zoilos), et même Virgile s'indignant de l'acte d'Attila qui fit brûler ses poèmes (v. 166-168). Il fait également allusion aux poètes ennemis de la Réforme, à cause de leur engagement: Bombylius siffle comme le ver à soie et Suffenus se moque de ceux qui ont été chassés de la patrie (v. 130-140).

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## II.

Adam Proserchomus, *Threnus Astraeae*\*

**Threnus Astraeae pro calendis ianuarii anni MDCXI, amplissimis iuxta ac consultissimis viris, Dn. Primati, Consuli atque adeo toti lectissimo ordini senatorio inclitae reipublicae Slanensis etc., dominis patronis necnon orthodoxae religionis bonarumque literarum assertoribus facile primis ab Adamo Proserchomo, Baronum a Ronova praeceptore αὐτοσχεδιαστί concinnatus et nuncupatus**

In Zoilum

Zoile, quid rugas frontem? Quid concipis iram?  
Non tibi, patronis scribo sed ista meis!

Pragae. Typis Georgii Hanussii. Anno M.DC.XI.

(p.2)

Ad Adamum Proserchomum, amicum ut amicorum optimum, ita carissimum

- Πηγάσιδές σοι ἔδωρήσαντο, Προσέρχομε, θρῆνον  
ἐξοχον<sup>1</sup>, Ἀστραίης ἄξιον οὐρανίης.  
Ἐνθεν σοὶ κλέος, ἐνθεν ὑπειρονόν ἐστι σοὶ εὖχος,  
σοὶ κῦδος μουσῶν, μοὶ πέρας ἐστι λόγων.  
5 εἰ ποιήσω ἔπος, τράγον οὐλόμενον προκαλήσω,  
βλάπτεμεν ἢε τράγος, μᾶλλον ἐθάζει ἔπος.  
Τοῦτο σοῦ ἐκ θρήνου παρέον το λῶστον ἴδεσθαι,  
ᾧτινι τέρπεσθαι κλειτὸς ἀνὴρ δύναται.  
ἄνθρωπος χρυσῷ ποιητικὸς ἀντερύσασθαι  
10 ἄξιος, ἐν στόμασιν κείμενος εὐλογίῳις.  
Δυσμενέων κακὸς ἄπλαστος μέγα νήπιος, ὅστις  
βλάπτει ποιητὴν ἔργμασιν ἢδὲ λόγοις.

Iohannes Prosdoconymus.

\* Ex unico exemplari Brunensi iterum edidit notisque instruxit Michael Verweij.

<sup>1</sup> ἐξοχον coniecit W. Clarysse ex: ἔ ο, ον.

(p.3)

**Amplissimis ac prudentissimis viris, Domino Primati, Consuli caeterisque senatoriae classis Reipublicae Slanensis, viris dominis et fautoribus suis merito colendis εὖ διάγειν.**

Scita atque adeo venusta, viri amplissimi atque omni laude cumulatis-  
simi, Titi Vespasiani a Suetonio memoriae prodita est vox illa: “Amici,  
diem perdididi!”<sup>1</sup>. Qua voce innuere et significare voluit tam apprime  
necessariam esse ἀντιπελαργίαν, ut perdidisse eum diem existimare  
debeat, qui // bene meritis amicis se vicissim gratum non exhibuerit. Ita et  
mihi cum Vespasiano, quotiescunque summa vestra in me beneficia  
memori, ut par est, mente mecum perpendo, me non unius diei usuram,  
sed sexcentorum amisisse οὐκ ἀντιπελαργοῦντα. Etenim cum in clivo  
literario apud vos desudarem οὐκ σκυθίνη μήδε σκυκίνη ἐπικουρία  
divina quadam (quod aiunt) virgula mihi obtigit, quam si potius obscurare  
et non in apricum prodere studerem, non immerito illud κρινοῦ διακονία  
audirem. Proinde ut hoc // potius “οὐδεὶς εὐεργέτη βοῦν ἔθυσεν ἀλλ’  
ἢ Πυρρίας” mihi a vobis occinatur, hisce poeticis myricis vobis obstrepo  
simulque obnixo oro, ut eas eo suscipiatis et habeatis animo, quo potentis-  
simus ille Persarum rex Artaxerxes aquam a rustico quodam paupere obla-  
tam suscepisse et habuisse apud Plutarchum legitur<sup>2</sup>. Quod A<mplitu-  
dines> V<estras> facturas et Threnum Astraeae breviter et ὥς ἐν τύπῳ  
expressum obviis ulnis accepturas, certo certius confido. V<alete>.

A<mplitudinibus> V<estris> addictis-  
simus, A<damus> P<roserchomus>.

(p.6)

- Nunc nisi bellorum rabies caedesque cruentae,  
auri sacra fames<sup>3</sup>, regnorum mille ruinae,  
ingluvies ventris<sup>4</sup>, fastus, discordia gliscunt.  
Aret ager<sup>5</sup> Jovae, sterilescent fasve piumve,  
5 contra phlaeagraei pinguescunt arva colubri.  
Nunc hederæ sine honore iacent<sup>6</sup>, spernuntur et artes.  
Quid mage? Terra labat, picti quoque machina caeli.

<sup>1</sup> Suet., *Tit.*, 8,2.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Plut., *Artax.*, 5,1; legitur etiam apud eundem, *Apoph.*, 172B et apud Ael., *Var.*, 1,32.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Verg., *Aen.*, 3,57.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Sil., 6,155.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Verg., *Ecl.*, 7,57.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Ov., *Ars* 3,411.

- Aspice tellurem! Magno succussa fragore  
 ingemit et succis multis exhausta senescit,  
 10 namque ita, ceu quondam, non flavet campus aristas<sup>7</sup>  
 nunc neque sic plenis spumat vindemia labris<sup>8</sup>.  
 Aspice nutantis rutilantia sydera Olympi!  
 Non ita nunc clara, ceu prima ab origine mundi<sup>9</sup>,  
 auricomus Titan illustrat lampade terras<sup>10</sup>:  
 15 innumeri quondam non sic arsere comoetae  
 sedibus<sup>11</sup> aethereis nec crebris ignibus Aether<sup>12</sup>  
 intonuit, sed erat saevo sine fulmine caelum.  
 Exulat Astraeae numen quatuorque sorores,  
 dulcis Alitheia, alma Charis, Patientia Spesque,  
 20 cuius erit mihi Threnus epos querulaeque queraelae.  
 Vos modo pacato leviuscula carmina vultu  
 Palladis, et Nomiae fortissima fulcra Themistos  
 (p.7)  
 accipite et me inter vestros numerate clientes.  
 Elysios<sup>13</sup> colles necnon peramoena vireta  
 25 dum coluit Protoplasta rubra tellure creatus,  
 lactis ibi nivei, tum flumina nectaris ibant,  
 crevit et ambrosiae succus, tum sentibus uva  
 pendebat, quercus sudabant roscida mella<sup>14</sup>,  
 legiferae Cereris<sup>15</sup> tellus inarata ferebat  
 30 spicas haudque Thetyn tentabat nautica pinus  
 Sythoniaeque nives<sup>16</sup> aberant canaeque pruinae  
 atque Hyades pluviae<sup>17</sup> necnon nimbosus Orion<sup>18</sup>,  
 Africus haud vastosolvebat ad aethera fluctus,  
 temperies veris sed erat flabraque Favoni  
 35 spirabant, rigida nec grandine terra rugebat.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Verg., *Ecl.*, 4,28.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Verg., *Georg.*, 2,6.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Ov., *Met.*, 1,3.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Verg., *Aen.*, 4,6; 7,148.

<sup>11</sup> Ed.: sebibus.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Verg., *Aen.*, 1,90.

<sup>13</sup> Hi versus ex Ov., *Met.*, 1,89-112 dependere videntur.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Ver., *Georg.*, 4,29-30.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Verg., *Aen.*, 4,58.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Verg., *Ecl.*, 10,66.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Verg., *Aen.*, 1,744; 3,516.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Verg., *Aen.*, 1,535.

- Non caput obscura roseum ferrugine Phoebus  
 atque soror Phoebi caeli super axe tegebat,  
 non teretes galeae, peltae lituique sonabant  
 nec dolus ullus erat nec sanguine terra madebat<sup>19</sup>.
- 40 *Vivere dulce fuit!* niveis Concordia pennis  
 dum paradisiaco volitavit in aequore necnon  
 cana Fides Charitumque chorus Pietasque Pudorque.  
 Sed simul ac genitor pellacis fraude draconis  
 elusus liquit Paradisi rura beati,
- 45 aetas deterior, qua sensim frausque dolusque<sup>20</sup>  
 (p.8)  
 emicat, erupit, subito deterrima crevit.  
 Nunc vero quae sit facies, quae Laerna malorum,  
 aspice, Sancte Pater! qui terras aspicias aequis  
 luminibus vastas nec te mortalia fallunt
- 50 pectora: num cernes studium pietatis et aequi  
 crescere? Virtutum Charitumve resurgere regna?  
 rarum hoc est studium! Pacis quoque! Gargara verum  
 non tot habent messes<sup>21</sup> nec habet Methymna racemos<sup>22</sup>  
 nec littus conchas nec amaena rosaria flores<sup>23</sup>
- 55 nec tot silva feras nec baccas Palladis arbor<sup>24</sup>,  
 quot sunt quis cordi est ventosae gloria linguae,  
 ira ferox, fraudes et amor sceleratus habendi<sup>25</sup>,  
 Laenaei calices, Paphiae vesana voluptas.  
 Eloquar an sileam?<sup>26</sup> Quotus est ex ordine tanto
- 60 mystarum, mage cui sit curae cymba Jehovae,  
 cymba procellosis hinc inde agitata procellis,  
 matris Eleusinae quam spicis horrea plena  
 Massicus aut humor Bacchi<sup>27</sup> Croesique talenta?  
 Est dedecus magnum, reliquae si forte cohortes
- 65 plus nimio gazas inquirant? Anne sacerdos

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Verg., *Aen.*, 12,691.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Ov., *Met.*, 1,130.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Verg., *Georg.*, 1,103.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Ov., *Ars*, 1,57.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Ov., *Trist.*, 5,2,23.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Ov., *Ars*, 2,518.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Ov., *Met.*, 1,131.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Verg., *Aen.*, 3,39 et alibi.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Verg., *Georg.*, 2,143.

labe carere potest animo si nocte dieque  
 volvat ut Attalicis turgescat cista metallis?  
 Heu malum avaritia est! Miseri cur fata Sichaei

(p.9)

flet Dido, querulo ferit aurea sydera planctu?  
 70 Hunc quia Pygmalion nummorum accensus amore  
 obruncat, rex est quare suspensus Achaeus?  
 Cur cadit et Glaucus Spartanae gloria gentis?  
 Victus uterque fuit fulvi quia mole metalli!  
 Quid memorem Mydam? Necnon Polymnestora regem?

75 Cui, Polydorum auri quondam cum pondere magno<sup>28</sup>

infelix Priamus furtim mandaret alendum,  
 Dardaniae accisis cum iam diffideret armis  
 Argolica cingique urbem obsidione videret,  
 ille, ut opes Phrygiae necnon fortuna vacillat,

80 res Agamemnonias victriciaque arma sequutus  
 iura, fidem frangit, guttur mucrone resolvit  
 Iliaci iuvenis corpusque exangue relinquit.  
 Heu quotus est nivei niveo sub sydere Olympi,  
 contempto<sup>29</sup> fastu qui iam mitescere<sup>30</sup> discat<sup>31</sup>?

85 Discat et aethereos inquirere sedulus axes,  
 axes qui laeta sanctorum voce resultant?  
 Divitis Alphonsi cur non vestigia regis  
 sectantur, caelo qui non capita alta ferebat<sup>32</sup>?  
 Cur non Cassandrum regem? Caiumque Neronem,  
 90 hostiles qui dum devicit Marte phalanges  
 laetus equo noluit laetos agitare triumphos?

(p.10)

Cur non Frontinum, tibi qui monimenta locare  
 abnuit? Aut Porum? Vel certe Agathoclea regem?  
 Quid memorem Isaiden nulli pietate secundum?

95 Discipulos quos vita decens aequarat Olympo<sup>33</sup>?  
 Atque Dei Gnatum qui fastum punit et odit?

<sup>28</sup> Vv.75-80: cf. Verg., *Aen.*, 3,49-54.

<sup>29</sup> Ed.: contemptu.

<sup>30</sup> Ed.: mitescite.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Verg., *Ecl.*, 10,61.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. Verg., *Aen.*, 3,678.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. Verg., *Aen.*, 6,782.

- Dathan et Abbiron age cur terra ima dehiscit<sup>34</sup>?  
 Atque Chore Astripotens detrusit fulmine ad umbras<sup>35</sup>,  
 pallentes umbras Erebi noctemque profundam?  
 100 Hi quia divino renuunt parere prophetae,  
 impia nec duris constringunt ora lupatis<sup>36</sup>.  
 Impius Aegypti Thetydos rex mergitur undis,  
 dum populum necnon fastidit iussa Iehovae.  
 Luciferum niveo nivei quid culmine caeli  
 105 elisit? Fastus! Saulum quid culmine caeli  
 reddidit? Is fastus! Goliathum corpore vasto  
 quid? Fastus! Necnon fortem Nicanora? Fastus!  
 O furor! O nimium damnosa superbia mundi!  
 Mortales quo caeca<sup>37</sup> vehis! Heu dulce venenum!  
 110 Et mundi lethalis honos! Quot tela, quot enses  
 ante oculos (si cernis) habes? Mortisque pericla!  
 Heu quotus est facilis veniat qui rebus egenis?  
 Atque peregrinos subter fastigia tecti<sup>38</sup>  
 ducat et instratis, ceu fas est, membra reponat?  
 (p.11)  
 115 Heu quotus est qui, cum tabescunt membra dolore  
 et color infuso decedit frigore mortis,  
 aegras soletur mentes? Ferrumque draconi  
 excutiat candens? Volucres et trumat in auras?  
 Victa cadit pietas! Altaria sacra labascunt!  
 120 Quidni? Dic quotus est qui relligiosa Iehovae  
 templa regat digne? Praeeat virtutibus almis  
 plebi? Lucifugae convellat culmina blattae<sup>39</sup>,  
 quae locat in terris, Stygiis effusa cavernis?  
 Insuper et laxos, quos ponit Aranea casses<sup>40</sup>  
 125 Cocyti, rumpat? Crabronum examina pellat,  
 spicula ne Christi figant lethalia membris?  
 Dic quotus est qui non Laenaeos libet honores,  
 in vetitumque nefas ruat? O Pater aetheris alti,

<sup>34</sup> Cf. Verg., *Aen.*, 4,24; 10,675; 12,883.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. Verg., *Aen.*, 7,773.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. Ov., *Am.*, 1,2,15.

<sup>37</sup> Paene illegibile.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. Verg., *Aen.*, 8,366.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. Verg., *Georg.*, 4,243.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. Verg., *Georg.*, 4,247.

- qui mare Nereidum, spaciosae clymata terrae  
 130 lucentemque globum Lunae Titaniaque astra<sup>41</sup>,  
 aligerum iuvenum pulcherrima castra, creasti,  
 suffice, da mystis sacrati numinis auram,  
 hoc duce, virtutum seges ut pulcherrima surgat,  
 135 radices nec agat vitium vitiique manipuli,  
 in medio coetu collapsa Ecclesia surgat,  
 surgit ut ad liquidas arbor procerrima lymphas,  
 (p.12)  
 frigeat Alecto, flaccescant semina Ditis.  
 Praetereo Phaebi Aonii viridaria: vah quam  
 illic Bombylius mordaci sibilet ore  
 140 Suffenusque<sup>42</sup> procax patria tellure remotos  
 rideat atque nepae tristissima quaeque precentur.  
 Quid? Studiosa cohors nonne est immersa lacunis  
 et Bromii et Paphiae? Vita moribusque solutis  
 Centauri ut Lapithaeque furit nec septa coercent  
 145 illam virtutis, pacis, pietatis, amoris.  
 Ergo sacerdotum Christi longissimus ordo  
 id cacoëthis alit? Necnon talem ore mephitim<sup>43</sup>  
 exhalat? Phaebique cohors sic sibilat ore<sup>44</sup>?  
 Dic agedum naevis iam queis scatet aula potentum!  
 150 Non tot vere novo, canis cum montibus humor  
 liquitur et Zephyro putris se gleba resolvit<sup>45</sup>,  
 purpurei flores surgunt in luminis auras  
 autumnoque uvae, quot nunc fovet aula Sinones  
 quorum fraude animus nunc huc nunc vertitur illuc  
 155 regum; principibus mage nunc ludicra probantur  
 artes Sisyphiae, fraudes pellacis Ulyssi<sup>46</sup>  
 Pyrrhandrique apinae vasti stultique Coroebi.  
 et cur sic? Annon lingua est infecta veneno  
 assentatorum? Quos pagina docta sophorum  
 160 praecipit ut tabem fugere et ceu vasta Chymaerae

<sup>41</sup> Cf. Verg., *Aen.*, 6,725.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. Catull., 22.

<sup>43</sup> Ed: Cacoëthis; Cf. Verg., *Aen.*, 7,84.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. Verg., *Aen.*, 11,754.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. Verg., *Georg.*, 1,43-44.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. Verg., *Aen.*, 2,90.



(p.13)

- corpora, quae cautes horrendae aut Caucasus horrens<sup>47</sup>  
 intus alit, necnon Hyrcanae ut Tygridis ora<sup>48</sup>.  
 Attila Pannoniae quare fortissimus Atlas  
 solerti has vespas studio evitare solebat:  
 165 Ausoniae fines etenim invictissimus heros  
 dum vastat, pulchra et Patavinae moenia sedis  
 expugnat, Calabri mendosa poemata vatis  
 (nae recte!) iniungit crepitantibus urere flammis<sup>49</sup>.  
 Nonne Colax liquidis iussu submergitur undis  
 170 Pellaei iuvenis, dum remige verrit Hydaspen  
 navita? Apollineum memorem<sup>50</sup> quid? Surgere regna,  
 arborem et ut Clariam, dicit, florescere tandem,  
 quando gnatorum friget faedissima Laerna.  
 O sanctos pagos! Urbes! Sanctissima regna,  
 175 in quibus exulat haec mundi teterrima pestis!  
 O sanctos reges quorum haud imbuta veneno  
 corda adulatorum, quod virtus alma requirit  
 leges legiferae Themidos pietasque facessunt!  
 Sed fors miraris quod multos aula Sinones  
 180 mendacesque fovet? Sunt plures orgia Bacchi,  
 quive colunt calices, roseo seu Phosphorus ore  
 exoritur, tegit et rutilantia sydera vultu  
 Hesperus aethereo seu missus fulget in axe.

(p.14)

- en Cereris dulces Laenaei aut aula liquores  
 185 ore bibit necnon pleno se proluit auro<sup>51</sup>.  
 Id simulac fecit, furiosi praelia Martis  
 miscet et empyrei contemnit sydera caeli  
 atque imitata cadit saevis Elpenora fati,  
 attollit cristas; mage quid? vetitos Hymeneos  
 190 sollicitat, ridet, vesano fulminat ore,  
 Irum fastidit, laeto ast Croesum ore salutat.  
 I, iam Moeonide pulchras salutato potentum

<sup>47</sup> Ed.: horrens.<sup>48</sup> Cf. Verg., *Aen.*, 4,366-367.<sup>49</sup> Cf. Verg., *Georg.*, 1,85.<sup>50</sup> Ed.: memoorem.<sup>51</sup> Cf. Verg., *Aen.*, 1,739.

- aulas, si fueris argenti haud mole gravatus,  
ilicet exhibis, fies et vilior alga<sup>52</sup>.
- 195 Singula quid referam? Aula est impietatis asylon  
omnimodae, scelerum tum foecundissima mater.  
Nulla fides pietasque manet Mavortia castra.  
Pannonis ora, mihi tot iam labentibus annis  
indomiti Martis variis concussa procellis,
- 200 testis es, Austriaci fines et Moesia culta;  
efferus Ausoniis miles nam missus ab oris,  
dum petit aetherii Cassensia templa Tonantis,  
(horresco referens<sup>53</sup>) veterum decora alta parentum  
audet, nec metuit!, manibus vitiare cruentis.
- 205 Non misero parcit cineri, sed busta recludit  
ossaque in apricis dispergit putrida campis.
- (p.15)  
Vis erat haud tantum templisque virisque sepultis,  
Hungariae late armatus loca miles et implet  
Strigoniumque capit non Marte, ast aeris acervo.
- 210 Quid? Nonne empyrei qui praedicando recludunt  
tectata poli intereunt horum a mucrone nurusque  
fata maritorum moerent moestissima? matres  
ora rigant lacrumis? tristissima pectora tundunt?  
Dilaniantque comas gnatorum ut funera cernunt?
- 215 Boczkagii miles saevo dum percitus aestu  
fulminat et ferrum germana in viscera stringit,  
hei quot Neisolii pueri innuptaeque puellae  
ense cadunt pereuntque domus crepitante favilla!  
Bitscha abit in cineres Thurzonis, rustica turba
- 220 caeditur in campis et fossae sanguine inundant<sup>54</sup>,  
mysta ciet plactus, plangit Latonia proles,  
Pierides lugent, luget Tritonia Pallas.  
Sunt Moravi testes, quam sit crudelis et atrox  
horrendi soboles Martis saevaeque Megaerae.
- 225 Horum etenim fines simulac tetigere cohortes  
Hunniadum necnon pugnantes Jazyges arcu.

<sup>52</sup> Cf. Verg., *Ecl.*, 7,42.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. Verg., *Aen.*, 2,204.

<sup>54</sup> Cf. Verg., *Aen.*, 11,382.

Ecce lupi veluti raptores, improba ventris  
quos rabies caecos exegit<sup>55</sup>, corpora passim  
plurima prosternunt nec relligiosa Jehovae

(p. 16)

- 230 limina praetereunt, Clarii nec recta Lycae.  
Talia dum peragit furiosae turba Megaerae,  
pressa iacet Tellus Moravûm, crudelis ubique  
luctus, ubique pavor, tum plurima mortis imago<sup>56</sup>.  
Sunt Boi testes, campis quorum ungula sternit  
235 quadrupedantis<sup>57</sup> equi sata laeta boumque labores.  
Multorum miles transverberat abiete pectus<sup>58</sup>,  
tectâ laremque cremat, nulla pietate movetur:  
testis Hyperboreo est septem subiecta trioni  
tellus quae usque adeo Ryphaeo tunditur Euro  
240 atque tegit fulvis pecudum sua corpora setis<sup>59</sup>.  
Gallia testatur nec non Saturnia tellus<sup>60</sup>,  
ortus, et occiduo quae littora sole tepescunt<sup>61</sup>,  
testantur quam sit crudelis bestia miles.  
Gradivi audistin quae sint incommoda? Dicam:  
245 Urbibus adportent iam commoda quanta Synedri.  
Floret Achilleo non robore civica turba,  
non numerosa cohors defendit moenia, verum  
eximii Laeli prudentia, cura Catonis.  
Addubitas? Urbes quare caput extulit inter  
250 Roma ut lenta solent inter viburna cupressi<sup>62</sup>?  
Hanc quia multum animi maturus Tullius atque  
complures pietate graves, virtute celebres

(p.17)

- rexerunt. Dextro quondam sic Marte triumphat  
Magnus Alexander Cortynae oracula sequutus.  
255 Idcirco hos Patriae Patres veneranda vetustas  
ore vocat psaltesque Deos Divosque salutat.

<sup>55</sup> Cf. Verg., *Aen.*, 2,355-357.

<sup>56</sup> Cf. Verg., *Aen.*, 2,368-369.

<sup>57</sup> Ed.: quatarupedantis. Cf. Verg., *Aen.*, 8,596.

<sup>58</sup> Cf. Verg., *Aen.*, 11,667.

<sup>59</sup> Cf. Verg., *Georg.*, 3,383.

<sup>60</sup> Cf. Verg., *Aen.*, 8,329; *Georg.*, 2,173.

<sup>61</sup> Cf. Ov., *Met.*, 1,63.

<sup>62</sup> Cf. Verg., *Ecl.*, 1,24-25.

- Sed vitiûm attraxit iam plurima plaustra Synedrus,  
 eheu!, quae volui ut breviter memorare sagaci  
 en menti obiicitur sententia dia Catonis:
- 260 esse Aetna graviora<sup>63</sup> magis molimina, nempe  
 urbibus excelsis et prodesse atque placere,  
 vera loqui, vanas nec in<sup>64</sup> auras spargere voces,  
 devitare dolos, praestare silentia rebus  
 arcanis, tumidos compescere, parcere egenis.
- 265 Hac pressi gravitate viri Aetnaeoque labore,  
 non quo Dia Themis, sed quo rapit impetus illuc  
 currunt atque animis caecis (pro!) frena relaxant.  
 Affectet verum qui non hos laudis honores  
 atque onus Aetneum, robusti munus Atlantis,
- 270 dic quotus est? Omnes vulgi inclarescere voce  
 nituntur, capite et contingere sydera caeli  
 principibusque placere viris<sup>65</sup> urbisque popello.  
 Sed quam sit favor ille fugax florisque cadentis  
 testantur veterum nonnulla exempla virorum.
- 275 Cui, Scipione magis raris virtutibus aucto  
 (p. 18)  
 atque Solone, Catone favet plebs? Magne Camille,  
 quid te commemorem? Nec non te, magne Lycurge?  
 Teque, Metelle gravis? Populus quos laudis honore  
 accumulat? Roseique locat super aethera caeli
- 280 nomina? Sed fuerat laudis flos ille caducus<sup>66</sup>,  
 nam nihil in mundo celeri sic avolat axe  
 vulgi nutantis ceu gratia rara favorque.  
 Atque equidem, exigui ni iam sub fine laboris  
 vela traham et terris festinem appellere proram,
- 285 forsitan<sup>67</sup> ingenio magnos linguaque disertos  
 causidicos canerem, artifices scribasque superbos  
 nec vos transirem, qui ferro scinditis aequor,  
 agricolae, incurvo magnae Cererique litatis,  
 atque Dei mystas indutos pelle Sinonis,

<sup>63</sup> Cf. Cic., *Cato*, 4.

<sup>64</sup> Ed.: iu.

<sup>65</sup> Cf. Hor., *Epist.*, 1, 17, 35.

<sup>66</sup> Cf. Ov., *Trist.*, 5, 8, 19.

<sup>67</sup> Cf. Verg., *Georg.*, 4, 116-118.

- 290 Argivi dominos, magnas qui fallitis urbes.  
 Ergo Dei soboles, quia nil nisi tristis Erynnis  
 arma cit, humano pinguescit sanguine tellus,  
 aurea pax friget, lites, mala iurgia gliscunt,  
 orgya clamosi fervent trieterica Bacchi<sup>68</sup>,  
 295 surgit Acydaliae regnum Iovaeque labascit,  
 terra tremit<sup>69</sup>, caelo lunae solisque labores<sup>70</sup>  
 apparent, ignes rapidi dirique comoetae<sup>71</sup>.  
 Quid multis? Magno veluti confecta labore  
 (p.19)  
 terra polusque ruunt, retro et sublapsa feruntur.  
 300 Sedibus empyrei iam iam delabere caeli  
 infelix lolium<sup>72</sup> ut lapas tribulosque<sup>73</sup> favilla  
 exuras, foetus stellata sede reponas  
 triticeos, ubi non rauci canor increpat aeris  
 Martius<sup>74</sup> haudque Noti surgunt, maria alta tumescunt<sup>75</sup>,  
 305 non glacialis hyems<sup>76</sup> canos hirsuta capillos  
 desaevit pluviaeque Hyades canaeque pruinae.  
 Quid? Dolor omnis abest, lites, discordia, planctus,  
 usque adeo ingeminant sed cantica laeta phalanges  
 angelicae divique patres divique prophetae  
 310 virgineusque chorus, laeta et sine fine iuventus.

Finis

III.

[*Ad Sixtum Palmam*]

**Vere Christiani Hectoris et Romanae Thaidis contemptoris  
 omniumque pro fide sanguine Christi acquisita exulum facile princi-**

<sup>68</sup> Cf. Verg., *Aen.*, 4,303.

<sup>69</sup> Cf. Verg., *Georg.*, 1,330.

<sup>70</sup> Cf. Verg., *Georg.*, 2,478.

<sup>71</sup> Cf. Verg., *Georg.*, 1,488.

<sup>72</sup> Cf. Verg., *Ecl.*, 5,37.

<sup>73</sup> Cf. Verg., *Georg.*, 3,385.

<sup>74</sup> Cf. Verg., *Georg.*, 4,71.

<sup>75</sup> Cf. Verg., *Georg.*, 2,479.

<sup>76</sup> Cf. Ov., *Met.*, 2,30.

**pis et coryphaei D.Sixti Palmae Neopragensi erutos αὐτοσχεδιαστί  
hos elegos M.Adamus Prose<rchomus> Mo<ravus> scribebat anno  
Θεογονίας a DoMIno VICtorIa<sup>1</sup>**

- David Apellarum rex necnon dius haruspex  
et cultor veri Numinis usque Sacri  
ipse licet fuerit rex designatus et unctus  
ut clarum faceret religionis opus,  
5 explorata fides huius sed vera priusquam  
effulsit, Saulis frausque dolusque cati,  
denas errando consumpsit exul aristas,  
in salo passus plurima tumque<sup>2</sup> solo.  
Is tamen ingenti hac devinctus mole malorum  
10 offendit nullo Numina trina sono,  
usque adeo ast rutuli coeli ad convexa sacratas  
corde imo effudit, cinnama grata, preces,  
mellifluos Psalmos mira suavitate fideque  
occinuit, tetigit nablia rauca, lyram  
15 atque expectavit Dominum de sede polorum,  
qui solet in arctis ferre salutis opem.  
Et bene res cessit: fulsit post nubila Phoebus  
huic etenim et vidit tempora verna miser.  
Sic moneo fac, Palma, modo, mihi crede, viresces  
20 sic, ut in Aonio Palladis arbor agro.

<sup>1</sup> Chronogramma indicat annum 1608.

<sup>2</sup> Ed.: tumquei.

John K. HALE

NOTES ON MILTON'S LATIN WORD-FORMATION  
IN THE *POEMATA* OF 1645

Ever since Salmasius in 1652, Milton has been chidden for using "incorrect" — non-classical — Latin words. So it can only make things worse if he also made up his own words. Yet as John B. Dillon shows, "For Milton, a word was evidently acceptable if it were 1) understandable and 2) formed in accordance with ancient practice. Thus, like virtually all Neo-Latin poets, he employed compound epithets not known to exist in antiquity but based upon classical models"<sup>1</sup>. Dillon gives five examples, saying "Some of these may be of his own creation". The five are *Mavortigena*, *Tricoronifer*, *papicola*, *sarissifer*, and *coelifuga*<sup>2</sup>.

My own readings of Milton's Latin poems had yielded these same five putative coinages together with six more, and it is these eleven which I analyse here and offer for scrutiny to others. They are "putative" in that any single prior usage or dictionary-entry would of course invalidate their claim to be neologisms. They are listed alphabetically for convenience. Each word is quoted with its surrounding words, then given its reference and a translation; after which I discuss its orthodoxy or otherwise, its origin and meaning, and the possible purposes of its coining. After the last such entry I draw provisional conclusions from the eleven taken together. Since the risk of wrong identification increases the risk of invalid conclusions from so small a sample, it will be clear that my aim is simply to draw attention to a neglected issue in Milton's poetry and to a large historical and intellectual issue — in the hope that fuller and better scholarship may be applied to both issues.

*CANNABEO lumbos constrinxit fune salaces* (*In Quintum Novembris* 84); "he [Satan] bound up his lecherous loins with the *hempen* rope [of

<sup>1</sup> John B. Dillon, "Surdeo, Saumaise, and the Lexica: An Aspect of Milton's Latin Diction", *Humanistica Lovaniensia: Journal of Neo-Latin Studies* 27 (1978), 238-252 (p. 250 cited).

<sup>2</sup> Quotations from and references to Milton's writings are to John Milton, *Complete Shorter Poems*, ed. John Carey (London, 1971).

a Franciscan]". Only the spelling -NN- is perhaps new: other forms of the adjective are common in Neo-Latin, viz. *canabeus*, *cannabinus*, *can-neus* and *cannabaceus*. Milton coins the form which his scansion needs here, emboldened by two things. He is writing in a genre, satire, where a larger licence of diction had been sanctioned by Roman practice; and where Buchanan's *Franciscanus* had exploited that licence before him to lampoon the Franciscans.

*CENTILINGUIS Fama* (*In Obitum Praesulis Eliensis* 7); "Hundred-tongued Rumour". Rumour had been personified as having many tongues since Virgil (*Aeneid* IV.173-97). Neo-Latin poets used many compound adjectives to express the idea in hexameters or elegiacs, which Milton could not use for his different metre here, iambics. So he coined a version which did fit. The coining of compound adjectives by humanists was incessant, aided by manuals such as Textor's *Epitheta*<sup>3</sup>. A similar propensity drove the contemporary vernaculars, witness Minshew's *Emendatio* of 1627: "*Centiloquie*, a hundredfold discourse". The prior question, however, is why Milton wrote in iambics for an epicedium.

*COELIFUGAM* ...*Deum* (*Elegia Sexta* 10); "the God who fled from heaven". Humanists coined very many compound adjectives with *coelum-* / *caelum-* to bestow as honorific epithets upon the God of the Bible, for instance *Coeliger* or *Coelipotens*<sup>4</sup>. Milton seems to go one better here, by finding a less usual verb to suffix and by giving the compound to Christ, "who, being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God; / But made himself of no reputation, and took upon him the form of a servant, and was made in the likeness of men ..." (Philippians 2. 6-7, King James version). Working along the lines of *lucifuga* or *nubifugus*, Milton is packing this Pauline idea into an epithet of theological density as well as Latinate compression: "Festaque coelifugam quae coluere Deum".

*LICENT convivium larga poetis* (*Elegia Sexta* 53); "such ample banquets are lawful for poets". As John Carey notes (edn. cit., p. 115), *licere* in this sense is used impersonally (thus *licet poetis*), and no classical precedent is known for Milton's usage. Conversely, where *licere* is normally used personally, it is not in this sense. Whether other Renais-

<sup>3</sup> Ravius Textor, *Epithetorum Ioann. Ravisii Textoris Epitome* (London, 1595), only one of numerous printings.

<sup>4</sup> They are following classical compounds like *caelicola*. Similar formations in Textor include *Unigena*, *Verbigena* and *Salutifer*.



sance Latinists did what Milton does here is a question which a dictionary, or even a grammar, of Neo-Latin would best settle<sup>5</sup>.

*MAVORTIGENAE consistit in arce Quirini* (*Q. Nov.* 53); "he stopped in the citadel of *Mars-born* Quirinus [= deified name of Romulus]". Ovid and other classical poets have this epithet in the form *Martigena*. However, *Mavors* for *Mars* is favoured in archaic or heroic verse, as is the adjective *Mavortius*. Milton has simply recombined two sanctioned forms of a fluid name, for metrical benefit, as *Mavortigenae*. It is a paradigm instance of the word-formation method described by Dillon; unimpeachable, in the sense that though apparently no Romans wrote it they could have, and might have applauded when Milton did.

*PANIFICOSque deos portat* (*Q. Nov.* 56); "and he [the Pope] carries the gods *made of bread* [i.e. the consecrated wafers of the Eucharist]". All commentators who notice it revile this compound adjective because *panificus* normally has an active not passive sense: "bread-making", or "baker" (adjective as noun, synonymous with *panifex*). What may be said on the other side? First, at the least the sense is self-evident, for even without adducing from Milton's model Buchanan the same idea and tone — *De pane ut numen faciant* (*Franciscanus* 740) — we recognise the usual Protestant notion that Catholics worship the wafer, in a latterday idolatry like those condemned by Jeremiah<sup>6</sup>. Secondly, Milton would know from Textor of *Unigena*, "only-begotten" and *Verbigena*, "born of the Word", not to mention his own *Mavortigena*. All three are passive in sense, going back to the classical *caeligenus*, heaven-born. He has done for *-ficus* what was more lawful or customary for *-gena* (-us), coining by analogy.

*Saepe SARISSIFERI crudelia pectora Thracis* (*Elegia Quarta* 65); "Often the cruel hearts of the *sarissa-bearing* Thracian..." The *sarissa* was the extra long spear of the Macedonians, but Milton links it with their more northerly, barbarian-savage neighbours the Thracians — for the sake, probably, of an onomatopoeic sibilant cruelty. He makes *sarissifer* an adjective with Roman suffix rather than a noun with a Greek one (*sarissophoros*) as used by Livy and Ovid. By so doing he turns those ferocious aliens into enemies of both Greece and Rome, enemies

<sup>5</sup> Milton liked something about *licere*-constructions, to judge by *Epitaphium Damonis* 171-72: 'omnia non licet uni, / Non sperasse uni licet omnia', where the construction turns out to be regular but was first being pushed by hyperbaton towards *omnia* + *licet*.

<sup>6</sup> e.g. Jeremiah 2. 27. *Papicolum*, "Pope-worshippers" (222), gives us a parallel polemical subtlety.

of *pietas* and law, and thus resembling the armies of the Thirty Years War which he is describing as they draw near to Hamburg where his friend (addressee and subject of the *Elegia*) is trapped.

*STABULANTEM paupere tecto* (*Elegia Sexta* 83); "him [the Christ-child] *stabling* in a mean dwelling". *Stabulor*, -*ari* is explained by Thomas Cooper's *Thesaurus Lingae Romanae et Britannicae* (London, 1584) as "to be housed as beasts are". It is used in antiquity only of animals, though these extend to include birds and centaurs. Cooper's entry suggests the possibility of metaphor, but his examples do not anticipate Milton's. Milton's usage is a strong metaphor, indeed a selfcontradiction, for *stabulor* remains the word for *non-human* habitation. He seeks by this one word the Christian paradox that "he who with his father now dwells in the highest kingdom" (*qui suprema suo cum patre regna colit*) should "be housed as beasts are". Not a coinage so much as a defamiliarizing conceit.

*STELLIPARUMque polum* (*Elegia Sexta* 85); "the *star-bearing* firmament". Salmasius scorned the expression, saying "*stelliparum coelum appellat, qui stellas scilicet pariat*" — "he calls the sky *stelliparum* as if it would produce stars"<sup>7</sup>. Is he objecting that the word is unclassical or misformed, or that the idea is absurd or indecorous? In answer to the former objection, we find in Textor (once again) a cognate coinage, *salutipara* = "giving birth to salvation," as an epithet for Our Lady. In answer to the latter objection, although one might reasonably find the idea of the heavens giving birth to a new star (the star of Bethlehem, to guide the Magi to the Christ-child) to be absurd, or repugnant, or un-Roman, the idea of one act of special creation being attended by another is orthodox and decorous enough when coming from a Christian humanist in rhapsodic vein. In fact, with the coinciding of two such acts as subject, the poet might plead decorum for his own act of special creation, this coinage.

*Et cupit amplexus, Phoebe, SUBIRE tuos* (*Elegia Quinta* 56); "she [Earth] desires to *undergo* your embraces, o Sun-god". Several of the standard meanings of *subire* would fit here: "enter", "undergo", "submit to", and "run into" are all suitable, and all in Rider-Holyoke<sup>8</sup>. But in view of the perfervid paganizing eroticism of the surrounding passage (cele-

<sup>7</sup> Salmasius = Claude de Saumaise (1588-1653) is cited from J. Milton French, *The Life Records of John Milton* (New Brunswick, 1949-58), 5 vols., IV, p. 345.

<sup>8</sup> *Riders Dictionarie* as edited by Francis Holyoke (London, 1612 etc.).

brating the personified mating of earth with sun in spring) I have wondered if Milton means the verb more literally, visually than figuratively; seeks to reanimate the dead metaphor so as to have Earth "go underneath" Phoebus (in missionary position). Two lines later she "voluptuously bares her breasts" (*pandit ...luxuriosa sinus*). The issue resembles that for *stabantem* above, only now the love is profane not sacred.

*TRICORONIFER* (*Q. Nov*; 55); "he who wears the triple crown", viz. the Pope. The word could not be classical because the thing was not. Milton could coin it easily in the typical Textor fashion from *TRI* + *CORONA* + *FER*, -A, -UM. He does it just here in order to inflate his line with sarcastic pomp:

*Cum circumgreditur totam Tricoronifer urbem...* It suits the context of a papal procession which generates numerous bombastic polysyllables, and three of the present eleven proposed neologisms within four lines.

### *Provisional Conclusions*

1. The neologisms, if such they are, cluster in two poems: the early caustic satire *In Quintum Novembris*, and a verse-letter to a friend<sup>9</sup>. Satire as a genre traditionally sanctions or indeed encourages coinage, and was so understood in the Renaissance<sup>10</sup>. The other poem begins and ends with a Christmas joy which seems to have prompted an ebullience of neologism in Milton, who was at the same time celebrating his twenty-first birthday.

2. It follows, however, that if most coinage occurred in poems of 1626 and 1629 Milton's later practice — particularly in the three major hexameter poems of the 1630s — became more conservative in diction.

3. Most of my candidates for neologism are adjectives. Milton forms them in the usual humanist way, based on aids to composition like Textor's.

4. Often, and especially clearly with *cannabeo*, the coinage coincides with a particular need of scansion. While Milton was unlikely to be forced into coinage by such need alone, it may be a mark of maturation that later he coins less (see 2.)

<sup>9</sup> *Elegia Sexta* is deemed Horatian in subject, albeit not in metre, by R. K. Rand, "Milton in Rustication", *Studies in Philology* 19 (1922), 109-135 — still an illuminating and rightly enthusiastic appraisal.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Philip J. Ford, *George Buchanan. Prince of Poets* (Aberdeen, 1982).

5. On the other hand, the more striking of the coined epithets exhibits a flair for the defining and amplifying attribute, one which encapsulates identity with a Latin denseness. This extends to his names for people or places or things, and is assuredly not a habit he grew out of or needed to; rather, it is something which makes Milton Milton.

6. Some examples of coinage recall that wider process, which among the Romans themselves is typified by Terence, of blending Greek with Roman to create an imaginary amalgam<sup>11</sup>. It is a process which Neo-Latin in its turn extended so as to celebrate a Romano-Christian worldview. Thus to coin an epithet for Christ is to condense a multivalent allusion, a sort of convergent testimony of history.

7. New usage, nevertheless, should interest the student of Neo-Latin more than new diction does. Did Milton and his ilk extend Latin idiom? And if so, was it done by accident, of which they would have disapproved if alerted to it, or by conscious intent? This issue, like the issue of whether my proposed coinages really are that, awaits the production of a full dictionary of Neo-Latin. Herculean as that task is, it is needed for any true understanding of Milton's coinage — indeed, to understand his whole attitude to Latin and to scholarship. Not to mention that only on such a basis can we settle the rights and wrongs of that philological pugilism of Latinist gladiators, Milton versus Salmasius. That was a cantankerous and sociolistic squabbling, no doubt, but it concerned something which their age held very dear.

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<sup>11</sup> The idea is found in Gordon Williams, *The Nature of Roman Poetry* (Oxford, 1970), p. 62. I have adapted it to Neo-Latin poetry in an essay "Tradition and Artistry in Milton's Latin Poetry" to appear in *Milton Quarterly*. See furthermore D. Sacré, "Neologismen in de Neolatijnse poëzie", *Handelingen van de Koninklijke Zuidnederlandse Maatschappij voor Taal en Letterkunde en Geschiedenis* 41 (Brussels 1987), 159-179.

Martin SVATOŠ

## ANTONÍN KONIÁŠ S.J. VON SEINEN ORDENSMITBRÜDERN DARGESTELLT

Nur wenige Gestalten der Geschichte Böhmens wurden so widersprüchlich angenommen wie das berühmte Mitglied der Gesellschaft Jesu Antonín Koniáš<sup>1</sup> (13. 2. 1691 — 27. 10. 1760). Seine katholischen Zeitgenossen hielten ihn fast für einen Heiligen,<sup>2</sup> die geheimen Nichtkatholiken, denen er als eifriger Missionar "irrgläubige" Bücher beschlagnahmte oder in seinem orthodoxen Fanatismus öffentlich verbrannte, hegten Haß gegen ihn, die tschechischen Patrioten schmähten ihn für seine Massenausrottung *tschechischer* Bücher (er spürte freilich alle seiner Meinung nach ketzerischen Drucke ohne Rücksicht auf die Sprache auf); bis heute ist sein Name in der tschechischen Gesellschaft als Symbol der Büchervernichter allbekannt, wie auch immer ihre Motivierung sei. Die Auffassung von Koniáš als Symbol erfordert selbstverständlich keine Kenntnisse seines realen Lebens. Das mag auch der Grund sein, warum unsere Zeitgenossen so wenig von seiner Lebensgeschichte und Tätigkeit kennen. Es ist bezeichnend, daß die bis jetzt bedeutsamsten Beiträge zur Erkenntnis seines Lebens — außer den Arbeiten seiner Zeitgenossen, über die wir sprechen werden — aus der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts stammen.<sup>3</sup> Sie sind aber nur dem kleinen Kreis von

<sup>1</sup> Lateinisch Antonius Konias oder Konias, deutsch Anton Koniasch genannt.

<sup>2</sup> Über die Todesstunde Koniáš erzählend sagt der Autor seines Elogiums: *Ad actum ejus ultimum veniamus, quem si nostris sub oculis peragere dedissent superi, quantos Deum bonum! solis istius occumbentis radios sanctitatis eramus conspecturi*. Das Elogium ist in dem handschriftlichen Kodex der Jahresberichte des Klementinschen Kollegiums in Prag-Alttadt 1757-1772 (Sign. XXIII C 105/17, Fol. 70a-73a) in der Nationalbibliothek in Prag enthalten. Es wurde von Antonín Podlaha veröffentlicht, "Dodatky a opravy k biografickým starších spisovatelů českých. Koniáš Antonín", *Časopis Českého musea* 69 (1895) 321-325 (weiterhin Podlaha 1895).

<sup>3</sup> Außer den Lexikon- und Handbuchwerken, wie J. Jungmann, *Historie literatury české* (Praha 1849); Riegrův *Slovník naučný*. IV, S. 786-787; C. Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus. Bibliographie*. T. IV (Bruxelles-Paris 1893), Spalte 1187-1190; J. Vlček, *Dějiny české literatury*. II. 1. (Praha 1898), S. 53-61 sind zwei

Fachleuten bekannt, ebenso weiß nur eine geringe Anzahl von Forschern, daß er versuchte, die vernichteten Bücher durch seine eigene literarische Produktion zu ersetzen (Predigten, Meditationen, Gesangbücher). In den letzten Jahrzehnten wird besondere Aufmerksamkeit seinen Verzeichnissen der verbotenen Bücher als Quelle bibliographischer Informationen über alte Drucke in Böhmen gewidmet.<sup>4</sup> Nicht genug geschätzt blieb meiner Meinung nach die Tatsache, daß Koniáš zu der beachtlichen Reihe der dreisprachigen Schriftsteller Böhmens des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts gehörte: er hat ja mehrere Werke zugleich in tschechischen und deutschen oder tschechischen und lateinischen Versionen herausgegeben, ganz zu schweigen davon, daß er tschechisch als auch deutsch predigte.

Genauso wie Koniáš den tschechischen Andersgläubigen, Nationalisten und Liberalen der letzten zwei Jahrhunderte verhaßt war, wurde er von seiner katholischen Mitwelt geachtet und verteidigt. Es ist selbstverständlich, daß ihn vor allem die mündliche und schriftliche Tradition der Gesellschaft Jesu mit Lob überhäufte. Einen Tag nach Koniáš Tod sandte der Rektor des Klementinschen Kollegiums Timotheus Raisky<sup>5</sup> den anderen Rektoren der Jesuitenkollegien der böhmischen Provinz eine gedruckte Todesanzeige seines Mitbrüders, in der er das tugendhafte Leben Koniáš resümiert und die Erwartung ausspricht, daß ein im nächsten Kollegienjahresbericht veröffentlichtes Elogium mehrere Verdienste dieses "apostolischen Mannes" aufzeigen werde:

Studien zu nennen: J. J. Hanuš, "O působení Jesuity Antonína Koniáše v literatuře české," *Časopis Českého musea* 37 (1863), 77-90, 194-210 (weiterhin Hanuš 1863); A. Podlaha, "Život a působení Antonína Koniáše," *Sborník historického kroužku*. 2. Heft (Praha 1893), S. 3-48 (weiterhin: Podlaha 1893).

<sup>4</sup> Die neueste Übersicht der Literatur über Koniáš bringt der Artikel *Antonín Koniáš*, in: *Lexikon české literatury*. 2. Band: H-L (Praha 1993), S. 829-830 (weiterhin: LČL). Dort aber werden keine Arbeiten angeführt, die nach 1989 erschienen, und zwar: E. Frolíková — A. Kánský — L. Hora: *Páter Antonín Koniáš. Několik pohledů na působení jezuitů v pobělohorských Čechách* (Praha 1991); neue Wege zum Verstehen des Werks Koniáš zeigt A. Stich in der Einleitung seiner Ausgabe der Osterpredigt Antonín Koniáš, "Spasitedlného rozjímání o umučení Páně díl druhý", *Literární noviny* 4 (1993), Nr. 14, 8-9; die *Postille* von Koniáš analysiert P. Beneš, "Postila P. Antonína Koniáše," *Miscelanea oddělení rukopisů a vzácných tisků* 9 (1992), 127-141 (es erschien im J. 1993); derselbe hat im J. 1993 seine Diplomarbeit *Život a dílo pátera Antonína Koniáše* an der Philosophischen Fakultät der Karlsuniversität in Prag verteidigt.

<sup>5</sup> Ph.Dr., Th.Dr., Jur.Can.Dr. Timotheus Raisky (1700-1761) war Rektor des Klementinums von 7. 2. 1760 bis zu seinem Tod am 3. 6. 1761. Sein kleines bio-bibliographisches Medaillon verfasste A. Fechtnerová, "Rektoři jezuitské koleje na Starém Městě pražském od roku 1556 do roku 1773. (Bio-bibliografický nástin)", *Miscelanea oddělení rukopisů a vzácných tisků* 3 (1986), 141-142.

*Reverende in Christo Pater*

**P.C.**

*Die octobris septima et vicesima, ipsa Vigilia ss. apostolorum Simonis et Judae P. Antonius Koniass, cum mane pro ara stetisset nulliusque gravioris invaletudinis indicium praeberet, post 1mum quadrantem ad 2dam pomeridianam repertus est in lectulo suo ictu apoplectico exstinctus, morte ut omnibus inopinata, ita sibi pridem bene provisa. Natus erat Pragae an. 1691. 13. febr., Societati nostrae aggregatus 1708. 27. octobr. Philosophiae curriculum in seculo, theologiae vero in Societate absolvit. Classes grammaticae docuit annis 4, poësim 1, ad studiosos dixit 3, ad populum 3. Exhortatorem sub auroram egit annis 5, catechistam templi 4, missionarium 12, de poenitentia 25, confessarium primum nostrorum 3, exhortatorem domesticum 1, superiorem missionis de poenitentia 14, praefectum spiritus in collegio nostro 2. Magister philosophiae in seculo promotus. Vota 4 professus an. 1724. 15. augusti.*

*Plurima profecto, eaque non obvia de apostolici viri hujus virtutibus praeclareque gestis, provinciae nostrae jam alioquin plus quam sat notis, commemorari merito et possent et deberent; quae tamen festinantior nuncius ad litteras annuas differre cogit. Et quantumvis haud vana nos habeat fiducia, Patrem Antonium a diutinis adeo pro Dei gloria et animarum salute indefesse exantlatis laboribus, tam brevi agone ad perennia societatis apostolorum imitatricis in coelo triumphantis praemia jam transiisse, si nihilominus morae quidpiam humana injecisset fragilitas, consueta inter nos suffragia pro eo quantocyus persolvenda pluraque argumenta justo ejus post mortem elogio servitura impense expeto meque pia ad aras memoriae commendo.*

*Reverentiae Vestrae*

*Pragae ad S. Clementem  
die 28. octobr. 1760.*

*Servus in Christo  
Timotheus Raisky<sup>a</sup>*

Das Elogium wurde wirklich in die *litterae annuae* des Prager Altstädter Kollegiums für das Jahr 1760 eingegliedert. Sein Verfasser — ein (wie fast

<sup>a</sup> Nomen manu propria subscriptum.

immer) anonymen Jesuiten aus dem Klementinum beschreibt das Leben Koniáš und zählt ausführlich seine Tugenden und frommen Taten auf.<sup>6</sup>

Ungefähr zwölf Jahre nach dem Tod Koniáš wurde ein anderer Gedenktext über diesen in der böhmischen Jesuitenprovinz allbekannten Mann verfaßt. Der Artikel stammt von Leopold Johann Scherschnik, einem jungen Mitglied der Gesellschaft Jesu.<sup>7</sup>

Während seines zweiten Prager Aufenthaltes (1772-1774) machte er fleißig viele Exzerpte aus den Handschriften der Klementinschen Bibliothek und bereitete eine umfangreiche Materialsammlung für seine nächsten (doch nicht mehr realisierten) Arbeiten vor. Unter diesen Vorbereitungs-materialien befand sich die Handschrift der *Novissima supplementa ad Bibliothecam Scriptorum Soc. Jesu*, ein Verzeichnis jesuitischer Schriftsteller mit ihren Biographien (und Bibliographien), alphabetisch nach ihren Taufnamen zusammengestellt, mit dem Scherschnik aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach die Ergänzungen der bio-bibliographischen Medaillons, die der Klementinsche Bibliothekar Johann Dreyhausen zum Werk von Nathanael Sottwell zu verfassen begann, fortgesetzt hat.<sup>8</sup> Wie schon Cerroni angedeutet hat, wurden die Nachträge Scherschniks von seinem Lehrer Franz Pubitschka revidiert und korri-

<sup>6</sup> Siehe Anmerkung 2.

<sup>7</sup> L. J. Scherschnik (1747-1814), Schriftsteller, Pädagoge, Sammler, wurde in Teschen geboren. Im Jahre 1765 ist er als Magister der Philosophie ins Brünn Noviziat der Gesellschaft Jesu eingetreten. 1767-1768 absolvierte er zwei Jahre der philosophischen Studien im Akademischen Kollegium auf der Kleinseite in Prag. Von den Professoren hatte auf ihn der gelehrte Historiker und Herausgeber von Bohuslav Balbín Johann Diesbach den stärksten Einfluß. 1772-1774 sollte er seine theologischen Ordensstudien in Prag beenden. Er machte Bekanntschaft mit dem jesuitischen Historiker Franz Pubitschka (Pubička), Verfasser der Chronologischen Geschichte Böhmens, und schrieb seine ersten historischen Arbeiten. Nach der Aufhebung der Gesellschaft Jesu hat er als Adjunkt der Klementinsche Bibliothek in Prag einen Katalog dieser Bibliothek zusammengestellt. Ende 1774 oder ganz zu Beginn 1775 ist er von Prag nach Königgratz gegangen und im November 1775 ist er für immer nach Teschen übersiedelt. Dort wirkte er dann als Gymnasialrektor und widmete sich den literarischen und regional-historischen Studien, sowie der Sammeltätigkeit.

Sein Leben und Werk schilderte vielleicht auf ausführlichste Weise M. Kudělka, *Leopold Jan Šeršník (1747-1814). Život a dílo* (Ostrava 1957) (weiterhin nur: Kudělka 1957).

<sup>8</sup> Die Supplemente Dreyhausens sowie die eigene Handschrift hat Scherschnik im Jahre 1785 dem Sammler J. P. Cerroni geschenkt. In der Sammlung Cerronis sind diese sowie andere Manuskripte in einem Konvolut unter der Signatur Cerr II, 345 im Mährischen Landesarchiv in Brünn (Moravský zemský archiv) aufbewahrt worden. Siehe M. Švábenský, *Cerroniho sbírka* [Inventar]. II. Band. (Brno 1973), S. 569-573. Der Artikel Scherschniks über Antonín Koniáš s. Fol. 101b-104a.



giert.<sup>9</sup> Das bezog sich auch auf das literarische Porträt Antonín Koniáš, das einen der längsten Artikel der *Supplemente Scherschniks* bildet. Scherschnik stellt das *curriculum vitae* Koniáš — vielleicht dank der mündlichen Überlieferung seiner Ordensmitbrüder aus dem Klementinum, die mit Koniáš mehrere Tage oder Monate im Altstädter Kollegium verbracht hatten, ganz sicher aber unter dem Einfluß von dem oben erwähnten Elogium — mit Bewunderung und Eingenommenheit dar.

Es ist klar, daß Scherschnik von dem Elogium ausging, wie mehrere motivische und einige lexikalische Übereinstimmungen beider Texte zeigen. Zugleich versuchte er die Formulierungen des Elogiums fast konsequent abzuändern und zu variieren, sodaß man keinesfalls von einer bloßen Abschrift sprechen kann. Im Gegenteil — offensichtlich nach den mündlichen Zeugnissen der Mitbrüder, die Koniáš persönlich kennengelernt haben, — ergänzte er seinen Artikel durch die Geschehnisse des Lebens Koniáš, die der Elogist ausgelassen oder nicht gekannt hat: z.B. über seine charitative Tätigkeit während eines Einfalls der bayerischen, sächsischen und französischen Truppen in Böhmen und einer Belagerung Prags von österreichischen Truppen, wann Koniáš für viele belagerte Prager etwas zum Essen auftrieb und Französisch lernte, um den tödlich verwundeten französischen Soldaten die Beichte abnehmen zu können. Seine opferbereite Hilfe sowohl für die Landsleute als auch den Feind zeigt das zweite Gesicht des Missionars — die charitative Tätigkeit aus Nächstenliebe. Es paßt freilich nicht zum einseitigen Bild des rücksichtslosen und marktschreierischen Fanatikers, das unser modernes mythenhaftes Denken herausgebildet hat. Scherschnik erzählt, unabhängig vom Elogium, eine andere Geschichte, wie Koniáš einen Apostat, der auch andere Menschen zum Übertritt zum Judentum verführt hatte, diesen „Übeltäter“ vor seiner Hinrichtung zum „rechten“ Glauben gebracht hat. Außerdem präzisiert er den Ursprung einiger Informationen des Elogiums (er führt z.B. die Umstände an, unter denen es an den Tag gekommen ist, wie ein Bauer den berühmten Missionar einstens für fast drei Tage in den Schweinstall gesperrt hatte), zeigt eine andere Art des Umgangs Koniáš mit gefundenen ketzerischen Büchern als ihre Verbrennung, nämlich daß Koniáš tausende Bücher mit eigener Hand „korrigierte“, schildert, wie ein Werk von Koniáš einen Zensor

<sup>9</sup> Cerronis Charakteristik des Werkes: *Novissima Supplementa ad Bibliothecam Scriptorum Soc. Jesu a Leopoldo Scherschnik conscripta — et a P. Francisco Pubitschka revisa et hinc inde correcta. Autographum* (Cerr II, 345, Fol. 2a).

zum Weinen gebracht hat; ausführlicher als das Elogium beschreibt er auch Ereignisse der letzten Tage und Stunden des Lebens Koniáš, einschließlich seiner Todesahnung: ... *ego calvaria illa sum meque ad mortem impensius comparare jubeor*. Nach der in mehr oder weniger chronologischer Anordnung erzählten Lebensgeschichte folgt am Ende des Artikels die tatsächlich erste Bibliographie der Werke von Antonín Koniáš, an die sich die Literaturhistoriker wie Franz M. Pelzel, Josef Jungmann u.a. anlehnten und aus der alle anderen Beiträge zur literarischen Tätigkeit Koniáš hervorgingen. Der Aufsatz Scherschniks beantwortet eindeutig die Frage der Literaturhistoriker, ob Koniáš den anonymen Sammelband *Písně na evangelia nedělní celého roku* allein herausgab<sup>10</sup> — der erste Bibliograph Koniáš schreibt die Urheberschaft lediglich ihm zu.

Die Eingriffe Pubitschkas in den Text Scherschniks bestanden in diesem Falle in geringen Ergänzungen, Formulierungsänderungen und bibliographischen Präzisierungen.

Die Eingriffe Pubitschkas sind im Apparat mit P, die Korrekturen Scherschniks mit Sch. bezeichnet.

### Antonius Koniass

*Natione Boëmus, patria Pragensis, natus 1691, Christo in Societate se dicavit 1708. Philosophiae curriculo, cujus et magisterium indeptus erat, in seculo confecto theologica studia inter nos absolvit, 4 vota professorum catalogo insertus 1724. Doctis grammaticae classibus et poësi ad populum di[xi]t<sup>a</sup> annis 8. Missionarium egit 12, de paenitentia 25, hujus superiorem 14. Vir inter pretiosa nomina recensendus, quippe qui per Boëmiam et Moraviam divinae gloriae latius proferendae, anim[a]rumque<sup>b</sup> saluti octo<sup>c</sup> et triginta annos indefesse impendit, quamvis hernia duplici, spasmis frequentibus, capitis et calculi doloribus identidem vexaretur.*

*Quod jam in ejus adolescentia subodoratus est teter ille mortalium seductor, veterator Stygius; siquidem cum per forum minus Pragae*

<sup>10</sup> Zum letzten Mal siehe LČL: "Anonymní sborník *Písně na evangelia nedělní celého roku* (1760) bývá připisován K.; jaký podíl měl na vydání tohoto zpěvníku, není však dosud prokázáno."

<sup>a</sup> Verbum corruptum macula atramenti.

<sup>b</sup> Substantivum corruptum eodem modo.

<sup>c</sup> octo] septem corr. P.

*Veteris*<sup>11</sup> ad collegium contenderet, susceptionem suam auditurus, caelo licet sudissimo nubem veluti sibi imminere vidit, de qua continenter auribus animoque ingerebatur: ad atratos hos ne iveris, eo ne iveris! Missiones ergo cum obiret, frequentius ternis, quaternis, quinisve vicibus verba palam faciebat idiomate nunc Boëmo, mox Teutonico; quo labore haud raro fractus vixque animae reciprocandae validus, consternato et flente populo asportari e suggestu opus habuit; viribus tamen vel paulum receptis, sequenti mox die quasi redivivus, omnium stupore et solatio ad opus apostolicum revertebatur. Singulis operationum diebus 7, 8, novemve horas excipiendis paenitentium confessionibus dabat passim, et ubi major eorum urgebat numerus, jam ab hora 3tia matutina aures iisdem commodabat; neque ullo frigoris rigore ab hoc salutari opere arceri se patiebatur; quo fructu<sup>d</sup>, ut de prima etiam nobilitate et de clero viri insignes conscientiae suae arcana ei confiderent, maximo animorum quaestu certoque exilio vitiis undique decreto.<sup>e</sup>

Experientia longa edoctus plurima animarum detrimenta per libros, cum// haereticos, tum morum corruptores in patriam nostram invehi, quos passim vicini sectarii ceu zizania disseminant, ad inhibenda et abolenda insana ejusmodi chartarum commenta, nervos omnes intendit eorumque ultra 60 facile millia, partim leniter, partim fortius instans collegit ac Vulcano in praedam dedit, alios, et quidem sua potissimum industria conscriptos subrogando;<sup>12</sup> ac sicubi duriores ad tradenda ejusmodi pravitatis analecta incolas reperisset, multiplicatis precibus, flagellis sanctorumque, cumprimis divi Antonii Paduani interpellatione impetravit, ut sub operationis calcem de copiosis talibus<sup>f</sup> spoliis exultaret. Inter quae opprobriis, quin et verberibus quandoque appetitus pro alienae salutis periculo, nihil se in periculis ducere ostendebat.

Unus e Patribus<sup>g</sup> missionariis de paenitentia pluribus annis laborum ei socius in via non expedita fallente vestigio prolapsus allevans, tuber

<sup>11</sup> Altstädter Kleiner Ring.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Elogium: Qui plura cum eo lustra paribus studiis consumpserunt, ultra 30 codicum venenatorum millia numerant sola unius Patris industria conquisitorum manuque illius flammis injectorum, quibus salubriores alios, sua interim Minerva compositos, magnoque sumptu praelo commissos ultro substituebat (Podlaha 1895, S. 323).

<sup>d</sup> fructu] factum corr. P.

<sup>e</sup> decreto] indicto del. Sch.

<sup>f</sup> talibus] hujusmodi corr. P.

<sup>g</sup> Patribus] PP. Sch.

quoddam in occipite pridem celatum observans, unde id foret,<sup>h</sup> rogavit. Cui ille multas post preces: Missionem in dioecesi Reginae-Hradecensi cum obirem, casam<sup>i</sup> de fide suspectam ingressus has verberum in haeretico inquilino acceptorum reliquias habeo ibidemque stabulo porcorum inclusus, in diem jam tertium famelicus, hospite cum suis ad tabernam digresso, subeunte mendica muliere, sera pensili decussa liberatus sum.

Cuidam<sup>j</sup> Hussi asseclae absenti volumen majus auferebat. Domo exeunti occurrit homo, pignus oculis charius sibi tolli videt, minaciter repetit, totis viribus eripere tentat; Patre vero renitente securim corripit inque caput illius vibrat, quo inter invocata sanctissima nomina ictum declinante abjecta securi genibus ejusdem accidiuus vesaniae suae ignosci postulat.

Cuidam dynastae<sup>k</sup> librorum non immerito suspectorum scriptores ac typographos domesticos alenti, 12 carri ejusmodi voluminum, ut auctoritate publica eriperentur, causa fuit; quem nihilominus postea jussu suo clam depictum non jam Koniass, sed expressione Boëmica Goliass vocitare solebat. Eundem deinceps per missionem de poenitentia<sup>l</sup> sibi devinctum munificum pro typo dandis salubrioribus libellis Mecaenatem habuit.<sup>13</sup>

Assidua quoque ejus cura fuit errores libris caetera proficuis inspersos emendandi, quorum millia aliquot sua manu<sup>m</sup> expurgavit inque

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Elogium: Suboluerat P. Antonio virum egregia nobilitate, majore etiam potentia conspicuum varios dogmatum perversorum commentatores, librarios ac typographos domi suae alere et voluminum ab iis procusorum copiam non mediocrem possidere, nihil ergo hominis pecuniosi iram veritus tamdiu sacrae huic praedae insidias struebat, donec auctoritate publica plaustra 12 libris onusta eidem eriperet, Vulcano immolanda. Quo facto fortissimo tum quidem invidiam sibi maximam apud comitem conscivit, adeo ut famosam ei statuam sua in ditone collocaret; post vero cum idem Patri de poenitentia peroranti adesset, verso in amorem odio munificum etiam Mecaenatem se praeibit magnumque in salutare libros sumptus fecit. (Podlaha 1895, S. 323.) Die Geschichte bezieht sich auf Graf Franz Anton von Sporck, einen Jansenisten, dem — angeblich unter Mitwirkung von Koniáš — der ganze Vorrat der von seiner Buchdruckerei gedruckten pietistischen und anders nicht konformen Bücher auf Befehl des Hofes konfisziert wurde. Siehe dazu Pelzel 1786, S. 185, Podlaha 1893, S. 23-26. Zu Sporcks Streiten mit Jesuiten s. P. Preiss, *Boje s dvouhlovou saní. František Antonín Šporck a barokní kultura v Čechách* (Praha 1981).

<sup>h</sup> foret,] foret? Sch.

<sup>i</sup> casam] casamque del. Sch.

<sup>j</sup> Cuidam] clandestino adscr. P.

<sup>k</sup> dynastae] magnis impensis adscr. P.

<sup>l</sup> per missionem de poenitentia] per ipsam de poenitentia missionem corr. P.

<sup>m</sup> sua manu] manu sua corr. P.

*fusissimis manuscriptis<sup>n</sup> suis methodum ostendit, qua corrigi facilius possent, paginis, in quas sequius aliquid irrepsisset, notatis; quo studio suo aliorumque liberalitate missioni Boëmicæ de paenitentia bibliothecam sat amplam acquisivit, ex qua annue pro opusculis pravis salutaria copiose distribuuntur. Libellum certe missionis ubivis usitatissimum e Germanico idiomate in Boëmicum idioma<sup>o</sup> cum transtulisset, censor ejusdem aliquis tam nativis et penetrantibus vocibus usum eum esseprehendit, ut teneras in lachrymas solveretur.<sup>14</sup>*

*In ope aliis quoquo modo ferenda promptissima semper erat charitate mirumque est, quam multa ab eo fructuose in proximos sint profecta. Cum exercitus Gallicus Boëmiam invasisset, improbo labore linguae gentis addiscendae se tradidit, ut aegros laesosque ad mortem pie obeundam compararet; in qua charitatis opera aliis etiam impensa febrim malignam cum maculis venenatis bis contraxit. Sub idem tempus cum copiae Austriacæ Pragæ obsidione cinxissent, invalescente fame, centenis pane qua emendicato, qua de aere moribundorum Gallorum empto subvenit.<sup>15</sup>*

*In passionibus edomandis assiduus corpus suum cum ciliciis, tum flagellis, animum quaesito ubi ubi sui contemptu ac depressione publicisque in triclinio sui objurgationibus male habebat. In missione cum montes Riphæos<sup>16</sup> solus excoleret, iter passim pedes faciens, aut una cum famulo vili jumento insidens, saepius a petulcis pueris sannas et lapidum jactus sustinuit, victu usus perparco (quod et in collegiis facere observatus est) vino recentibusque fructibus abstinebat perpetuo, leguminibus et grossis passim cibis vesci in deliciis ponens. Vice quadam mortui canis cadaver cum transiret nimiumque foedo ejus odore offensus se sentiret, sui pervincendi causa in terram se demisit naresque*

<sup>14</sup> Wir kennen zwei Übersetzungen Koniáš (besser gesagt: freie Bearbeitungen) des deutschen Werkes, s. Knihopis Nr. 5427 und 7117 (cf. Anm. 32 und 24).

<sup>15</sup> Es ging ohne Zweifel um die Ereignisse der Jahre 1741-1742, als die Truppen des bayerischen Kurfürsten Karl Albrecht mit Hilfe der französischen Armee von Marschall Belle-Isle und des sächsischen Heeres von Friedrich August in Böhmen eingefallen sind und Prag okkupiert haben. Im Sommer 1742 belagerten österreichische Truppen das besetzte Prag, Ende Dezember 1742 sind die Franzosen zur Kapitulation gezwungen worden.

<sup>16</sup> Eine der lateinischen Benennungen des Riesengebirges (tschechisch: Krkonoše) in Nordostböhmen. Siehe Bohuslaus Balbinus, *Miscellanea historica regni Bohemiae. Decadis I. liber I* (Pragae 1679), S. 11.

<sup>n</sup> *manuscriptis*] MSS. Sch.

<sup>o</sup> *idioma*] del. P.

*putidae massae eousque applicuit, dum sensus horrorem omnem obtulisset.*

*Intellexerat quodam in loco missioni contermino virum primae nobilitatis periculose decumbere, vitae (ut fama ferebat) licentioris et ab legitima conjuge sua plures jam annos separatum. Hunc ad paenitentiam ut cohortaretur, adire nisus a famulo prae fracte<sup>p</sup> arcebatur, qui instantem nihilominus Patrem in terram etiam prostravit. Cui ille collectis viribus assurgens: Bone homo, ni paenitudo te seria audacis hujus facinoris incesserit, scito vindicem te Dei manum haudquaquam evasurum. Mihi certe constitutum est pedem hinc non auferre (sic), dum aditus ad herum tuum pateat, Deum hic die nocteque// precibus fatigabo, quoadusque resipiscatis ambo. Vix precibus vacare ceperat Pater, cum famulus ad pedes ei procidens veniam temeritatis suae flagitavit cupitumque accessum admisit.*

*Rusticus, qui in vitiis occaluerat, de adeunda missione ne audire quidem sustinens, bovem prae se ad nundinas agebat, qui interim repente se ei eripiens recta ad locum missionis festinavit<sup>q</sup>; quem insecutus ille videt planissime P. Antonium pendente de collo catena ferrea onustum verba ad populum de extremi iudicii rigore facere eoque spectaculo intime motus suggestum conscendit inque genua provolutus, non sine lachrymis paenitentiae remedium ab illo sibi expetiit.<sup>17</sup>*

*Alius novellam sectam cum hebraeis quibusdam de necessaria Christianis circumcisione commentus eoque morti adjudicatus plurium insignium sacerdotum conatus pervicacia sua fatigaverat; cujus vertici tandem P. Antonio auctore sacra divi Stephani lipsana imposita sunt: quo factum, ut in alium omnino mutatus nonnisi eidem conscientiam suam confidere cuperet; qui hominem ita ad ipsum quoque supplicium comparavit, ut maximo omnium solatio et errores retractaret suos publice et fidei salvificae paenitens immoreretur.<sup>18</sup> Plura hic recensenda essent, quae suo tempore alio in opere palam fient.*

<sup>17</sup> Das Elogium erzählt diese Geschichte kürzer, Scherschnik mußte also auch in diesem Falle eine andere Informationsquelle haben.

<sup>18</sup> Es handelt sich um den Fall Johann Pita, Schneider aus dem Dorf Chudonitz (Chudonice), der im Jahre 1748 zum Tode verurteilt wurde, weil er unter dem Einfluß des Rabbiners Mendel aus Neu-Bidschow (Nový Bydžov) zum Judentum übergetreten ist und einige Bauern zu demselben überzeugt hatte. (Über den Prozeß mit der Sekte der Bidschower "Israeliten" in den Jahren 1746-1748 ausführlich J. Prokeš, "Das Ghetto zu

<sup>p</sup> *prae fracte*] ex *per fracte* corr. P.

<sup>q</sup> *festinavit*] *contendit* corr. P.

*Mortem denique nihil minus quam improvisam, qualis videri poterat, subiisse, illud argumento esse utcunque potest, quod de nostris theologiae studiosus testatus sit, cum ei a prandio Sanctissimum accedenti recensuisset, quemadmodum mane<sup>r</sup> illo somno ulteriore destitutus hora tertia de strato suo surrexisset pleneque indutus librum legendo in soporem denuo incidens visus sibi sit apud Patrem Antonium calamos, quos alioquin ei facere solebat, adaptare, quo de gratias agens Pater subjunxerit: tali ejus opera posthac se non usurum adductoque ad mensam speculum exhibuerit, in quo is contremiscens pro facie calvariam conspexerit, ex quo ab iterato hoc somnulo suo tertio ad quartam quadrante prosilierit. Ad quod post visitationem illam Dei Evcharistici solito prolixiorum lachrymis prorumpentibus Pater reposuit: Somnium isthoc non ipsum, sed me designat! Ego calvaria illa sum meque ad mortem impensius comparare jubeor. Evenit id magistro post octobris initium et sub finem ejusdem mensis decessit Pater apoplexia in lectulo suo extinctus post commune nostrorum prandium repertus, cum eo adhuc mane sacrificasset paucisque ante diebus generali de omni retro vita confessione conscientiam expiasset. Accedit, quod pridie mortis ejus pluvia licet vehementi// identidem impelli se sentiebat sacerdos noster, ut e minore Praga<sup>19</sup> Patrem Antonium accederet, de librorum heterodoxorum collectione cum eo acturus, qui praeter morem hilaris repertus, singulari quodam animi motu ei dixit: Pater charissime, diu jam simul in hoc mundo<sup>s</sup> non agemus meque fors brevi mortuum reperturi estis, quin noverit quisquam, quomodo decesserim. Id quod die postera eventus ostendit. Abiit vir optimus ad aeterna, ut confidere justum est, laborum suorum praemia capienda Praegae in collegio Clementino cum praefecti spiritus munere fungeretur, anno 1760. 27. octobris anniversaria suae in Societatem susceptionis. Edita ab eo sunt:*

Postilla, seu expositio in Epistolas et Evangelia dierum Dominicorum et Festorum totius anni, cum selectis ex probatissimis Authoribus exemplis et precationibus ad singula Evangelia aptatis, idiomate Boëmico. Opus

Neu-Bidschow und die sog. Sekte der Bidschower Israeliten um die Mitte des XVIII. Jahrhunderts", *Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft für Geschichte der Juden in der Čechoslovaki-schen Republik* 8 (1936), 147-232; zur Tätigkeit Koniáš in dieser Affäre siehe Podlaha 1893, S. 17 und 47.)

<sup>19</sup> Die Kleinseite in Prag, wo ein Profeßgebäude der Jesuiten sich an die Nikolaus-Kirche anlehnte.

<sup>r</sup> mane] dum del. Sch.

<sup>s</sup> in hoc mundo] hoc in mundo corr. P.

*tripartitum in 8<sup>vo</sup> tertio recusum Pragae typis Ignatii Prussa<sup>t</sup> 1756.<sup>20</sup>*  
*Eadem idiomate Germanico secundo typis data per Franciscum Hladky*  
*1746. Reginae-Hradecii.<sup>21</sup>*

*Cythara Novi Testamenti, seu Cantiones Mysteriorum fidei nostrae ad Solemnitates Sanctorum totius anni conformes, partim ex vetustis codicibus et manuscriptis, partim Marte proprio concinnatae. Boemice secundo prodire Pragae 1760 typis Ignatii Prussa in 8vo.<sup>22</sup>*

*Eadem jam ante Germanice impressa fuerat Reginae-Hradecii typis Wenceslai Tibelli in 8vo 1730.<sup>23</sup>*

*Aurea infallibilis Romano-Catholicae Veritatis Aurora, seu Dialogi de controversiis fidei dogmatis, olim a P. Christophoro Pflaumer Latine conscripti, nunc in formam commentariorum in Epistolas Festorum per annum redacti multumque aucti ex controversiis hac aetate, praepremissis in Patria nostra, articulis.* Boemice. Pragae typis Joachimi Kamenitzky 1728 in 8vo.<sup>24</sup>

*Agni<sup>u</sup> Sponsa Vniuersalis Romana Ecclesia ex testamento Dei omnibus Christum Jesum Sequacibus proposita Reginae-Hradecii 1733. in 8.<sup>25</sup>*

<sup>20</sup> Der tschechische Originaltitel siehe in: *Knihopis českých a slovenských tisků od doby nejstarší až do konce XVIII. století* (Praha 1939-1967) (Bibliographie der tschechischen und slowakischen Drucke von der ältesten Zeit bis zum Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts — weiterhin zitiert nur: *Knihopis*), Nr. 4302.

<sup>21</sup> *Catholische Postill, Oder Außführliche Außlegung Über alle Sonn- und Feyertägliche Episteln, und Evangelia, durch das gantze Jahr; Mit vielen Beweißthuemern der H. Schrift, Bezeugnissen deren HH. Vaetern, und außerlesenen Exempeln bekraefftiget, mit eyfrigem Gebeth beschlossen, in drey Theil abgetheilet. Verfasset, und ans Liecht gegeben von Antonio Konias, Priester der Gesellschaft JESU, Verteutscht: Von einem Priester eben derselben Gesellschaft. III Teile in einem Band. Prag, bei F. C. Hladky s.a. [1747-1748]. 8<sup>o</sup>. Scherschnik führt irrtümlich das Druckjahr 1746 an, vielleicht weil die erste Facultas aus diesem Jahr stammt.*

<sup>22</sup> Es handelt sich aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach um den tschechischen Titel: *Cytara Nového Zákona ...*, den *Knihopis* Nr. 4294 verzeichnet. Ein anderer Irrtum in der Datierung Scherschniks. Die Jahresangabe 1760 hat der Titel des ersten Teils: *Písně na Evangelia Nedělní celeho Roku ... Vytisťené v Praze u Ignácia Pruší, Léta Páně 1760* (siehe Anm. 29).

<sup>23</sup> Im deutschen Original: *Lob=Klingende Harffe deß Neuen Testaments, So den wahren Gott in den unaußforschlichen Geheimnissen deß Christlichen Glaubens und seine Heilige ehret und preiset, Oder ein außerloesenes Gesang=Buch, Mit welchen ein rechtglaubige Seel zu jederzeit Gott loben ... kan. Mit sonderbahrem Fleiß aus vielen Uhr=alten und bewehrtesten Authoren in zehen Theil zusammengefueget von einem Priester auß der Gesellschaft Jesu... (König=Gratz, bei W. Tibelli 1730).*

<sup>24</sup> Der tschechische Originaltitel in: *Knihopis* Nr. 7117.

<sup>25</sup> Der tschechische Originaltitel in: *Knihopis* Nr. 4296.

<sup>t</sup> Prussa] adscr. P.

<sup>u</sup> Agni Sponsa ... 1733 in 8.] adscr. in margine alia manu.



Unica Sponsa Agni a primordio desponsationis suae nunquam corrupta, in vera Christi Doctrina securam viam ad vitam aeternam indicans, Catholica Romana Ecclesia errantibus ad correctionem, fidelibus ad solatium proposita. Boëmice 2<sup>do</sup> typis Ignatii Prussa Pragrae 1755. in 8<sup>vo</sup>.<sup>26</sup>

Reflexiones Sanctae singulis per mensem diebus salubriter ponderandae, Sibi et proximo in solatium et cautelam conscriptae Latine, Boëmice et Germanice. Pragrae typis iisdem 1753 in 12<sup>mo</sup>.<sup>27</sup>

Salutaris hebdomas, seu memoria Salutis aeternae, per Meditationes in singulos hebdomadae dies distributa; cum succinta explanatione Orationis Dominicae// Et Salutationis Angelicae. Boëmice et Germanice, typis Caroli Hraba Pragrae 1754 in 12<sup>mo</sup>.<sup>28</sup>

Cantus Boëmici in Evangelia Dominicarum et praecipuarum per annum Solemnitatum ab eo concinnati. Pragrae 1760.<sup>v</sup> typis iisdem. in 8<sup>vo</sup>.<sup>29</sup>

Clavis haeresim aperiens et claudens, seu Consignatio librorum erronea et perniciose fidei et moribus dogmata continentium, cum primis Boëmicorum, Latinorum et Germanicorum.<sup>30</sup>

Cum Appendice Normam Libros quosdam Boëmicos et Germanicos ab erroribus repugnandi exhibente. 2<sup>do</sup> recusam.<sup>w</sup> Typis Joan. Clementis Tibelli in 12<sup>mo</sup>.<sup>31</sup> Opusculum<sup>x</sup> animarum Pastoribus perquam desideratum et utile, Latine et Boëmice conscriptum.

Vera Patrum et Filiorum familias Sapientia, seu Doctrina salutaris Parentibus aequae ac prolibus observanda, Documentis aucta cum addi-

<sup>26</sup> Der tschechische Originaltitel in: Knihopis Nr. 4297.

<sup>27</sup> Der richtige lateinische Titel: *Reflexiones Sanctae Pro singulis diebus Mensis salubriter ponderandae a Quodam Societatis JESU Sacerdote Sibi et Proximo in Cautelam et Solatium conscriptae.* Anno Salutis MDCCCLIII. Typis excudit Ignatius Franciscus Pruscha.

Die tschechische Version: *Svaté Upamatování na každý den v Měsíci...* s.a. Siehe Knihopis Nr. 4304.

Die deutsche Version habe ich nicht ermittelt.

<sup>28</sup> Der tschechische Originaltitel in: Knihopis Nr. 4303.

Die deutsche Version habe ich nicht festgestellt.

<sup>29</sup> Der tschechische Originaltitel in: Knihopis Nr. 4299 (der Buchdrucker war in der Tat Ignác Pruša). Das Gesangbuch ist in seiner Ganzheit in die *Cythara Nového Zákona...* (1762) übernommen worden.

<sup>30</sup> Die erste Ausgabe s. Knihopis, Nr. 4286.

<sup>31</sup> Die zweite Ausgabe siehe Knihopis Nr. 4287.

<sup>v</sup> 1760] adscr. alia manu (P?).

<sup>w</sup> recusam] recusa 1749. corr. P.

<sup>x</sup> Opusculum] quod ut Opusculum corr. P.

*tis precibus, eleganti explanatione Mysteriorum Missae piisque Cantunculis ad paenitentiam et morum emendationem excitantibus. Pragae 1756 in 12mo. Idiomate Germanico et Boëmico<sup>y</sup> opusculum saluberrimum, cujus plus quam 100 000 exempla in populum sunt dispersa.*<sup>32</sup>

*Index librorum perniciosorum, abolendorum, vel repurgandorum. Opus quadripartitum.*

*Pars 1<sup>ma</sup>. continet libros Boëmicos.*

*2<sup>da</sup>. Germanicos.*

*3<sup>tia</sup>. Latinos.*

*4<sup>ta</sup>. Gallicos, Italicos, Anglicos, Graecos etc.*

*Cui operi immortuus est vir infatigabilis 1<sup>ma</sup> parte absoluta, pro caeteris nonnisi materiam fusissime congestam relinquens, justis duobus, tribusve tomis suffecturam.*<sup>33</sup>

Wie aus dem Artikel ersichtlich ist (vgl. *Plura hic recensenda essent, quae suo tempore alio in opere palam fient*), bereitete Scherschnik eine andere Arbeit über diesen im Orden populären Mitbruder vor, doch nach der Aufhebung der Gesellschaft Jesu mußte er aus Existenzgründen seine Pläne verändern. Einige eigene sowie fremde Handschriften hat er bei seiner Abreise aus Prag dem Gelehrten und Fachschriftsteller Franz Martin Pelzel geliehen. F. M. Pelzel hat aus diesen für sein Werk über die böhmischen, mährischen und schlesischen Gelehrten aus der Gesellschaft Jesu<sup>34</sup> reichlich geschöpft und danach die Manuskripte dem jungen Kollegen zurückgegeben.<sup>35</sup> Auch sein Beitrag über Koniáš stützt

<sup>32</sup> Die tschechische Variante wahrscheinlich in: Knihopis Nr. 5427, wo aber das Druckjahr 1753 steht. Die erste Koniáš Bearbeitung des Buches ist vielleicht schon im J. 1735 erschienen (Knihopis Nr. 5423ff.)

<sup>33</sup> Es ist nur der erste Teil erschienen, s. Knihopis Nr. 4298.

<sup>34</sup> F. M. Pelzel, *Boehmische, mährische, schlesische Gelehrte und Schriftsteller aus dem Orden der Jesuiten von Anfang der Gesellschaft bis auf gegenwaertige Zeit* (Prag 1786) (weiterhin nur: Pelzel 1786).

<sup>35</sup> Pelzel 1786 führt es einerseits im Vorwort (S. V), andererseits im Artikel über Scherschnik (S. 290) an: Auf der Seite V: *Bey der Aufhebung des Ordens in Böhmen erhielt ich vier Handschriften, welche als Verbesserungen und Fortsetzungen des Sotvelischen Werks nach Rom geschickt worden oder werden sollten... Auf der dritten stehet: Supplementa ad Bibliotheca Scriptorum Societatis Iesu auctore Nathanaele Sottvello edita et ex voluntate admodum Reverendi Patris Nostri Tamburini continuanda...* Auf der S. 290 sagt er direkt: *Bey seiner Abreise von Prag überliess er [d.h. Scherschnik] mir die in der Vorrede angezeigten Handschriften, daraus ich die Nachrichten zu diesem Buche meistens geschöpft habe...* Dazu siehe auch Kudělka 1957, S. 75.

<sup>y</sup> *Germanico et Boëmico*] *Boëmico et Germanico* corr. P.

sich größtenteils auf den Artikel Scherschniks (die bibliographischen Angaben eingerechnet), er übernimmt von ihm u.a. die anders unbstätigte Information, daß Koniáš mehr als 60.000 Bände verdächtiger und anstößiger Bücher "zum Feuer verdamnte" (mit dem Hinweis auf einen ungenannten Biographen Koniáš aus der Gesellschaft Jesu),<sup>36</sup> obgleich das Elogium nur 30.000 verbrannte Bände aufführt.<sup>37</sup> Doch hat er auch einige Beispiele für den Einfluß Koniáš als Redners und Predigers auf seine Zuhörer, die wir weder im Elogium noch bei Scherschnik finden, aus der Autopsie angeführt: *Er wusste die Hölle und das Fegfeuer so lebhaft und so schrecklich vorzustellen, dass verschiedene seiner Zuhörer, wie ich selbst einige Beyspiele weiss, darüber im Kopfe verrückt und auf immer des Verstandes beraubt worden sind.*<sup>38</sup> Pelzel diente dann als Grundquelle unseren Literatur- und Religionshistorikern des 19. Jahrhunderts, die über Koniáš geschrieben haben. Die Nachfolger Pelzels vermuteten, daß ihm das übliche Jesuitenelogium zur Verfügung gestanden habe (so J. J. Hanuš), obwohl Pelzel selbst eingestanden hat, daß er keine Jesuitenelogen benützte.<sup>39</sup> Nach Podlahas Veröffentlichung des Elogiums Koniáš am Ende des vorigen Jahrhunderts erklärte man die Unstimmigkeiten zwischen den Angaben Pelzels und dem Ordensnekrolog dadurch, daß Pelzel ihn falsch (weil auswendig oder vom Hörensagen) zitiert hatte (so z.B. Podlaha selbst). Die Forscher haben nämlich die Aussagen Pelzels in der Vorrede und im Artikel über Scherschnik nicht mit der Äußerung in seinem Artikel über Koniáš in Zusammenhang gebracht, sonst hätten sie zur Feststellung kommen müssen, daß der angeführte Biograph von Koniáš der junge Scherschnik war, ohne unbedingt die Handschrift im Brünner Archiv sehen zu müssen. Noch der letzte Artikel über Koniáš in LČL, der im Jahre 1993 erschien, weist auf einen "unbekannten" Biographen von Koniáš als auf die Quelle der Angabe über die Zahl der von Koniáš verbrannten Bücher hin. Damit Historiker die Hauptquelle Pelzels und mehrere davon tradierte Nachrichten in der authentischen Fassung ihres nicht unbekannten Verfassers erkennen, faßten wir den Entschluß, diese Edition des Textes Scherschniks vorzubereiten.

<sup>36</sup> Pelzel 1786, S. 184.

<sup>37</sup> Siehe Podlaha 1895, S. 323.

<sup>38</sup> Pelzel 1786, S. 184.

<sup>39</sup> Siehe Pelzel 1786, S. VI: *Die Lobsprüche und so genannten Elogia, weil sie auf die Literatur keinen Bezug haben, habe ich weggelassen.*

D. SACRÉ - E. VAN PEER

## POUR UNE ÉDITION CRITIQUE DES VERS LATINS DE RIMBAUD

Que sait-on si les latins ont existé? C'est peut-être quelque langue forgée; et quand même ils auraient existé, qu'ils me laissent rentier et conservent leur langue pour eux! Quel mal leur ai-je fait pour qu'ils me flanquent au supplice.<sup>1</sup>

Le mythe s'est emparé du jeune Rimbaud. L'on sait que le jeune homme de Charleville était un brillant élève; pour ce qui est de la langue de Rome, les témoignages des professeurs et des condisciples de Rimbaud confirment qu'il faisait des vers latins avec beaucoup de facilité; pendant les classes de mathématiques, il aurait même fait les devoirs de latin de ses camarades... En 1932, Jules Mouquet, ayant retrouvé les vers latins de collège du jeune élève, écrivit: "Vivant au siècle des Jean Dorat et des Jean Second, il eût rivalisé avec eux, et fût devenu sans aucun doute le premier poète latin de son temps."<sup>2</sup> En 1988, George Hugo Tucker, ayant analysé une de ces poésies, conclut en écrivant: "On s'aperçoit donc que Rimbaud, 'rhétoricien' et latiniste, était un poète encore plus brillant que ne le pensait même Jules Mouquet."<sup>3</sup> Pour en juger, on dispose de cinq poésies juvéniles, soit un total de 285 hexamètres, composés par Rimbaud élève de seconde et de rhétorique (1868-1870); lors de la première composition, Rimbaud était âgé de 14 ans; il n'avait pas encore 16 ans en écrivant ses derniers vers latins. Or, en parcourant ces vers, on découvre quelques fautes morphologiques, syntaxiques et métriques, telles que "Non iam tempus adest..."<sup>4</sup> (*non iam* au lieu de *nondum*; dans l'original on lit: "Le temps n'est pas encore..." ) ou "At genitrix serrae

<sup>1</sup> Arthur Rimbaud, "Proses et vers français de collège", in Id., p2 (cf. infra, sigles), p. 174. Rimbaud aurait rédigé ce devoir quand il n'avait que huit ans.

<sup>2</sup> m (cf. infra, sigles), p. 9.

<sup>3</sup> "Jésus à Nazareth (et Rimbaud à Charleville)", *Parade Sauvage*, 5 (juillet 1988), 28-37 (p. 34).

<sup>4</sup> *Tempus erat* (cf. p. 431, n° 5), v. 39.

stridentia lamina captans”<sup>5</sup> (*lamina* y est un accusatif pluriel, mais *lamen*, *-inis*, n. au lieu de *lamina*, *-ae*, f. n’ existe point): il s’agit d’erreurs que l’on chercherait en vain dans les vers latins d’un Baudelaire et qui à elles seules suffiraient, à notre avis, à relativiser les éloges extrêmement flatteurs dont ces vers ont fait l’objet<sup>6</sup>. Les éditions critiques de date récente<sup>7</sup> présentent encore d’autres erreurs, dont nous nous sommes demandé s’il fallait les imputer à Rimbaud ou aux éditeurs mêmes. Les manuscrits latins de Rimbaud semblant ne plus exister, nous avons cru utile de collationner les *editiones principes*, parues dans le *Moniteur de l’enseignement secondaire spécial et classique - Bulletin officiel de l’Académie de Douai* aujourd’hui difficilement trouvable, et les éditions postérieures. Cette comparaison a porté des fruits. Nous avons pu constater d’une part, que Mouquet, qui le premier a réédité ces vers latins, est intervenu à plusieurs reprises dans la version du *Moniteur* sans en avertir le lecteur; d’autre part, que toutes les éditions de la Pléiade se sont efforcées à copier scrupuleusement l’édition de Mouquet sans recourir à l’*editio princeps* et en ont même repris les manifestes erreurs typographiques, en y rajoutant des nouvelles. En outre, il s’est avéré que deux vers latins manquent dans toutes nos éditions critiques, bien que ceux-ci se trouvent bel et bien dans le *Moniteur*. Ces modestes découvertes nous poussent à présenter au lecteur nos notes de critique textuelle, dont nous osons espérer qu’elles seront utiles aux futurs éditeurs de l’oeuvre rimbaldivienne.

## Sigles

**B:** Moniteur de l’enseignement secondaire, spécial et classique - Bulletin officiel de l’Académie de Douai [= *editio princeps*].

**m:** Arthur Rimbaud, *Vers de collège*. Introduction et notes par Jules Mouquet (Paris, 1932)

**p1:** Arthur Rimbaud, *Oeuvres complètes*. Texte établi et annoté par Roland de Renéville et Jules Mouquet, Bibliothèque de la Pléiade, 68<sup>8</sup>

<sup>5</sup> *Tempus erat*, v. 22.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. D. Sacré, “De Arturo Rimbaldio versificatore Latino”, *Melissa*, n° 24 (Bruxelles, 1988), 10-12.

<sup>7</sup> Pour autant qu’elles contiennent les vers latins de Rimbaud; cela n’est par exemple pas le cas pour A. Rimbaud, *Sämtliche Dichtungen. Französisch und Deutsch* (Darmstadt, 1992<sup>7</sup>).

<sup>8</sup> Nous en avons consulté le tirage de 1954.

**p2**: Arthur Rimbaud, *Oeuvres complètes*. Edition établie, présentée et annotée par Antoine Adam, Bibliothèque de la Pléiade, 68<sup>9</sup>

## 1. Ver erat

[Amplification poétique d'Horace, *carm.* 3,4, 9-20. Composition en vers latins du 6 novembre 1868; 59 hexamètres. Editions: **B**, 1 (1869), n° du 15 janvier 1869, 13-14; **m**, pp. 24-31; **p1**, pp. 6-11; **p2**, pp. 179-180]

- vv. 17-19:      ceu ferreus olim  
annulus, arcana quem vi Magnesia cautes  
attrahit et caecis tacitum sibi colligat hamis.

attrahit **m p1 p2**: attrahit **B**

- vv. 35-37:  
Ut patrias tetigere domos rapidoque volatu  
monte sub aerio pendentia tecta columbae  
intravere, brevi positum vigilemque relinquunt.

brevi **B**: breve **m p1 p2**

- vv. 49-51:  
ecce mihi patuit caelum visusque repente  
attonito volitans super aurea nubila Phoebus  
divina vocale manu praetendere plectrum.

visusque **B m p1**: visuque **p2**<sup>10</sup>

## 2. Iamque novus

[ Paraphrase en vers latins du poème *L'Ange et l'enfant* de J. Reboul de Nîmes, selon J. Mouquet de "fades octosyllabes" et "un sujet ingrat"; en fait, ce poème a été assez populaire, comme en témoigne une autre version latine, faite par le poète alsacien Fr.-X. Reuss (1842-1925)<sup>11</sup>. La

<sup>9</sup> Nous en avons consulté les tirages de 1972 et de 1991, qui sont identiques.

<sup>10</sup> Signalons également que **p1** a *fam* au lieu de *iam* (v.9).

<sup>11</sup> *Tentamina poetica* (Romae, 1911), pp. 316-317: "Angelus et infans. Versio celebratissimi carminis Gallici, cuius auctor J. Reboul".

composition de Rimbaud date de la fin de 1868 ou plutôt de la première moitié de 1869; 55 hexamètres. Editions: **B**,1 (1869), n° du 1er juin 1869, 84-85; **m**, pp. 32-37; **p1**, pp.11-15; **p2**, pp. 181-182]

- vv. 44-47:

Clausa putes placido languentia lumina somno.  
Sed sopor ille novo plus quam mortalis honore  
nescio quo cingit caelesti lumine frontem  
et terrae sobolem, at caeli testatur alumnum.

sopor **m p1 p2**: sapor **B**

et **B**: nec **m p1 p2**. Avec quelque hésitation, nous retenons la version originale<sup>12</sup>.

### 3. Olim inflatus

[ Traduction libre d'un passage de Delille (*Combat d'Hercule et du fleuve Acheloüs*). Composition datant probablement du premier semestre de 1869; 46 hexamètres. Editions: **B**, 2 (1870), n° du 15 avril 1870, 61-62; **m**, pp. 38-43; **p1**, pp. 14-19; **p2**, pp. 182-183]

- vv. 5-7: vallem sua nympha reliquit,  
Faunorum cessere chori cunctique furentem  
annem adspectabant.

Faunorum **B**: Faunorumque **m p1 p2**

- vv. 8-10: fluvii frenare furores  
temptat et in tumidos immania corpora fluctus  
proicit et validis spumantes disicit ulnis.

disicit **B**: deicit **m p1 p2**

- vv. 24-28:

At pudor instimulat numen fluviale decusque  
nominis eversi; presso sub corde dolore

<sup>12</sup> Le *et* n'est pas polysyndétique, mais relie *cingit* et *testatur*; l'enfant a encore une apparence humaine (cf. v. 45).

restitit: haud anguis iam lubrica terga per oras  
 intortus sinuat; taurinae cornua frontis  
 induit; ardenti fulgent fera lumina luce.

26-28 haud ... induit **B**, *omiserunt* **m p1 p2**<sup>13</sup>

#### 4. Nascitur Arabiis

[Matière: Jugurtha; pas de modèle à suivre; Rimbaud considère Abd-el-Kader comme une réincarnation de Jugurtha (le dernier prédisant le sort du premier). Composition datant sans doute du 2 juillet 1869; 83 hexamètres; sans doute la composition latine la plus intéressante de Rimbaud; elle valut à son auteur le premier prix de vers latins au Concours académique. Editions: **B**, 1 (1869), n° du 15 novembre 1869, 174-175; **m**, pp.44-55; **p1**, pp. 18-25; **p2**, pp.184-186]

- vv. 24-28: “Dirum per membra venenum,  
 auri sacra fames, influxerat... Omnis in armis  
 vis erat... Urbs meretrix toto regnabat in orbe!  
 Ille ego reginae statui contendere Romae;  
 despexi populum, totus cui paruit orbis!”

*vis erat proposui* **m**: *viserat* **B** *visa erat* **m p1 p2**

- vv. 61-62:  
 At novus Arabiis victor nunc imperat oris  
 Gallia...

Arabiis **B m** (*quae forma in hoc carmine saepissime occurrit*); Arabii **p1 p2**: imperatoris **B m p1 p2**; *correxit* M. Ascione, *Magazine littéraire* n° 289 (juin 1991), 49.

- vv. 65-66:  
 O gladios torquete iterum memoresque Iugurthae  
 pellite victores, patriae libate cruorem.

patriae **B m**: patria **p1 p2**

<sup>13</sup> Signalons également que **p1** lit *moribun dum* au lieu de *moribundum* (v. 19) et *aclari* au lieu de *alacri* (v. 40).



- vv. 72-73:

Napoleo, proh Napoleo! Novus ille Iugurtha  
vincitur; indigno devinctus carcere languet.

devinctus **m p1 p2**: devictus **B**<sup>14</sup>

- vv. 76-81:

Cede novo tu, nate, Deo! Iam linque querelas.  
Nunc aetas melior surgit! ... Tua vincula solvet  
Gallia et Arabiam Gallo dominante videbis  
laetitiam: accipies generosae foedera gentis...  
His eris immensa magnus tellure sacerdos  
iustitiae fideique!

His eris *proposuimus*: his et **B** Illicet **m p1 p2**<sup>15</sup>

## 5. Tempus erat

[Traduction fidèle d'un poème anonyme français (*En ce temps-là, Jésus demeurait au village*); la composition date de quelque temps avant le 15 avril 1870; 43 hexamètres. Editions: **B**, 2 (1870), n° du 15 avril, 62-63; **m**, pp. 56-61; **p1**, pp. 26-29; **p2**, pp. 186-187]

- vv. 3-5:

Mane novo quondam, vici cum tecta ruberent,  
exiit e lecto per cuncta oppressa sopore,  
munus ut exactum surgens reperiret Ioseph.

e lecto **B m p1**: a lecto **p2**  
reperiret **B**: reperieret **m p1 p2**

- vv. 15-21:

“Quis puer ille?” ferunt; olli nempe eminent ore  
mixta venustati gravitas; vigor emicat armis.  
Nec magis Hirami fuerit labor improbus olim,

<sup>14</sup> La lecture *devictus* de **B** n'est pas impossible, mais cf. *Ver erat*, vv. 29-30: *Inde meum cinxere caput vincloque virenti / devinxere manus. Devinctus* (qui joue sur *vincitur*) ajoute une image.

<sup>15</sup> Signalons également que **p1** lit *angustos muros* au lieu de *angustus muros* (v. 11), *generosa* au lieu de *generosas* (v. 21), *tinxerunt* au lieu de *tinxerunt* (v. 53) et *vera* au lieu de *vero* (v. 58).

cum validis prudens, Salomone adstante, lacertis  
 ingentes cedros et templi tigna secaret.  
 Attamen huic gracili curvatur arundine corpus  
 lentius aequaretque humeros arrecta securis.

venustati **B**: venustate **m p1 p2**  
 tigna **B m**: ligna **p1 p2**  
 huic **B**: hinc **m p1 p2**

- v. 31:

candida purpureo maculatur sanguine vestis.

maculatur **B**: maculatum **m p1 p2**

- vv. 34-35:

At genibus nati Genitrix allapsa fovebat  
 (heu!) digitos digitis, teneris dabat oscula palmis.

nati **m p1 p2**: natis **B**

### Appendice: Verba Apollonii de Marco Cicerone

[ Discours latin de Rimbaud rhétoricien (1870). Apollonius (Molon) a entendu dans son école Cicéron prononcer (en 78 av. J.-C.) un discours grec; il est fier de son élève. Il prévoit la décadence des lettres grecques, comme la Grèce n'a plus la liberté et Rome, grâce à l'enseignement des grecs, fait d'énormes progrès en matière de littérature. Editions: **B**, 2 (1870), n° du 15 avril, 63-64; **p2**, pp. 188-190]

- Sed in tanta laetitia nescio quis maeror subit et desiderium; nec, etsi ingenium eloquentiamque maximis laudibus iam tollere non dubito, Marcum Tullium Romanum esse possum oblivisci. Romanus est qui ceteris istis praestat discipulis!

iam tollere *coniecimus*: ea tollere **B p2**  
 Romanus est *proposuimus*: Romanus es **B p2**

- Romani quondam opes, Corintho ceterisque Graeciae urbibus expugnatis, eripuerunt, tabulas, aurum atque argentum Romam transtulere, quibus nunc templa, nunc publicae aedes exornantur.

Romam *emendavimus*: Romae **B p2**

- Nec dubium est quin de Graecis litteris iam Roma triumphet; iam pridem nobis aemulatur, quippe quae Plautum Rudinum Aristophani illi nostro Terentiumque suum Menandro illi composuerit; nempe Terentius ille, quem apud nos iam celeberrimum video, cum dimidiatus Menander vocetur, in summis poneretur Graecisque forsan non impar esset, si tam concinno quam puro sermoni vim comicam adiecisset.

Plautum Rudinum *emendavimus*: Plautium Rudium **B p2**<sup>16</sup>  
 concinno *emendavimus*: concinni **B p2**

- Quid vero de oratoribus loquar?

Quid *emendavimus*: Quod **B p2**<sup>17</sup>

- Quomodo enim aliter accidere potuisset?

accidere *emendavimus*: accedere **B p2**

- Olim Romae quoque Tullii desiderium erit, cum a tyrannis e foro in scholam expelletur eloquentia.

desiderium erit *scripsimus*: desiderium erit **B p2**

- Nonne, si memoriam revocaremus illorum temporum, quibus omni rerum copia florebamur (quam velut ex uberrimis fontibus in universum etiam orbem profundeabant tot illae civitates et coloniae nostrae), quibus totam Asiam, immo fere totam Italiam subegimus, quid aliud quam desiderium subiret cum gloriae et prosperitatis memores essemus, quam ira et dolor cum praesentem servitutem respiceremus, quam luctus maerorque cum quae fata Galliam nostram maneant conspiceremus?

respiceremus *coniecimus*: res **B p2**<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> A noter que l'élève semble confondre Rudiae, patrie d'Ennius, avec Sarsina, patrie de Plaute.

<sup>17</sup> Il ne s'agit pas d'une erreur de Rimbaud, puisqu'on lit plus loin *Quid ego nunc queror ...?*

<sup>18</sup> La traduction de ce passage dans **p2** (**B** n'offre pas de version) est incorrecte et incomplète.

## MISCELLANEA

Lucia Gualdo ROSA

*Codices Horatiani in Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana*, rec. Marcus Buonocore, Città del Vaticano 1992, pp. 448.

Il catalogo — pubblicato in occasione della mostra allestita dalla Biblioteca Vaticana per celebrare il bimillenario dalla morte di Orazio — descrive i 199 manoscritti oraziani che si conservano in quella biblioteca; le schede descrittive, precedute da una ricchissima e aggiornata bibliografia (pp. 9-48), sono ulteriormente arricchite da 150 tavole in nero e a colori. Lo schema delle schede è quello in uso nei cataloghi della Biblioteca Vaticana; particolarmente interessante è la sezione in caratteri tipografici più piccoli, che presenta tutti gli aspetti codicologici più importanti: fascicolazione, mani degli scribi e loro origine, note di possesso, elementi ornamentali, timbri o segnature di altre biblioteche, bibliografia in forma abbreviata, caratteri della legatura ecc. Tutti questi dati, per i codici compositi, sono forniti solo per la sezione che interessa l'opera di Orazio. Le schede sono ordinate alfabeticamente per collezioni (dai Barberiniani ai Vaticani latini); manca purtroppo un indice degli scribi e dei possessori; utile invece l'indice delle opere di Orazio, dei commenti, degli *Accessus* e delle vite (pp. 275-283).

Dei 199 codici descritti, 25 sono tardi (ss. XVII-XIX) e presentano alcuni casi interessanti di versioni in lingue moderne, parafrasi e commenti; 67 appartengono al Medio Evo (ss. IX-XIV): tutti gli altri, sono dei secoli XV-XVI.

Pur senza sottovalutare l'importanza della sezione moderna e di quella umanistica (per quest'ultima ci piace ricordare lo splendido ms. Urb. lat. 357, esemplare di dedica, elegantemente miniato, del commento di Cristoforo Landino, Tav. VI), mi sembra opportuno mettere l'accento sulla vera novità di questa esposizione e di questo catalogo e cioè sulla sezione più propriamente medievale.

Orazio fu tra i pochi *auctores* latini che il Medio Evo conobbe e studiò in modo praticamente continuo. E tuttavia, a partire dal v. 89 del c. IV dell'*Inferno* dantesco, è opinione comune che la scuola medievale avrebbe accordato una netta preferenza all'"Orazio satiro" e teorico di poesia, ricopiando e commentando in modo quasi esclusivo i *Sermones*, le *Epistolae* e l'*Ars poetica*. La voce *Orazio* dell'*Enciclopedia Dante-sca*, curata di recente dal Brugnoli e dal Mercuri (cfr. vol. IV, 1973, pp. 173-180), conferma autorevolmente la "communis opinio", ricordando come Orazio satiro fosse indicato come autore d'obbligo (insieme con Persio e Giovenale) da Gerberto d'Aurillac (X secolo) e da Aimeric de Gastinaux (XI secolo), mentre Ugo di Trimberg (s. XIII) nel suo *Registrum multorum auctorum*, esprime la sua preferenza in modo molto chiaro ed eloquente:

"Sequitur Horatius prudens et discretus  
vitorum emulus, firmus et mansuetus,  
qui tres libros fecit principales  
duosque dictaverat *minus usuales*:  
Epodon videlicet et librum Odarum  
*quos nostris temporibus credo valere parum*.  
Hinc Poetrie veteris titulum ponamus,  
Sermones cum Epistolis dehinc adiciamus."

Questa notizia è solo in parte confermata dal nostro catalogo. I 10 manoscritti del s. XIII o che si pongono a cavallo tra il s. XIII e il XIV, sono infatti privi dell'Orazio lirico; dunque nell'età della Scolastica e di Dante, in quel secolo che il Toffanin definì "senza Roma", le opere lette e copiate furono effettivamente le satire, le epistole e l'*Ars poetica*. Ben diversa la situazione per i secoli precedenti. Dei 9 codici dei ss. IX-X, ben 6 contengono l'*Opera omnia* di Orazio, per di più accompagnata da fitte note marginali e interlineari, e spesso preceduta da commenti antichi e tardo-antichi, e da diverse vite oraziane.

L'ordine delle opere, che sono divise in dieci libri, è sempre lo stesso: quattro libri di odi, uno di epodi (con l'appendice del *Carmen saeculare*), *Ars poetica*, due libri di satire e due di epistole. Dei 12 manoscritti del s. XI, 6 contengono l'*Opera omnia*. Ma ancora più notevole è la presenza di Orazio nel secolo più letterario del Medio Evo, il XII: su 21 codici, ben 15 contengono l'intera opera di Orazio, quasi sempre fittamente annotata e commentata. Significativi anche i dati che si ricavano da questo catalogo per il secolo XIV: dei 14 codici databili al '300, uno solo contiene l'*Opera omnia*, ma ben quattro presentano il solo Orazio

lirico, con una inversione di tendenza, rispetto alla tradizione scolastica, assai significativa.

Bastano queste poche osservazioni, necessariamente sintetiche, per far capire, almeno in parte, l'importanza della ricchissima documentazione raccolta dal Buonocore. Prima di concludere, ringraziando l'autore per la sua preziosa fatica, vorrei solo ricordare — sempre nell'ambito della sezione medievale — i sei codici dei secoli XI-XII, in cui l'inizio dell'*Ars poetica* è illustrato con una figura di sirena alata (talora anche col collo di cavallo): un tema iconografico, studiato da Claudia Villa (cfr. "Aevum", 62, 1988, pp. 186-197), che mostra come l'ironica descrizione oraziana, sia stata raccolta, con spirito nettamente diverso, dalla fervida fantasia degli scribi-miniatori di età romanica.

Andreas V. KITASHOV

## DE INSCRIPTIONE QUADAM LATINA MOSQUENSI

Saeculo quinto decimo aerae nostrae exeunte Ioannes III, Dux Magnus<sup>1</sup> Mosquensis (1440-1505), gentibus aemulis superatis<sup>2</sup>, titulum accepit Ducis Magni Totius Rossiae. Non minus igitur dignitate sua nova insignienda, quam et militari urgenti necessitate coactus est Cremeli<sup>3</sup>, arcis Mosquensis, reparare muros tum vetustate conlabefactos tum incendiis innumerabilibus prope absumptos<sup>4</sup>. Itaque Itali architecti quidam, quorum unus erat Petrus Antonius Solarius Mediolanensis (1450 - 1493), Moscoviam sunt acciti, qui ad modum Europaeum illius aetatis castellum denuo munirent. Solarius ab initio Froli turrim<sup>5</sup> aedificavit tabulamque lapideam<sup>6</sup> ab exteriori parte super portas ponendam curavit cum Latina inscriptione hac:

IOANNES VASILI DEI GRATIA MAGNVS  
DVX VOLODIMERIAE MOSCOVIAE NOV  
OGARDIEI TIFERIE PLESCOVIAE VETICIAE  
ONGARIE PERMIIIE BVOLGARIAE ET  
ALIA<RVM> TOTIVSQ<VE> RAXIAE D<OMI>NVS

<sup>1</sup> Dux apud Rossos olim rector rei publicae appellabatur. "Dux Magnus" auctoritate atque imperio ducibus aliis praestabat. Alia etiam verba, e. g. princeps et archidux, ad titulum Latine vertendum proposita sunt. (Cfr. A. I. Orlov, Полный Русско-Латинский Словарь [Mosquae, 1876], p. 164). Equidem vocabulo "dux" uti malo, quod in inscriptione Mosquensi etiam est usurpatum.

<sup>2</sup> Eae gentes in inscriptione post Moscoviam sunt descriptae.

<sup>3</sup> Rossice: Kreml', id est arx.

<sup>4</sup> Italus quidam, qui Mosquae tunc aderat, ligneos Cremeli muros descripsit: adeo trabibus et sublicis partim firmabantur moenia, partim restituebantur ut lapis sub materia videri non posset. Vide I. E. Zabelin, История города Москвы [ Historia urbis Mosquae ] (Mosquae 1905), p. 136.

<sup>5</sup> Turris eo tempore a Sancto Frolo nominata, nunc Salvatoris (Спасская) vocatur. Nam icon Salvatoris in fronte posita portas ac deinde totam turrim nomine sua donavit. Cf. N. A. Gejnikе *et al.*, По Москве [Per Mosquam] (Mosquae 1917), p. 189.

<sup>6</sup> Lapis est calcarius, latus cm. 84, altus 59, crassus 10. Vide D. A. Drboglav, Камни рассказывают...[Lapides narrant...] (Mosquae 1988), p. 12, qui et p. 13sq. titulum adfert.

AN<N>O 30 IMPERII SVI HAS TVRRES CO<N>DER[E]  
F<ECIT> ET STATVIT PETRVS ANTONIVS SOLARIVS  
MEDIOLANENSIS AN<N>O NA<TIVITATIS> D<OMI>NI  
1491 K<ALENDIS> M<ARTIIS> I<M>P<OSVIT>.

Ab interiore turris parte tabula altera, non dissimilem gerens Rossicam inscriptionem, posita esse traditur.<sup>7</sup>

Regiones quae in titulo Latino nominantur hae sunt:

1. Volodimeria est Vladimir, regio ab oriente Moscoviae adfinis. In titulis ducalibus ideo Mosquae anteponitur, quod Mosqua primum quasi colonia erat Volodimeriae. Vide B. N. Ponomarjov *et al.*, История СССР [Historia Rerumpubl. Soc. Sov. Unitarum], partis primae tomo secundo (Mosquae 1966), p. 20.

2. Novogardies (rectius: Novogradia; vide V. Musselius, Русско-Латинский словарь, Petropoli 1900, p. 457) est terra Rossica septentrionalis: Novgorod.

3. Tiferia seu Tiveria est regio Moscoviae a septemtrione adfinis: Tver'.

4. Plescovia seu Pescovia est regio ab occidente Novogradiae et Tiveriae proxima: Pskov.

5. Veticia (V'atka), Ongaria sive Iug(o)ria (Jugra) et Permi(i)a (Perm') terrae sunt ab oriente Moscoviae sitae et illo tempore a duce captae.

6. Bu(o)lgaria erat regio olim ad Rha flumen (Volga) sita.

7. Alia<rum>, scil. <terrarum>.

8. Raxia est Rossia.

Huiusce tituli momentum haud parvum est: multis enim annis ante Petri I Magni regnum (1672 - 1725), qui Latinitati atque adeo toti cultui Europaeo viam in terras Rossicas non angustam monstravit<sup>8</sup>, inscriptio illa posita est Forumque ipsum Rubrum spectavit.<sup>9</sup> Atque ille titulus per omnes aetatum turbines suo in loco duravit portas Cremeli arcis et monasterii principales et sacras litteris ornans Latinis. Anno demum MDCCCCXLVI° in locum veteris exesaeque tabulae nova reposita est,

<sup>7</sup>Vide I. E. Zabelin, *o. l.*, p. 138.

<sup>8</sup>Catharina II Magna Caesarissa (1729-1796) postea Petropoli statuae in honorem Petri positae inscriptionem Latinam addidit: PETRO PRIMO CATHARINA SECUNDA.

<sup>9</sup>"Forum Rubrum" non satis aptum est vocabulum, siquidem Rossice non minus "pulchrum" et "maius" audit quam "rubrum"; unde patet non a rubedine, sed a pulchritudine et maiestate sua esse nominatum.



originali omnino similis, quo dies Mosquae natalis octingentesimus celebraretur.<sup>10</sup> Vulgus autem, litterarum Latinarum haudquaquam peritum atque in fabulas primum, suum ad modum inscriptionem tractare solebat: verba igitur mystica praedicabantur calci incisa, quibus unusquisque Cremelum impie capite operto ingrediens condemnabatur. Quae fabula eo facilius credebatur, quia Mosquae vix altera inscriptio Latina (nisi in quodam peregrini sepulcro) inveniebatur.

Nostris etiam diebus inscriptio legi potest, modo oculorum aciem paululum intendas. Nam propter severam excubiarum ad portas stationem proxime accedi nequit. Quo fit ut nemo fere praetereuntium vel magistratuum curru sub arcu in arcem invectorum ullo modo animadvertat vel suspiciat medio in urbe Mosquensi vetustum Latinitatis monumentum inveniri.

<sup>10</sup> Vide D. A. Drboglav, *o. l.*, p. 12.

## IUDICIUM CRITICUM

*Censimento dei codici dell'Epistolario di Leonardo Bruni. I: Manoscritti delle biblioteche non italiane*, a cura di Lucia Gualdo Rosa, Nuovi Studi Storici, 22 (Roma, Istituto Storico per il Medio Evo, 1993), pp. XLVIII, 288, Tavv. CXX.

Si salutano sempre con piacere cataloghi di manoscritti relativi alla produzione di un singolo autore; quando poi oggetto del censimento sono i testimoni relativi all'Epistolario di Leonardo Bruni il plauso è ancora maggiore, conoscendo la difficoltà di potersi confrontare con tutto il patrimonio manoscritto disseminato in numerose istituzioni non sempre di facile utenza. Duplica è quindi il nostro grazie alla curatrice del volume, Lucia Gualdo Rosa, già nota per i suoi contributi e alla struttura dell'epistolario bruniano (su cui è tornato con "audaci proposte" P. Viti, in *Interpres*, 9 (1989), 7-34) e al suo significato politico: il primo per averci offerto un utilissimo strumento di lavoro che travalica anche i limiti "bruniani" offerti dalla ricerca, data la ricchezza di dati che si riescono a recuperare dalle descrizioni dei singoli codici, e su cui ritorneremo più avanti; il secondo per l'impegno assunto di portare a completamento tale "ricerca preparatoria" (p. VI) in vista dell'edizione filologica dell'epistolario, ottemperando così al desiderio che anche Raffaello Morghen auspicava chiudendo la prefazione ad un lavoro della medesima Gualdo Rosa (*Studi sull'Epistolario di Leonardo Bruni*, Roma 1980, p. VII), e che troverà sicuramente nuova spinta dal ritrovamento del materiale di Ludwig Bertalot, su cui il 13 giugno 1994 è stato tenuto un seminario presso l'Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo.

Il libro è diviso in due parti; la prima è costituita da una introduzione quanto mai ricca di spunti e di approfondimenti (pp. V-XLVIII), suddivisa in tre capitoli; il primo (pp. VII-XVI) relativo alla tipologia dei manoscritti sulla base del loro contenuto (codici con l'intero epistolario, con collezioni di lettere extravaganti e con una o due lettere); il secondo (pp. XVI-XVIII) riguarda la struttura e la destinazione dei manoscritti (codici monografici, antologie umanistiche, zibaldoni di lavoro); il terzo (pp. XVIII-XXXIV) è pertinente alla presenza delle lettere bruniane nelle varie aree geografiche (Spagna e Isole britanniche; Svizzera; Polonia e Boemia; Francia; Germania); una copiosa bibliografia generale (pp. XXXVII-XLII) e l'elenco delle opere del Bruni citate in forma abbreviata (pp. XLIII-XLVIII) facilitano il compito dei continui riscontri del Catalogo. La seconda parte riguarda il censimento dei 200 codici non "italiani" fino ad ora recuperati, presentati secondo le aree geografiche di cui sopra (ciascuna sezione geografica è preceduta da una bibliografia particolare che completa quella generale premessa al censimento), alla cui redazione hanno contribuito vari studiosi già noti per i loro contributi sull'argomento: Paolo Viti ha curato il censimento

delle biblioteche dell'Austria (pp. 3-20; 18 codici di cui più della metà alla österreichische Nationalbibliothek di Vienna), delle repubbliche Ceca e Slovacca (pp. 27-36; 7 codici) e della Croazia (pp. 37-40; 1 codice); Dirk Sacré quello del Belgio (pp. 21-26; 2 codici alla Koninklijke Bibliotheek [Albertina] di Bruxelles); Marianne Pade quello della Danimarca (pp. 41-46; 2 codici); Lucia Gualdo Rosa quello della Francia (pp. 47-80; 31 codici di cui 27 alla Bibliothèque Nationale di Parigi), della Polonia (pp. 169-182; 6 codici alla Biblioteka Jagiellonska di Cracovia), della Svizzera (pp. 223-236; 9 codici) e dell'Ungheria (p. 237; 1 codice); Franz-Rutger Hausmann ed Ursula Jaitner-Hahner quello della Germania (pp. 81-134; 48 codici di cui 11 alla Staatsbibliothek di Berlino (fra questi il noto *Lat. fol...667* su cui ha scritto C. Griggio, in *Rinascimento*, n. s., 26 (1986), 27-50) e 17 alla Bayerische Staatsbibliothek di Monaco di Baviera; Martin C. Davies quello della Gran Bretagna (pp. 135-168; 38 codici di cui 14 alla British Library di Londra e 12 alla Bodleian Library di Oxford); Milagros Villar Rubio quello della Spagna (pp. 183-208; 27 codici, tra cui i due registri dell'Archivio della Corona di Aragona); James Hankins quello degli Stati Uniti d'America (pp. 209-222; 10 codici). Copiosi indici (pp. 249-286: Manoscritti e documenti, Opere del Bruni e Nomi di persona e luogo), in cui non è facile trovare errori o omissioni — per il *Parisinus Nouv. Acq. 1181* (pp. 73-74) si poteva citare anche P. Viti, *Due commedie umanistiche pavesi* (Padova 1983), pp. 23-24 e *passim*; negli indici pare che manchi il riferimento alla traduzione dell'*Axiochus* pseudoplatonico di Rinuccio Aretino (p. 281) presente nel codice viennese 2384 descritto alla p. 13 — completano il lavoro, riccamente supportato da una considerevole esposizione fotografica in bianco e nero (101) e a colori (19).

Ogni descrizione (i cui criteri sono enunciati nell'Avvertenza alla p. 2) è quanto mai esauriente per i fini preposti; certo, gli elementi relativi alle filigrane e alla fascicolazione non avrebbero fatto altro che aumentare il copioso lemma descrittivo, ma, forse, senza apportare dati significativi al contenuto di ogni singolo testimone referente l'epistolario; avrei visto, viceversa, di buon grado una maggiore attenzione al contenuto allotrio al testo bruniano; ad esempio in luogo dei laconici riferimenti del tipo "opere di autori antichi (Ovidio, Lattanzio, ecc.)" (pp. 7-8), "opere di autori cristiani (Prudenzio, Sedulio) (p. 65) e così via, mi sarei aspettato una precisazione contenutistica migliore, in sintonia con la capillarità con cui è stata eseguita ogni singola descrizione, data, soprattutto, l'occasione di portare a conoscenza della filologia opere di autori classici "disperse" in testimoni di non facile reperibilità e di cui queste descrizioni, talvolta, risultano essere uniche in possesso degli studiosi.

Non resta che augurare l'uscita del successivo volume in cui compariranno le biblioteche italiane e la Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, che, oltre ai due codici *Chigi I, IV. 199* e *Pal. lat. 1597* (quest'ultimo il testimone più autorevole dell'edizione in nove libri curata dal Manetti; su questi due importanti codici è tornata di recente P. Scarcia Piacentini in *Per il censimento dei codici dell'epistolario di Leonardo Bruni*, Roma 1991, pp. 143-162), senza dubbio offrirà nuovo materiale per una più dettagliata quantificazione della diffusione dell'opera e per acquisizioni ed emendamenti alle precedenti letture (come esempio mi limito a segnalare l'interessante sottoscrizione del *Chigi I, IV. 120*

(pars prior) che corregge in qualche punto quella del Baron (p. 232): “Finis. Explicit epistolarum liber doctissimi ac eloquentissimi leonardi aretini quem domini baldi domini angeli domi (un discendente, forse, degli Ubaldi di Perugia noti nel XIV secolo?) Intempesta nocte circiter quartam noctis horam Ego Gentilis nicholai de p(er)usio manu p(ro)p(ri)a mea scripsi milleq(ue) deo et sancte matri sue marie o(mn)ibusq(ue) sanctis gr(ati)as referendo sexto Idus aprilis M<sup>o</sup>CCCCXXXXXI <add.: a dì octo d’aprile 1461>”)

Mi domando, poi, se ai fini di una completa collazione in vista dell’edizione dell’epistolario, non sarà opportuno confrontarsi anche con tutta quella serie di incunaboli referenti l’opera. Con l’occasione segnalo quelli esistenti in Vaticano con qualche riga di commento: *Inc. ross.* 255 (Libri VIII. <Venezia: “Printer of Brunus Aretinus” > 1472, in 2°. Ed.: Antonius Moretus e Hieronymus Squarza-ficus. HC 1565\*; GW 5606 (Milano?); BMC VII, 1143; IGI 2199; Goff B-1242); *Inc. II*, 358 e *Inc. II*, 499 (1) (Libri VIII. <Venezia: Damianus de Mediolano de Gorgonzola et Petrus de Quarengiis Bergomensis> 15 giugno 1495. in 2°. Ed.: Antonius Moretus e Hieronymus Squarza-ficus. HC 1567\* -H 1566?; GW 5607; BMC V, 512; IGI 2201; Goff B-1243; *Inc. IV* 935 (Libri IX. <Lovanio: Rudolf Loeffs de Driel, tra il 1483 e il 1484 / 85>. in 4°. Lettera di Guarinus Veronensis (c. 1°) e l’Epitaphium Leonardi Aretini di Pio II (c. 156). HC 1564; GW 5608 (1487 ca.); BMC IX, 161; IGI 2200).

Marco BUONOCORE

INSTRUMENTUM BIBLIOGRAPHICUM  
NEOLATINUM

apparaverunt

J. IJsewijn, D. Sacré, G. Tournoy, M. de Schepper

*Appellatio ad auctores.*

Auctores librorum et commentationum de rebus neolatinis enixe rogamus ut nuntium de novis opusculis nobis mittant (in Seminarium Philologiae Humanisticae, Blijde-Inkomststraat 21, B-3000 Leuven, Belgium), quo citius in hoc instrumentum possint referri.

Haec bibliographia absoluta est Idibus Augustis anni 1994.

**SIGLA:**

<i>AHSI</i>	= <i>Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu</i> (Roma).
<i>ARG</i>	= <i>Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte</i> (Gütersloh)
<i>BHR</i>	= <i>Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance</i> (Genève).
<i>GSLI</i>	= <i>Giornale storico della letteratura italiana</i> (Torino)
<i>HL</i>	= <i>Humanistica Lovaniensia</i> (Leuven)
<i>HRMC</i>	= J. A. Sánchez Marín - M. López Muñoz (edd.), <i>Humanismo Renacentista y Mundo Clásico</i> (E-28029 Madrid, Ediciones Clásicas: Magnolias 9, bajo izda, 1991).
<i>IMU</i>	= <i>Italia medioevale e umanistica</i> (Milano)
<i>JMRS</i>	= <i>The Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies</i> (Durham, N.C.)
<i>JWCI</i>	= <i>Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes</i> (London)
<i>NT</i>	= <i>Nova Tellus. Anuario del Centro de Estudios Clásicos</i> (U.N.A.M., México)
<i>RIN</i>	= <i>Rinascimento</i> (Firenze)
<i>RnR</i>	= <i>Roma nel Rinascimento</i> (Roma)
<i>RPL</i>	= <i>Respublica Litterarum</i> (Lawrence, Kansas/Fano, Italia))
<i>RQ</i>	= <i>Renaissance Quarterly</i> (New York)
<i>RS</i>	= <i>Renaissance Studies. Journal of the Society for Renaissance Studies</i> (Oxford)
<i>SCJ</i>	= <i>Sixteenth Century Journal</i> (U of Missouri, Columbia)
<i>SU</i>	= <i>Studi Umanistici</i> (U di Messina)
<i>WBN</i>	= <i>Wolfenbütteler Barock-Nachrichten</i> (Wiesbaden)
<i>WRM</i>	= <i>Wolfenbütteler Renaissance Mitteilungen</i> (Wiesbaden)

## ABBREVIATIONES:

- Ars memorativa* = Berns J.J. - Neuber W. (edd.), *Ars memorativa. Zur kulturgeschichtlichen Bedeutung der Gedächtniskunst 1400-1750, Frühe Neuzeit*, 15 (Tübingen, Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1993).
- Cusano* = *Concordia Discors. Studi su Niccolò Cusano e l'umanesimo europeo, offerti a Giovanni Santinello. A cura di Gregorio Piaia* (Padova, Ed. Antenore, 1993).
- Frau in der Renaissance* = Schmidt P.G. (ed.), *Die Frau in der Renaissance*, Wolfenbütteler Abhandlungen zur Renaissanceforschung, 14 (Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz Verlag, 1994).
- Gansfort* = *Wessel Gansfort (1419-1489) and Northern Humanism*, edd. F. Akkerman, C. G. Huisman and A. J. Vanderjagt. (Leiden, Brill, 1993).
- Hrvatsko* = AA.VV., *Dani Hvarskog Kazalista* [= Dies Pharensis Theatri]. *Hrvatsko Barokno pjesništvo. Dubrovnik i Dalmatinske Komune* (Split, Knjizevni Krug, 1992).
- Humanism and Reform* = *Humanism and Reform: The Church in Europe, England and J.K. Cameron*. Ed. by J. Kirk, *Studies in Church History*, Subsidia, 8 (Oxford, Blackwell, 1991).
- Hum. Portug.* = *Humanismo Português na época dos descobrimentos. Congresso internacional, Coimbra 9 a 12 de Outubro de 1991. Actas* (Universidade de Coimbra, 1993).
- Mito* = *Il mito nel Rinascimento*. Atti del III Convegno Internazionale di Studi Umanistici. Ed. by L. Rotondi Secchi Tarugi, *Caleidoscopio*, 4 (Milano, Nuovi Orizzonti, 1993).
- Puglia* = *Puglia Neo-Latina. Un itinerario del Rinascimento fra autori e testi*. A cura di F. Tateo, M. de Nichilo e P. Sisto (Bari, Cacucci editore, 1994).
- Renaissance-Rhetorik* = *Renaissance-Rhetorik / Renaissance Rhetoric*. Hrsg. von / Edited by H.F. Plett (Berlin - New York, Walter de Gruyter, 1993).
- Satire humaniste* = De Smet R. (ed.), *La satire humaniste. Actes du colloque international des 31 mars, 1er et 2 avril 1993*, *Travaux de l'Institut interuniversitaire pour l'étude de la Renaissance et de l'Humanisme*, XI (Leuven, Peeters Press, 1994).
- La stampa in Italia* = Santoro M. (ed.), *La stampa in Italia nel Cinquecento. Atti del Convegno Roma 17-21 Ottobre 1989*, 2 vols (Roma, Bulzoni, 1992).

## 1. GENERALIA

## 1.0

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theologi"? Num Dionysius Carthusianus? — p. 193, 152 et nota: forma "exedundum" est archaismus vulgatissimus (W. M. Lindsay, *The Latin Language*, Oxford 1894, p. 544; V. Pisani, *Grammatica latina storica e comparativa*, Torino, 1962<sup>3</sup>, p. 125, § 249). Confer et illud "incipiundi", p. 193, 159; — p. 214-15: de Iustiniano vide etiam L. Vallae *Epistolam adversus Bartolum*; — p. 224, 256: servanda est forma "opprobasti", siquidem saepius apud Plautum legebatur. Vide *Thesaurum Linguae Latinae*, s. v.; — p. 226, 307: non est cur "annales Maximi [sc. Pontificis]" mutetur; — p. 244, 751: legendum est "incessivit"; — p. 259, 95: sententia dilucidior est si ponis virgulam (,) post "adoriebantur"; — p. 260, 125: lege "utranque"; — p. 276, 512: lege "utrunque"; — pp. 343-344 ad 977: Basilii Epistolae graece primum editae sunt Venetiis anno 1499; — p. 354, 242-44 aliter interpungendum est ut sensum capias: "...respexit ad morem iuris (iuxta quem...Terentius, et M. Tullius...transactum est), quotiens in contractibus..."; — p. 416, 219 et nota: Verba Apulei revera pro tribus senariis iambicis (impuris) accipi possunt: "At ego...Milesio // varias...tuas // benevolas... permulceam."; — p. 417, 256: historia Celeris, qui Remum occidit, legitur apud Ovidium, *Fast.* IV 835-857; — p. 432, 602: pro "fortis" lege "sortis"; — p. 444, 913: notemus verbum "harenaginta" elegantissime novatum ut graecum ψαμμακόσιος redderetur. Monstrat quantus linguae artifex Erasmus fuerit! — p. 454, 96: scribe "respondit".(J.IJ.) — *Opera Omnia V 5: Ecclesiastes (Libri III-IV)*, ed. J. Chomarat (Amsterdam, Elsevier, 1994). Haec altera *Ecclesiastae* pars, quam minore tantummodo ex parte legere potuimus cum hoc *Instrumentum* prelo committeretur, eiusdem nitere virtutibus videtur quibus et prior tomus. Pergant hac via curatores ASD in parandis ceteris seriei voluminibus! Haec pauca adnotavi in priorie voluminis parte, quam legeram ante quam *Instrumentum* typis mandaretur: p. 46, 817-18 aliter est interpungendum itaque sic scribas: "...corrumpit luxur." Igitur ad castitatem... et odium luxur. Illud..."; p. 60, 177: Bassi exemplum non est fictum, sed sumptum e Martiale I 37: "Ventris onus misero, nec te pudet, excipis auro.// Basse, bibis vitro: carius ergo cacas."; p. 70, 375: Filius Prodigus Erasmi tempore saepius in comoediis latinis productus est, ut puta a Gulielmo Gnaphaeo in *Acolasto*, a Georgio Macropedio in *Asoto* etc.; p. 72, 411-413 aliter dispungendum est: "...fabulae, Iuppiter....diversans?"; p. 74, ad 446: "millecuplus" vox non solum apud Erasmum reperitur. Vide R. Hoven, *Lexique* (1994) et *HL*, 40 (1991), 425; p. 92, 787-788: vide etiam Cic., *Tusc.* II 5; Vell. Pat. I 17.6 et Sen. Rhet., *Contr.* I, *praef.* 6-7; p. 98, respondetur ad quaestionem editoris de Tractatu ad Herennium (n. 909): erat liber omnibus in scholis adhibitus; accedit quod doctrinam de dicendi generibus pellucidam offert; p. 102, 988 sic interpungas: "...retuli; quibus si..."; p. 134, 571: Graeca vox προσονομασία error mihi videtur, siquidem "appellationem" significat, non "adnominationem". Rectius scribendum παρονομασία. (J. IJ.) — Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami *Apologia ad Iacobum Fabrum Stapulensem*. Edited with an Introduction, Critical Apparatus and Explanatory Notes <by> Andrea W. Steenbeek (Diss. doct., Leiden 1994). Editio mox iterum prohibet in *Operibus Omnibus* Amstelodamensibus; — Collected Works of

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- PAOLETTA HERMINIUS: "De Pinciano Romae prospectu", *Silarus*, n. 146 (m. Nov. 1989), 29; "In Capitolium", *ib.*, n. 161-162 (m. Mart.-Apr. 1992), 47; "Ad Forum urbis Hispaniense", *ib.*, n. 167-168 (1993), 63-64. Carmina III.
- PEKKANEN THOMAS: vide infra: Stroh V.

- POWELL IONATHANUS: "For David West", in *Author and audience in Latin literature*. Edited by T. Woodmann - J. Powell (Cambridge, 1992), p. VII. Latini versus Horatiani.
- RADKE ANNA ELISSA: *Katulla. Catull-Übersetzungen ins Weibliche und Deutsche* (Marburg, Diagonal-Verlag, Zwischenhausen 7-9; 1992). Carmina Catulli et "Catullae".
- RÄDLE FIDELIS: *De condicione bestiali vel humana. Carmina Latina. Von Tieren und Menschen. Lateinische Gedichte mit deutschen Übersetzungen* (Sigmaringen, Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1993).
- REINHARDT HENRICUS: *Angulus haicum. Neue Dreizeiler in japanischer Art und lateinischer Sprache*. Herausgegeben, übersetzt und kommentiert von R. Chlada (Fulda, Verlag freier Autoren, 1993).
- SANCES PAULA: Veschi C., *Mater divini amoris* [Latine vertit Paula Sances] (Roma, Mario dell'Arco, 1993). Carmina Caesaris Veschi Romana dialecto pacta cum versionibus Latinis.
- STROH VALAHFRIDUS: "Cantus amoris plenus ad Horatium", in *Romanae fidicen lyrae. Horaz in der Musik. Libellus bilinguis* (München, Univ., 1993), p. 18. Est carminis Christinae Rosati versio Sapphica. Eodem libellulo et continentur carmina nonnulla Horatiana a Thoma Pekkanen rhythmicè reddita.
- TUSIANI JOSEPHUS: "Sine tempore ludus"; "Nubila dies", *The Classical Outlook*, 71 (1993-1994), num. 1, 1. Poematia II; — "Inculpabile tempus"; "Nocturnum"; "Novitas ad Theodoricum Sacré"; "L = Lampas", *ib.*, num. 2, 1. Poematia IV; — "Un inedito latino per Sammarco", *Qualesammarco*, 6 (1993), N. 3. Elegidion (*Iterum veni. Sancti Marci in Lamis, Nonis Sept.* 1993); — Josephi Tusiani Neo-Eboracensis *Carmina Latina*. Raccolta, introduzione e traduzione di E. Bandiera (I - 72015 Fasano di Brindisi, Schena editore [Viale Stazione, 177], 1994).
- ZOPPO FRANCUS: *Ps.- Publii Cornelii Taciti Annalium libellus postumus*, Supplemento al 'Corriere del giorno di Puglia e Lucania' anno XI, n. 64 di giovedì 17 marzo 1994 (Taranto, Cooperativa XIX Luglio, 1994). Scriptor stilo Taciteo mutationes politicas persequitur quas per hos XV annos Italorum perpessa est respublica.

## 7. INCEPTA.

- Diane Bitzel (Ingrimstraße 5, D-69117 Heidelberg, Deutschland) apud Michaellem von Albrecht, professorem Heidelbergensem, dissertationem parat c. t. Bernardo Zamagna. *Navis Aeria. Text, Übersetzung, Kommentar und Abhandlung*.

## INSTRUMENTUM LEXICOGRAPHICUM

### NOVA LEXICA

- *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, vol. X, 2, Fasc. VII: *Praescuspio - Pragmaticus* (Lipsiae, Teubner, 1993)
- *Lexicon Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis Polonorum*, vol. VII, Fasc. 1-3 (52-54): *Pabulamen - Persuadeo* (Kraków, Polska Akademia Nauk, 1992-1993).
- *Latinitatis Medii Aevi Lexicon Bohemorum*, fasc. 14: *Helidromus - Kytonicus* (Praha, Academia, 1993).
- *Lexikon Latinitatis Medii Aevi Hungariae*, vol. III: *D-E* (Budapest 1992).
- *Lexicon Latinitatis Nederlandicae Medii Aevi*, edd. J. W. Fuchs†, Olga Weijers et Marijke Gumbert, Fasc. 39-40: *Mystis - Novellus* (E. J. Brill, Leiden - New York - Köln, 1993)
- R. Hoven, *Lexique de la Prose Latine de la Renaissance* (E. J. Brill, Leiden - New York - Köln, 1994).

Opus maximae utilitatis et omnibus Renatarum Litterarum studiosis pernecessarium. Nota corrigendum: p. 55 **cauletus**, -i legendum est **cauletum**, -i, jardin de choux, cabbage garden. Vide de loco: J. IJsewijn, «*Cauletum*: les choux d'Érasme et d'Horace», *Moreana* XX 78 (1983), 17-19.

### INDEX VERBORUM RECENTIORUM

Sequuntur verba, quae neque in *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* neque in *Lexico Totius Latinitatis* Forcelliniano reperiuntur. Ea autem, quae in lexicis et glossariis Mediae et recentioris Latinitatis leguntur, stellula (\*) notavimus.

Abortive (adv.) = *abortively*: p. 122  
Accomodatilis = *which can be lent*: p. 38  
Aggratulari = *to congratulate*: p. 53  
Alphabetarius = *word-list*: p. 132  
Architypographus = *archprinter*: p. 152  
Astitor = *προστάτης (protector)*: p. 240  
Astitrix = *female assistant*: p. 134  
Astripotens = *ruling the stars*: p. 396 v. 98  
Austrinum mare = *Zuiderzee (Holland)*: p. 65

Barbariuscule = *a little barbarously*: p. 32  
Baro = *baron*: p. 385  
Boemice = *in Czech*: p. 422-423  
Boemicus = *Czech*: p. 421-424  
\*Bursa = *Students college*: p. 32

Capitulinus = *capitularis (of a Chapter)*: p. 53  
\*Cardinalis = *cardinal*: p. 184-185, 188, 189  
Centilinguis = *hundred-tongued*: p. 406  
\*Chirotheca = *glove*: p. 61  
Chronologus = *Chronicles*: p. 149  
Ciceronizare = *to write as Cicero*: p. 290, 293  
Coelifuga = *who fled from Heaven*: p. 406

\*Comitatus = *county*: p. 195, 298  
\*Confessarius = *confessor*: p. 413  
\*Curiosule = *in some detail*: p. 19 (58 § 2)  
Daricus = *δαρειακός*: p. 43

- Dialogulus = *a short dialogue* : p. 27  
 Dicasta = *judge*: p. 188  
 Dimicanter = *polemical*: p. 23  
 Diphthongare = *to distinguish diphthongs*:  
 p. 91  
 Disceptativus = *in the form of a debate*:  
 p. 90  
 Ecclesiomastix = *scourge of the church*:  
 p. 202  
 Encyclopaedicus = *learned in all sciences*:  
 p. 149  
 Epicuricitas = '*Epicuricity* ': p. 25  
 Eridere = *to ridicule* (reading incertain!):  
 p. 40  
 Erotematicus = *questionary*: p.297  
 \*Etymologizare = *to explain words*:  
 p. 133  
 Francoceltae = *Gaul*: p. 203  
 Frondatus = *frondosus*: p. 133  
 Fugillus = \* *focile, fugellum: instrument*  
*for striking sparks out of flint*: p. 133  
 Guaiacum = *holy wood / wood of life*:  
 p. 255, 260  
 \*Indistantia = *absence of distance* : p. 57  
 \*Lantgravius = *landgrave*: p. 116  
 Latinogallicus = *Latin-French*: p. 205  
 Leviusculus = *graceful*: p. 394 v. 21  
 \*Marescalcus = *marshall*: p. 179  
 Mavortigena = *Mars-born*: p. 407  
 Minorita = *Friar Minor*: p. 179  
 \*Motrix = *putting in motion* (causa):  
 p. 221  
 Obmutiscentia = *silence*: p. 42  
 Ogdoasticon = *poem of eight verses*:  
 p. 293  
 Panificus = *made of bread* : p. 407  
 Papicola = *pope-worshipper*: p. 407  
 Perparcus = *very frugal*: p. 419  
 Philonizare = *to write as Philon of*  
*Alexandria*: p. 293  
 Phlebotomatum = *bled*: p. 52  
 Platonizare = *to write as Plato*: p. 293  
 Pluticus = *of the god Plutus*: p. 43  
 Protonotarius = *protonotary* : p. 188, 212  
 \*Punctare = *to punctuate*: p. 91  
 Qualificator = *theologian in the service of*  
*the Inquisition*: p. 149  
 Salutipara = *giving birth to salvation*:  
 p. 408  
 Sarissifer = *spear-bearing*: p. 407  
 Sectarius = *member of a religious sect*:  
 p. 417  
 Sesquimillesimus = *1500th*: p. 179  
 Somnulus = *siesta*: p. 421  
 Sophistica\* *evasio* = *a sophistic solution*  
*of a problem*: p. 32  
 Stelliparus = *star-bearing*: p. 408  
 Stoicitas = '*Stoicity*': p. 25  
 Streperus = *obstreperus*: p. 43  
 Suffibulatorium = *subligatorium* = *waist-*  
*band(?)*: p. 133  
 Traductio = *translation*: p. 242  
 Tricoronifer = *He who wears a triple*  
*crown*: p. 409  
 Typographειον = *printing office*: p. 205  
 \*Typographia = *printing office*: p. 189,  
 191, 192, 194, 196, 197, 201-204  
 \*Typographus = *printer*: p. 184, 186, 190,  
 198, 200, 201, 202, 418

## NUNTIVS

The 10th international Congress of Neo-Latin Studies will be organised by the Universidad a distancia (Madrid), at Avila (Spain), 4-8 August 1997.

## INDICES

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## 2. INDEX NOMINUM

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